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A

HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD.

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A

HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD:

FROM THE

EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

BY PHILIP SMITH, B.A.,

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IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

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TO

HENRY MALDEN, M.A.,

LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON,

This Work is Dedicated,

IN ADMIRATION OF HIS PROFOUND AND ELEGANT SCHOLARSHIP,

AND

AS A TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE FOR THE LASTING BENEFITS OF HIS TEACHING.

PREFACE.

This Work aims at supplying at once a desideratum in English literature, and a special want of the present age.

Amidst the progress of material science, a people rejoicing in the possession of political and religious freedom can never forget that all conquests over matter, time, and space do but aid the means of life; nor will they less earnestly seek the knowledge that concerns its ends. As Aristotle long since said, Man is a political animal: and his highest interests, in this world, are those affecting all the relations of his social life, from the family to the state. It is not surprising, therefore, that an age unrivalled for scientific discovery has also been distinguished for the progress of political philosophy and historical enquiry. And the more such knowledge penetrates every grade of society, the more widely must the desire be felt, to trace it back to its sources, to discover in the civilization and polities of the earliest ages those germs of thought and action, which are still bearing fruit among ourselves. Ancient History is no mere study of the schools, but the foundation of all sound knowledge of the history of every age. Where then is an ordinary English reader to obtain a general view of its whole field?

Not to speak of manuals designed chiefly for schools and colleges, or of works of an encyclopædic bulk, the general reader, seeking for a connected history of the Ancient World, has hitherto had no resource except the work of the amiable Abbé Rollin, so deservedly popular in its time. It would have been

strange if a foreign writer could have permanently satisfied the wants of English readers; especially a writer who regards the despotisms of the ancient world from a point of view inconsistent with those doctrines of well-regulated freedom, which Englishmen of all parties cherish for themselves, and desire to teach their children. Besides, Rollin omitted the very *alpha* and *omega* of his subject, *Sacred* and *Roman History*, which are for the first time treated in this work as integral parts of Ancient History. Of the insight gained since the time of Rollin into the sources of Ancient History, and the criticism by which their value has been elicited, it is almost superfluous to speak. While new light has been thrown upon the most familiar scenes, the great Oriental states—Egypt, Chaldæa, Assyria, and Babylon—have had their own records at length unveiled.

For the first time, then, in English literature, the reader has before him, in the moderate compass of Three Volumes, a complete ANCIENT HISTORY, from the *Creation of the World* to the *Fall of the Western Empire of Rome*, treated as a *continuous narrative*, and with *unity of purpose*. The work embraces the whole period of nearly 4500 years (according to the received chronology) from the first *historical* records of our race—not touching upon *scientific* questions concerning the origin of the Earth and Man—to the breaking up of that ancient system of civilization which had its home in the countries about the basin of the Mediterranean. The Author has attempted to reproduce, as a narrative, the image, which was set before the king of Babylon in vision, of the successive phases of empire that prevailed over the Ancient World—and to reproduce it in that unity which was symbolized by the figure of a perfect man.

The plan and principles of this History are so constantly kept before the reader, as to need no exposition here. Its pages exhibit the great leading authorities that have been freely used; but no display has been made of the innumerable sources of information, which have been the study of a life now past its

meridian. In traversing so large a space of human history, it has been the author's aim to condense and arrange the facts without reducing them to bare annals, and to suggest their leading lessons without encumbering his pages with controversy or moralizing. Not affecting to trim the helm with an exact balance between the Scylla of obscure brevity and the Charybdis of needless reiteration, he has endeavoured to steer an even course, as the importance of the subject led him onward, by the guidance of two fixed principles—the twin stars of the cynosure of politics—that the World is ever governed by God, both for His own glory and for the happiness of Man in a holy freedom.

In the light of these principles, the whole history of the human race forms one complete record, having a beginning, a middle, and an end; and it will not escape the reader's notice, that the History of the Ancient World is here treated in its relation to that larger whole. The Author trusts, by the help which thus far he desires devoutly to acknowledge, to treat the Medieval and Modern periods of History, in works each, like the present, complete in itself, and forming together the oft-attempted, and still oftener desired, History of the World.

P. S.

August 10, 1865.

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BOOK II.

THE GREAT MONARCHIES OF THE EAST.

BOOK III.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

BOOK IV.

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THE ANCIENT WORLD, PHYSICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL

London: John Murray, Albemarle Street.

ANCIENT HISTORY,

SACRED AND SECULAR.

FROM THE CREATION TO THE FALL OF THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE.

B.C. 4004—A.D. 476.

N.B.—In the period previous to the settlement of Chronology, we give the dates of Archbishop Ussher, as convenient, not adopting them as true. The chief systems of Scriptural Chronology are explained in a note appended to the Introduction.

INTRODUCTION.

"Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the suns."
TENNYSON.

THE SUBJECT PROPOSED—ITS UNITY—PROVINCE OF HISTORY—DISTINGUISHED FROM PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE, IN ITS NATURE AND ITS EVIDENCE—ILLUSTRATION FROM THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD, AS REGARDED IN THE LIGHTS OF HISTORY AND SCIENCE RESPECTIVELY—RELATIONS OF PRIMEVAL HISTORY TO ASTRONOMY, GEOLOGY, PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, CHRONOLOGY, AND THEOLOGY—METHODS OF HISTORICAL INQUIRY—EPOCHS AND PERIODS OF HISTORY—MOMENTS OF ORIGINATION AND OF DEVELOPMENT—EPOCHS OF REVOLUTION AND PERIODS OF REPOSE—EXAMPLE OF A SUCCESSFUL METHOD IN GIBBON'S GREAT WORK—NOTE ON SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY.

WE propose to relate the History of the World, from its earliest records to our own times. So arduous an enterprise needs the friendly consideration of the reader, and still more the aid of HIM whose providence is the living spirit of our theme. The work is undertaken under the conviction that the whole world has a history, as much as each separate nation. Amidst all the severing forces of climate, colour, language, interest, and animosity, our race forms a complete whole. One in its origin, one even in its true interests, it is destined to be one in its final consummation. And it is this that gives a unity to its history.

In so wide a subject, the province of the historian should be carefully distinguished from those of the man of science and the philosopher; for all knowledge of facts does not belong to history. Philosophy aspires to know the absolute truth of all things, both visible and invisible, that can be known by man. Science confines itself to those objective facts which are the results of the fixed natural laws which it seeks to discover. But history, while also dealing only with objective facts, views them in ever-changing action and in a connected series; not as a completed whole, the product of fixed laws. The subject-matter of science was determined when the Creator made the world; but history is ever in the making. In the former, if we know a law, we can with certainty trace its operation in a particular case; but

this is no longer possible when the human will and passions come into play. For then the most varied results are produced, according to the characters and circumstances of the agents; and it is these surprising changes that give life to history.

It is not denied that all the facts which have occurred in the world are bound together by those hidden laws, physical, moral, and spiritual, which constitute the whole moral government of God. Nor is the historian unconcerned with the working of those laws. The actions he has to relate are so connected with the motives of the actors, the external facts with their causes in human nature, that his subject must often be regarded in the light of science and philosophy. But these occasional excursions into another province should only furnish him with materials to illustrate his own.

If, indeed, it were possible, as some think, to determine a law to which even man's free agency is subject, such as that of fatalism, or if we could be content with the statistics of observed facts, as a substitute for any higher law, then the whole course of human actions throughout all ages would no longer constitute a history, but a science. What are now the facts of history, wrought out by voluntary agents, would then become a system of fixed phenomena, the necessary effects of a fixed law. We are not now called upon to discuss the truth of any such doctrines. Believing firmly in the Divine ordering of the course of human affairs, we believe as firmly that it is not given to man, in his present state, to trace the secret harmony of the Divine government with the liberty of man; and we are content to record the facts as they have occurred.

History is further distinguished from science by the evidence on which its conclusions rest. That evidence is the testimony of credible witnesses concerning past events; while science determines its truths by observation and experiment upon phenomena as they present themselves to its view. Science does indeed make a secondary use of testimony to discover the facts from which it reasons, while existing things often confirm historic testimony. Thus the line of demarcation is shaded off at its extreme edges, but it is not the less real.

The importance of these distinctions appears at the very threshold of our work. The whole fabric of human society is, to our minds, inseparably connected with the earth on which man dwells, and which has evidently been fitted specially for his use. The origin of this world, and of man himself, invites the enquiry

of all thoughtful persons; and as the opinions held upon these points involve belief or disbelief in God and His creative works, they affect the very foundations of religion and so of all social life. These questions can only be decided, in part by the light of science, in part by the authority of revelation. The latter, as the highest of all testimony, is the historian's only safe guide over the ground which lies beyond the unaided knowledge of man; but he will thankfully accept every illustration contributed by the former. It is not for him to reconcile the difficulties between science and revealed religion. He accepts the testimony of the sacred writers as he does that of any other credible witnesses, though with a more reverential faith. He uses the light of all the truth which science has certainly established for the interpretation of that testimony. All that is still to be settled he leaves to the philosopher and the theologian.

In attempting, therefore, to pursue our enquiries down from the very origin of our world, we must start from the testimony of revelation, that it was created by God, in a certain order, specially for the abode of man. Such was its "beginning," and the true beginning of human history, to the exclusion of all the mythical accounts given by poetry or false religion, and of all philosophic theories that are inconsistent with this plain statement. But, as to how many ages we should date back to that "beginning,"—how the revealed order of the creation, which is only stated in the most general terms, is to be reconciled with the indications furnished by geology,—what precise periods of time are meant by the "days" of the Scripture record,—with these and similar disputed questions, on which certainty seems at present unattainable, the historian is only concerned in so far as their entire neglect might lead him into positive error.

History gains much and loses nothing by being thus confined within its own limits. The historian accepts contributions from the various sciences, without assuming to review their foundations. The earth is presented to him as a member of the great "Cosmos," to which its relations are such as to sustain the being and to promote the order and happiness of the human race; but whether it was at first projected from the sun round which it moves,—how it was made to receive the life-giving light and warmth which form the spring of action and energy upon its surface,—and how those movements are regulated which preserve to man the sure changes of the seasons, and the signs which mark out his time,—all this he leaves to the Astronomer. So, too, he

listens with deep interest to the Geologist, explaining how the fused matter of our globe cooled down till it formed a solid crust, surrounded by a dense mixture of air and watery vapour; how a further cooling caused the water partly to settle on the surface and partly to float upon the air; how the disturbed forces of the central fire broke up the crust into hill and dale, and formed basins for the seas; how the rocks were deposited in successive layers from the waters, and were again and again heaved up into Alps, Andes, and Himalayas; how the surface thus prepared was clothed with the vast primeval forests, which purified the air while they grew, and then, once more submerged, became reserves of fuel for all future ages; and how the races of animals appeared in those successive series, which are attested by their remains still embedded in the rocks, till we reach Man, the last and crowning work of God. In all these revelations of science the historian sees many of the influences which help to explain the course of man's social and political life; but his business begins where that of the geologist ends.

The same is true of Physical Geography, a science which is the offspring of geology, and which comes into the closest contact with history. It is impossible for the historian to relate the movements of men upon the earth, without some description of the countries which have been their scene; but he leaves it to science to account for the conformation of these countries.

There is one science, however, which can scarcely be separated from history—the science of Chronology. The dates of events are but a means of giving a more accurate expression to their moving series, which it is the province of history to describe. To this the fixed epochs and methods of technical chronology are merely subsidiary; and the primary modes of reckoning time may be considered as a branch of astronomy.*

This discussion must not be closed without a few words on the relation of history to Theology, the science of sciences, the highest branch of human learning. The world is God's world; and its true history must begin and end with God. The division of history into sacred and secular, civil and ecclesiastical, however convenient, is arbitrary and unreal. Could we see each event in its true light, we should see all bearing some relation to the Divine purposes and plan. But as those purposes are only revealed in their broad outline and great end, as the details of

* See the Note at the end of the Introduction.

that plan are unfolded but slowly and obscurely, any attempt to regard all events from a theological point of view must defeat itself. So long as the historian writes in a spirit sincerely but not obtrusively devout, he may safely leave the religious lessons of the story to the devout reader. Nor will a wise historian abstain from any course more carefully than from gratifying his own zeal for the truth by offending the opinions of candid and temperate readers.

But the external facts that have sprung from the profession of religions, whether the true or the false, belong essentially to the province of the historian. No source has been so fruitful of events that have changed the fate of countries and the destiny of nations. In what spirit, then, should these incidents be related? The profession of calm indifference has proved but a veil for sarcastic incredulity. No man with a sound head and a warm heart can relate the call of Abraham, the legislation of Moses, the conquest of Canaan, the story of Pharaoh, or Nebuchadnezzar, or Cyrus, and the exploits of the Maccabees, and yet reserve the question whether the Jews were in truth God's chosen people. A Christian historian cannot but write of Christ as the Divine Redeemer, and of Mahomet as the false prophet. Nor can a Protestant conceal his opinion of the apostasy of the Roman Church and the blessings of the Reformation. But the historical and the controversial treatment of such matters must be kept altogether distinct. The controversialist has to make out his case by all fair means; but the historian is bound to render impartial justice to the motives and characters of the actors on both sides. Never must he depart from this course on any ground of supposed policy, or even of zeal for what he deems religious truth. What concerns him is the truth of the facts, not their consequences to any system of opinions. Candour and toleration are the vital breath of historic truth, and are never violated with impunity.

Such are the chief principles of historical enquiry. The methods of pursuing it are various. The great philosopher, Schleiermacher, has drawn a distinction between the longitudinal and transverse views of any series of historic facts. He means that we may either follow any one of the great trains of events which history presents, from its beginning to its end; or we may choose some epoch * at which to take a view of the then existing state of each

* We use this word in its proper sense of *a point of stoppage*. A *period* is the space between two epochs. The terms are often confounded.

separate nation. But it should be remembered, that the chain of history is not, so to speak, a bundle of parallel wires, each of which can be traced from its beginning to its end. Its strands are constantly intertwined in the most unexpected manner. To pursue any one alone, it must be artfully disentangled from the rest; and where this is impossible, others must also be described, to account for their interlacing with this one. Thus, for example, the history of Greece connects itself, at certain points, with those of Persia and of Rome; and these with a whole network of fibres that lead over Asia, Africa, and Europe. The only strictly "longitudinal" treatment of history is that which embraces the whole annals of the human race; and such a treatment becomes possible, when aided by the "transverse" method at well-chosen epochs.

Such epochs are not difficult to discover. The whole course of history is made up, as the same philosopher has observed, of distinct moments, or moves, like those of a game of chess, or of a military campaign. It is the observation of these moments, as distinguished from mere facts, that makes the difference between a history and a chronicle. They are of two kinds—moments of origination, and moments of progress or development. It is true that the philosopher, according as he believes rather in the direct government of God, or in the operation of fixed laws, might raise all events to moments of origination, or reduce them to moments of development. But the historian, taking a common-sense view of objective facts, recognises the broad distinction between gradual development and sudden origination. His attention is arrested by those revolutionary changes which involve the destruction of what has been long developing, in order to a reconstruction by the force of some new element. He sees that all history is divided into epochs of revolution and periods of comparative repose. Thus he obtains a natural division of his subject into parts, all of which may be harmonized by the principle, that one supreme government regulates the whole. And, under each of these periods, he groups the external and internal facts of history, the striking events of politics and war, and the quieter but more important movements of civilization, morals, and religion. The chief source of difficulty seems to be in the want of coincidence between the epochs of the several parallel series which run through history. But the wider our field, and the broader our survey of it, the less will this difficulty be felt. The great landmarks in the history of the world can hardly be mistaken.

That a great and perplexed period of history, and therefore the

whole, may be treated with a due regard to its entire harmony, has been practically proved by the immortal work of Gibbon. What great historical mass was ever made up of more distinct elements—each with its own epochs more strongly marked, and with fewer epochs common to the whole series—than the story of the breaking up of the Western Empire into the medieval states? Who has not looked forward—with a despair as to the method almost equalled by his interest in the subject—upon the long story of the splendours of the Antonines and the vices and follies of their successors,—the bewildering revolutions, the wars upon the frontier, the torrent of barbarian invasion,—and the still greater changes which gave the world a new religion? Who can have hoped to grasp the progress of all these varied incidents in the East and in the West, and to retain a view of the scenes on which they were enacted, from the Tigris to the Hebrides, and from the Wall of China to the Libyan Desert? And who that has opened the first volume with such misgivings, has not closed the last of the first part with a satisfaction akin to that derived from some great mosaic picture, whose perfect unity makes him almost forget how many myriads of fragments have gone to make it up? Imperial Rome has almost insensibly vanished from the scene, and Italy has become a Gothic kingdom, surrounded by the monarchies of Europe in the first stage of their formation. The Queen of the East has arisen, as if by enchantment, from the waters of the Bosporus, and her splendour has again been overcast. Christianity has triumphed, but the triumph has been abused by her ministers. The West is ripe for Feudalism; and the East seems to await the doom of her idolatries from the sword of Mahomet. The work of art is perfect; the life of a generous enthusiasm is alone wanting:—"Vir clarissimus, sed quoad res divinas utinam felicior!"

NOTE ON SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY.

Independently of scientific evidence, and of the traditions and monuments of Egypt, Chaldæa, and other nations, the following are our *data* for determining the chronological relations of primeval history to the Christian era.

1. From the *Creation to the Deluge*, the generations of the patriarchs form our only guide. These, however, are given differently in different copies of the Scriptures; the sum being, in the LXX. 606 years longer, and in the Samaritan Pentateuch 349 years shorter, than in the received Hebrew text. The ancient chronologers give further variations.

2. From the *Deluge to the death of Joseph*, and thence to the *Exodus*, the patriarchal years are again our chief guide; but other data are obtained from various statements respecting the interval from the call of Abraham to the giving of the Law and the sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt.* The main point in dispute here is, whether 430 years was the whole period from the call of Abraham to the Exodus, or only the time of the sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt.

3. *From the Exodus to the building of Solomon's Temple*, the interval is positively stated in the received Hebrew text, as 480 years.† But the reading is disputed; it is alleged to be inconsistent with the 450 years assigned by St. Paul to the Judges;‡ and the longer period is made out by adding together the numbers given in the *Book of Judges*. Some chronologers, on the other hand, compute from the many genealogies which we have for this period.

4. *From the Building of the Temple to its Destruction and the Captivity of Zedekiah*, we have the annals of the kings of Israel and Judah. Here the difficulties are so slight, that the principal chronologers only differ by 15 years in nearly 500.

5. The Epoch of the Destruction of the Temple is fixed by a concurrence of proofs, from sacred and profane history, with only a variation of one, or at the most two years, between B.C. 588 and 586. Clinton's date is June, B.C. 587. From this epoch we obtain for the building of Solomon's Temple the date of about B.C. 1012.§

From this point the reckoning backwards is of course affected by the differences already noticed. Out of these have arisen three leading systems of chronology.

1. The *Rabbinical*, a system handed down traditionally by the Jewish doctors, places the Creation 244 years later than our received chronology, in B.C. 3750, and the Exodus in B.C. 1314. This leaves from the Exodus to the building of the Temple an interval of only 300 years, a term calculated chiefly from the genealogies, and only reconciled with the numbers given in the Book of Judges by the most arbitrary alterations. Genealogies, however, are no safe basis for chronology, especially when, as can be proved in many cases, links are omitted in their statement. "When we come to examine them closely, we find that many are broken without being in consequence *technically* defective as Hebrew genealogies.

* Genesis xv. 13; Exodus xii. 41; Acts vii. 6; Galatians iii. 17.
† 1 Kings vi. 1. ‡ Acts xiii. 20.
§ The highest computation, that of Hales, makes the date B.C. 1027.

A modern pedigree thus broken would be defective, but the principle of these genealogies must have been different. A notable instance is that of the genealogy of our Saviour given by St. Matthew. In this genealogy Joram is immediately followed by Ozias, as if his son—Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah being omitted.* In Ezra's genealogy† there is a similar omission, which in so famous a line can scarcely be attributed to the carelessness of a copyist. There are also examples of a man being called the son of a remote ancestor in a statement of a genealogical form.‡ We cannot therefore venture to use the Hebrew genealogical lists to compute intervals of time, except where we can prove each descent to be immediate. But even if we can do this, we have still to be sure that we can determine the average length of each generation."§ The violent efforts of the Rabbis to bring their shorter period into harmony with the book of Judges have indeed been ingeniously converted from an objection into an argument by the recent German school, who follow their scheme, because it seems to them the most consistent with Egyptian chronology. These efforts to overcome difficulties of detail prove, it is said, that they had good reasons for clinging to the total. But surely their traditional total cannot be allowed to stand in opposition both to the 480 years of the Book of Kings and the 450 years named by St. Paul. Whatever may be the difficulty of reconciling these two numbers, they clearly point to a period much longer than that allowed by the Rabbis. The confirmation of the Rabbinical system by the Egyptian chronology involves somewhat of an argument in a circle. It rests mainly on the identification of the Pharaoh of the Exodus with Menephtha, the son of Rameses the Great, of the Nineteenth Dynasty, whose reign is computed from B.C. 1328 to B.C. 1309. But the only independent authority for this identification is an account of the Exodus, repeated from Manetho by Josephus, who justly regards it as of little authority.¶

2. The *Short* or *Received Chronology* is that which has been generally followed in the West since the time of Jerome, and has been adopted in the margin of the authorized English version, according to the system of its ablest advocate, Archbishop Ussher. Its leading data are, first, the adoption of the numbers of the Hebrew text for the patriarchal genealogies; secondly, the reckoning of the 430 years from the call of Abraham to the Exodus; and, lastly, the adhering to the 480 years for the period from the Exodus to the building of the Temple. As we are only giving a general account of these different systems, and not attempting their full discussion, we cannot now explain how the last datum is reconciled with the 450 years assigned by St. Paul to the Judges, or with the numbers obtained from their annals. It is enough to say that the

* Matthew i. 8. "That this is not an accidental omission of a copyist is evident from the specification of the number of generations from Abraham to David, from David to the Babylonish Captivity, and thence to Christ, in each case fourteen generations. Probably these missing names were purposely left out to make the number for the interval equal to that of the other intervals, such an omission being obvious, and not liable to cause error."

† Ezra vii. 1—5.

‡ Genesis xxix. 5, compared with xxviii. 2, 5; 1 Chronicles xxvi. 24; 1 Kings xix. 16, compared with 2 Kings ix. 2, 14.

§ Poole, art. *Chronology*, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

¶ We shall have occasion to return to this point under the history of the Jews in Egypt, Book II. chap. viii.

difficulties are not insuperable, and that the system of Ussher may fairly hold the place assigned to it, till some other be established on stronger evidence than has yet been made out. The great chronologer Petavius is in substantial agreement with Ussher; but, for reasons which cannot now be stated, he places the Exodus and the call of Abraham each 40 years earlier, the Deluge and the Creation each 20 years later, than Ussher.

3. The *Long Chronology* has been, in recent times, the most formidable competitor of the short system. Its leading advocates are Hales, Jackson, and Des Vignolles. With some minor differences, they agree in adopting the Septuagint numbers for the ages of the patriarchs, and the long interval from the Exodus to the building of the Temple. Their arguments for the former view are very ably answered by Clinton, who adopts the short period from the Creation to the call of Abraham, and the 430 years on to the Exodus, but reckons 612 years from thence to the foundation of the Temple. Since he wrote, however, the state of the question has been materially affected by the study of Egyptian and Chaldæan history. In both cases, and on independent grounds, an antiquity is now claimed for the commencement of the annals of these nations inconsistent with the received date of the Deluge in B.C. 2348. The era of Menes, the first king of Egypt, is placed about B.C. 2717, and that of the third Chaldæan dynasty of Berosus (the first which has any claim to be historical) about B.C. 2234. The weight of this argument of course depends on the value we may assign to the numbers of Manetho and Berosus, and to the astronomical calculations which are supposed to confirm them; questions to be considered as we proceed. It is on such grounds, as well as from the numbers in the Book of Judges, that Mr. Poole adheres to the long system of chronology.

THE FOLLOWING TABLE EXHIBITS THE PRINCIPAL DATES AS GIVEN BY THE LEADING MODERN CHRONOLOGERS.

	Short System.			Long System.		
	Ussher. B.C.	Petavius. B.C.	Clinton B.C.	Hales. B.C.	Jackson. B.C.	Poole. B.C.
Creation . . .	4004	3983	4138	5411	5426	5421*
Flood	2349	2327	2482	3155	3170	3159*
Call of Abraham . .	1921	1961	2055	2078	2023	2082
Exodus . . .	1491	1531	1625	1648	1593	1652
Foundation of Temple .	1012	1012	1013	1027	1014	1010
Destruction of Temple .	588	589	587	586	586	586

* Or each of these two dates may be 60 years lower.

BOOK I.

THE PATRIARCHAL AGE, AND THE ORIGIN OF THE NATIONS.

FROM THE CREATION TO THE EXODUS.

B.C. 4004—1491.

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CHAPTER I.

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD, AND THE FIRST STATE OF MAN.

"Glory to Him, whose wisdom hath ordained
Good out of evil to create—instead
Of spirits malign, a better race to bring
Into their vacant room, and thence diffuse
His good to worlds and ages infinite!"—MILTON.

THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL RECORDS ARE IN THE BOOKS OF MOSES—THEIR ORIGINAL PURPOSE AND HISTORICAL VALUE—MOSAIC ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION—ITS MODE OF REVELATION—ITS SUCCESSIVE STAGES—PRIMEVAL STATE OF MAN—INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE—ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE—ADAM'S STUDY OF GOD'S WORKS—THE GARDEN OF EDEN—ITS PROBABLE LOCALITY—CONDITION AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE FIRST MAN—HIS CREATION IN THE IMAGE OF GOD.

THE first nation of which we have a distinct history is the race of Israel; and the earliest existing records are their sacred writings. To estimate the historic value of the Books of Moses, and the illustrations which they need from other sources, we must bear in mind their immediate object. The people of Israel had been called out of Egypt, corrupted by her false religion as well as degraded by her tyranny, to receive the Divine law, which was to distinguish them from all other nations. That law, entrusted to their keeping, and illustrated by their history, was destined, in its perfect spiritual development, to regenerate the whole world.

Its foundation was laid in their relation to the true God, as His children and chosen people; and that God must needs therefore be made known to them, as the Creator of the world, and as the friend and guide of their forefathers. With this view Moses wrote for them, in the Book of Genesis, not a complete history of the primeval ages, but so much of that history as bore upon their religious and national life. And this record remains our sole direct authority for the earliest history of the world. It can be illustrated by the traditions of various nations, and by the researches of science, especially Ethnography and Comparative Philology; but the full exposition of such matters belongs rather to the antiquarian. It is only their established results that fall within the province of the historian. Nor is this the place to discuss the genuineness and historic credibility of the writings ascribed to Moses. This we assume as proved.

In relating the creation of the world, as the scene of the events of human history, Moses had the one object of ascribing it to God, in opposition to all the figments of false religion and philosophy. It was quite unnecessary for him to give a scientific view of its origin. His account is purely historical in its form. It is such an account as might have been given by a spectator; and the writer seems to have been placed, by a Divine revelation, in the position of a spectator. Just as the scenes of future history passed in vision before the eyes of prophets, leaving their interpretation to the events themselves, so the scenes of creation were probably exhibited to Moses in vision, simply as phenomena, leaving their interpretation to the discoveries of science. Only these leading points were clearly revealed:—that the matter of the world—the visible earth and sky, with all in them—instead of being eternal or fortuitous, was called into being by God. Upon a state of unproductive confusion, to which we commonly apply the name borrowed from Greek tradition, *chaos* (*i.e.* emptiness)—whether the first condition of the world or the result of some catastrophe—Light was called forth by His word. Then followed, in successive stages, the duration of which is left undetermined by the words "evening" and "morning," which seem to describe the alternations of darkness and light in the Mosaic vision,—the spreading abroad of the visible heaven, and the separation of the waters on the surface of the earth from the aqueous vapours above,—next, the severance of the great masses of land and water, and the clothing of the former with vegetation,—next, the appearance of the sun, moon, and stars in the heavens, not only to enlighten the earth, but to mark out times and seasons,—then, the creatures of the water, and the fowls of the air,—and lastly, the terrestrial animals, and man. All the living beings were created of fixed species, each with the power within itself of reproducing its own kind; all received the blessing of fertility; and to man was given dominion over the rest. The whole was crowned with the Divine approval as "very good;" and the cessation of God's creative work, to be succeeded by the maintenance of all things according to His laws, was marked by the institution of the Sabbath. Man's Sabbath, in which he rests from working for subsistence, and engages in the godlike work of "doing good on the Sabbath-day," is the sign and reflex of God's Sabbath of providence and grace.

A more particular account is then given of the primeval state of the human race. To the general statement that, in common

with the other animals, man was created male and female, is now added an account of the creation of the woman out of the man, which gives sanctity to the marriage-bond by the community of substance as well as nature. But this crowning gift was not bestowed on Adam, for so was the first man named, till his study of all other living creatures had proved their unfitness to furnish the companion of his life. The process by which this conclusion was reached shows us man already endowed from the very first with the faculties of observation and reasoning, and with the power of Language: for the names that he gave the animals expressed his views of their nature; and in this process he found an occupation akin to that study of God's works which is still a source of the purest pleasure. The labours of the naturalist are, in fact, a continuation of the process which began with Adam;—God presents every living creature to the view of man, and it is man's prerogative to give them names suited to their natures.

That this process was completed by Adam for all the denizens of all the climates, is one of those narrow literal views which justly incur the contempt of science. But yet it seems equally absurd to suppose that his sphere of observation was confined within such narrow limits as are suggested by the word "garden." The sacred writer's description of his "paradise," or "pleasure ground," implies an extent sufficient to give scope to the activities of a nature physically, as well as intellectually and morally, perfect. The locality of his abode is one of the vext questions of scriptural interpretation. Its description by names known in historical geography must have been intended to give intelligible, though very general, information. Thus much seems clear, that Eden lay about the head-waters of four great rivers, two of which were the Euphrates and the Tigris (Hiddekel). This condition seems to fix its site among the mountains of Armenia, south of the Caucasus, the very region which science and tradition concur to mark as the cradle of the noblest variety of the race subsequent to the Deluge.

In this beautiful and well-watered garden, planted by God himself, and kept ever fresh by a mist from the river—for as yet there was no rain, at least in that region—Adam enjoyed no fool's-paradise of dreamy indolence. His occupation of keeping and dressing the garden implies intelligent and steady industry. It was the easily productive nature of this work that distinguished it from the hard and scantily-repaid toil which is the curse of sin. His food was supplied by the fruits of the garden; for the animals

were not yet given him to eat. Of his intellectual culture we can form but faint conjectures, since nearly all our knowledge comes from the past, which did not exist for him. But we may be sure that his perfect nature had capabilities of knowledge surpassing any since possessed by his descendants; and that his direct communion with God, and converse with His new creation, laid broad and deep foundations for that wisdom, which he lived to transmit to seven generations of his children. But the direct process of his learning, and the absence of those wants which are the spur of invention, forbid our regarding him as versed in art and science.

The highest distinction of our first parents was, that they were made in the image of God. It is not the province of history to enquire what relation of the human nature to the divine may be implied in this statement, or in the communication of life to man by the breath of God; but the purest consciousness of mankind testifies to his essential immortality. His processes of thought, especially as applied to the adaptation of nature to his wants, need only be compared with the design exhibited in the works of God, to prove that his intellect is like in kind, however infinitely inferior in degree, to that of his Creator. The converse of this argument, indeed, forms the foundation of Natural Theology. But it was chiefly the moral and spiritual image of God that was stamped on man at his creation, "the image of Him who created him in righteousness and true holiness." And so, when the Fall had marred this moral likeness to his Creator and Father, we are told that "Adam begat a son in his own likeness, after his own image." This likeness of man to God is the great central fact of human history. Its first bestowal reveals the destiny which God marked out for the race. Its loss was the first great catastrophe and its recovery will be the final consummation, of the world's history. God, creating man in His own likeness, foreshadowed the coming of the Redeemer in the likeness of man, to reunite him to his God. Meanwhile all the scenes of selfish and murderous passion, which fill so large a space in the page of history, are examples of man's departure from the image of his God: all the acts of self-denying virtue and devoted love, which shed light upon the page, are but reflections of that Divine likeness which God did not permit even sin entirely to obliterate.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE FALL TO THE DELUGE; OR, THE CATASTROPHE OF SIN.

"It repented the LORD that He had made man on the earth, and it grieved Him at His heart."—*Genesis*, vi. 6.

FIRST REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH IN HISTORY—SIN AND GRACE—THE FALL OF MAN—THE CURSE AND PROMISE—CONFLICT OF GOOD AND EVIL—CAIN AND ABEL—THE CAINITE AND SETHITE RACES—ENERGY AND LAWLESSNESS OF THE CAINITES—LAMECH'S POLYGAMY AND MURDER—RELIGION OF THE SETHITES—INTERMARRIAGE OF THE RACES, AND CONSEQUENT CORRUPTION OF MAN—MORAL AND MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE ANTEDILUVIANS—THE DELUGE—DIFFICULTIES IN THE NARRATIVE—DESTRUCTION AND RESTORATION OF THE WORLD—GOD'S COVENANT OF FORBEARANCE MADE WITH NOAH—TRADITIONS OF THE FLOOD—ANTEDILUVIAN LONGEVITY.

HISTORY, we have said, is divided by revolutionary epochs. The first of these was the *entrance* of sin, as St. Paul emphatically calls it, thereby marking it as an intrusive element; while, in the same breath, he explains the mystery of its permission, to make way for the principle of *grace*. A recent historian of the French Revolution has not shrunk from proclaiming the antagonism between the "rights of man" and the doctrine that we receive all good from the grace of God. But the Scripture teaches that God will permit no such antagonism, and that the fall of man has left with God alone all the glory of his restoration. Holding out to man every inducement to obedience, and warning him of the fatal results of disobedience, God left him free to choose between them, and even provided a test by which he was to stand or fall. That test was suited to the possibilities of evil, which all subsequent experience has proved to exist in the human breast. The form which the trial assumed need not surprise us, if we only bear in mind how large a part of the Divine teaching is by actions. The presence in Eden of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, the appearance and address of the serpent to the woman's senses, and the eating of the forbidden fruit, instead of needing any mythical or allegorical interpretation, show us the reality of the whole transaction. Then, as now, the impulse of sin was perfected in an overt act. But the scene, though real, was symbolical. The neglect of the tree of life, and the wilful plucking of the fruit of knowledge of good and evil, is the same choice which man is ever making between the true source of

happiness—spiritual life—and the pride of doubting God, the lust of knowing and enjoying evil as well as good. The fascinations of the forbidden tree, which tempted the woman, are the same three sources of evil which have misled all her children —"the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life." The readiness of Adam to share his wife's transgression is the type of that companionship in evil which gives sin its chief hold upon our race.

Another power was concerned in the catastrophe; forming, indeed, its immediate cause. Already placed in direct communion with God, man was now solicited, on the other hand, by a spiritual being, who had fallen from happiness by that sin to which it became his malignant pleasure to tempt man. To omit the distinct recognition of Satanic agency from our narrative would be to deny one of the mainsprings of the world's history. This is not the place to dwell on the theological aspect of the question; but the teaching of Scripture is too well confirmed by our own experience of the malignant envy against goodness, the mischievous ingenuity in destroying it, and the eagerness to taunt and torment their fallen victims, which mark those whom the Divine word therefore calls the children of the devil. Whatever licence Milton may have given his imagination, his general conception of Satan's relations to our first parents is true; and the traditions of many nations, identifying the serpent with the principle of evil, bear witness to the form of the temptation.

The first human pair had thus chosen, and all their progeny have by their own personal fall confirmed the choice, between life in the light of God's favour, and independence of Him at the price of death. But the sentence was mitigated in itself, and a glorious promise was given of its ultimate reversal. While the fallen beings were already cowering beneath that sense of shame which is the first symptom and penalty of conscious sin, and afraid to meet the God whom they had till now loved, He called them, with the serpent, to receive their sentence. The grovelling form and habits assigned to the serpent were the type of the ultimate conquest of the evil spirit by the very offspring of the woman, who should not, however, achieve the victory without a deadly wound from his antagonist;—a clear promise of the Redeemer's destruction of sin by His own death. As for the human pair, the chief objects of their present life were still to be accomplished before they returned to the earth from which they had been taken, but to be accomplished amidst sharp suffering and

wearing toil. Still, in this curse there were the seeds of a blessing. The woman's pangs were to be consoled by the hope of the great Deliverer who was to be her seed: the man's toils were to be rewarded by the fruits which the earth would henceforth yield, though only to hard labour. The joys of Paradise must be renounced; but the whole earth was to be replenished and subdued. Access to the tree of life was cut off; but immortality in the fallen state would have been misery, and a far better immortality remained to be revealed. The best evidence that Adam understood the promise is seen in the new name he gave his wife, Eve (the *living*), as the mother of a truly living race, and chiefly of Him who was to be their life.

That the rite of *sacrifice* was now instituted by God himself, in confirmation of His promise, and as a type of the satisfaction for sin by the death of a substitute for the sinner, is inferred with the highest probability from the narrative. In no other way can we reasonably explain the death of the animals with whose skins God clothed Adam and Eve; and the story of Cain and Abel shows us the institution already established.

Adam and Eve went forth into the wide world, carrying with them the fallen nature and corrupt tendencies which were the present fruit of their sin, but with faith in the promise of redemption. Of this faith, as well as of her shortsighted expectation of its fulfilment, Eve gave a proof at the birth of her eldest son, by exclaiming, "I have gotten a man, Jehovah." The whole subsequent history of their race exhibits the conflict of these two principles; and its first period, down to the Deluge, was a scene of steady decline, till redemption seemed hardly possible. The conflict appeared in the first generation of their children. Cain, the husbandman, and Abel, the shepherd, are representatives of the two great divisions of the human race, not so much in their occupations as in their characters. The command of God to offer sacrifice, not only in acknowledgment of His goodness, but as a confession of sin, formed a new test of obedience. We are assured by Paul that Abel brought his offering in faith; while the selfish pride of Cain's is proved by his resentment, his murderous revenge, and his sullen despair. While he went forth from his father's home and his father's God into the land of Nod (that is, *exile*), to seek a new abode on the earth, which had been cursed anew for him, and with his life only protected by the mark of God's displeasure, another son—Seth—was given to Eve in place of Abel; and these two became the heads of races morally and spiritually

distinct. Cain and his descendants built the first cities, and invented the arts of music and metal-work, which are associated respectively with the names of Jubal and Tubal-cain, whose brother Jabal took up the life of the nomad herdsman. But the restless energy that led them to these inventions was associated with the lawless ferocity that we see in their father Lamech's address to his two wives, the earliest piece of poetry on record, in which he avows the guilt of murder, and anticipates a vengeance many times as great as that of Cain.* But in the family of Seth the true worship of God was preserved. In the time of his son Enos, we are told, men began to call themselves by the name of Jehovah, avowing themselves His servants, as a protest against the increasing ungodliness. Enoch, the seventh patriarch of the line, is celebrated in antediluvian history for his close walk with God, his denunciations of the wickedness of his times, his prophecy of the coming of God to judge the world, and his "translation" from the earth without dying,—a sign that the promise of eternal life was already reversing the curse of death.

Meanwhile the distinction between the Cainite and Sethite races was gradually broken down by intermarriages, in which desire overcame the fear of God; for this is the only sober interpretation of the union between "the sons of God" and "the daughters of men." From these intermarriages sprang a race, not of "giants," but of lawless men, by whom the earth was filled with violence. The utter dissolution of all moral bonds, and the recklessness of the Divine judgment, are referred to by our Lord, and more fully described by St. Peter and St. Jude; in each case as the type of a like state of unbridled licence which will precede the end of the world. Thus at each stage of human history it is demonstrated that the present order of things is doomed to pass away, not so much because the physical world is perishable, but still more because the degeneracy of man has reached, and will again reach, a depth incurable but by entire destruction and renovation. No progress in the material arts of life can ensure us against such moral declension. When we read of the inventions of the Cainite race, and reflect upon the opportunities furnished by antediluvian longevity for retaining that knowledge which the short-lived races of later men are ever losing and regaining, we may well believe that they had reached a material civilization still unknown to us. But later ages are not without the warning, that this is the very source of moral degeneracy. When the conquest

* We have here also the earliest example of polygamy.

of matter is so far achieved as to enable man not only to use but abuse, that is, to use up the world for his own selfish pleasure, every moral restraint is removed, except the fear of God and the faith of unseen things; and this motive is felt but by very few. Those few were represented, in the world before the Flood, by one man only, NOAH, who was just and upright in his family, and, like Enoch, walked with God. So he was chosen to renew the race after its removal by a flood of waters. For there was this distinction between the treatment of the first and final apostasy of mankind:—In the latter, all that is mortal and material will be utterly destroyed by fire, as too corrupt for any milder remedy, to make way for a new heaven and earth, the abode of that spiritual excellence which alone is indestructible. But the Flood, so to speak, only cleansed the surface of the earth; and the rescued family, instead of receiving a new nature, did but make a fresh start, with all the evil tendencies of the old race, as their history soon proved. Wearied out with man's wickedness, and repenting of having made him (we do but adopt His own figurative language), God would not make the race extinct before His promise of redemption was fulfilled. That promise was the most precious of the deposits which Noah carried with him into the Ark.

For the rest, we are not called upon either to invent, or to explain away, difficulties which are not found in the sacred narrative. Once for all, let us speak out upon this subject. We accept the Bible as a record of the highest credibility, as truly the inspired Word of God, without encumbering our faith with theories of inspiration. We test and interpret its statements by the same rules of common sense which we apply to other historic records. In relating external events, we do not expect the historian to be precise about their hidden and intrinsic nature; just as we do not expect even the astronomer, in using the language of common life, to carry back the heavenly bodies beyond the visible sky. In a word, the language of historic description is, in the vast majority of cases, *phenomenal*, not *absolute*. It is a true account, if it truly describes the appearances of things to a spectator. But for a man to insist on understanding those appearances as absolute realities, and that according to the narrowest literal sense of the words used, is to impose fetters upon the sacred text, beneath which no secular historian could move a single step. The attempt thus to compel our faith is most unwise; but when the like method is insisted on to drive us to unbelief, we can scarcely speak of it with moderation.

It matters nothing to our understanding of the simple narrative of Scripture, whether the waters of the Deluge covered the whole globe, provided that they covered the small portion known to Noah, and peopled by the two existing races of men. We are left free to accept the plain proofs furnished by astronomy and mechanics, by geology and physical geography, that the Deluge could not have been universal unless the laws of all nature had been suspended. With this error vanishes that of requiring room in the Ark for all the species of animals, or indeed for any beyond those which the family of Noah would care to preserve, chiefly for domestic use and sacrifice. Reduced to this form, the problem of the Ark's adaptation to its use is narrowed within a compass that need not create alarm; and, feeling no necessity to work out its details, we trust more to the definite dimensions given in an authentic history than to the corrections of the acutest arithmetician. And in all similar cases, when the historical credibility of a record is once established on the broad grounds of evidence, we can afford to await the explanation of minute difficulties, without permitting them to unsettle our belief.*

A respite of 120 years, during which Noah, as a preacher of righteousness, reproved the world both by word and example, produced no amendment; and, even during the building of the Ark, they went on "eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, and regarded it not, till the day that Noah entered into the Ark, and the flood came and took them all away." The date of this memorable epoch was handed down by Noah to the very day. It was in the 600th year of Noah's life, on the 10th day of the 2nd month (B.C. 2349, Ussher), that he entered into the Ark with his wife, his three sons and their wives, with the clean animals by sevens, and the unclean animals by pairs, and God shut them all in. After a solemn pause of seven days, the sources of the earth's waters and the clouds of the sky were broken up at once, and poured forth their floods for 40 days and nights, covering the whole surface of the earth. The surprise and terror of this sudden judgment form a theme for the poet and the painter. It is enough for us to see in that unbroken sheet of water the first end of a world ruined by sin, and in the Ark, which floats alone upon its surface, not only the promise of a new history for our race, but the far higher type suggested by the Apostle Peter, of the salvation which God ever grants to those

* It may be observed, that the definite measures of the Ark prove that a metrical system was already invented.

who remain faithful amidst an ungodly world. The waters of the flood were at their height for 150 days; and as they began to abate, the Ark rested on some point of Mount Ararat, on the 17th day of the 7th month. It was not till the first day of the 10th month that the summits of the hills began to appear; and Noah waited 40 days more before he made those well-known experiments with the raven and dove, which, besides furnishing a fruitful theme for poetry, seem to indicate his observance of the Sabbath.

At length, on the first day of the 601st year of his life (B.C. 2348, Ussher.), Noah removed the covering of the Ark, and looked out upon the earth now cleared of the flood; and on the 27th day of the 2nd month, at God's command, he left the Ark, with all that were in it. He celebrated his deliverance by a great burnt-offering of all kinds of clean animals; and God's acceptance of this sacrifice marks a new epoch in the history of our race. Standing by his own altar with his sons, about to go forth on to the renewed face of the earth, Noah's prophetic spirit might have anticipated the corruption which would soon call for the waters of another flood. But God assured him that the judgment was not to be repeated. The order of the seasons, and the produce of the earth, were secured by a Divine promise to the very end of time. Till that end, man was to live under the dispensation of God's forbearance, and so to work out his full destiny.

This promise was confirmed by the first of those *covenants*, or solemn agreements, by which it has pleased God to give a double security to our faith; and the remembrance of the covenant was perpetuated by the bright and beautiful token of the rainbow. It has been conjectured, that, till the time of the Flood, the earth was still watered by the abundant mists that prevailed before any extensive cultivation of its surface.* If so, the rainbow would be as new a source of joy, as the deluge itself had been of terror. But even if this hypothesis be rejected, and it be granted that the rainbow had often appeared before, it now received a new significance, which it has ever since borne, for the devout beholder.

The memory of the Noachic Deluge is preserved in the traditions of nearly every people of the earth; and most of the heathen mythologies have some kind of sacred ark. These traditions,

* This applies, of course, only to the countries known to the antediluvians. Geological evidence of rain elsewhere, and at another stage of the world's history, has no connexion with this statement.

which are, in most cases, far too minute to be explained by any mere local inundations, attest a common origin from Noah. It is remarkable, too, that they are simpler and more distinct in proportion as we approach the original seat of mankind. Thus, the Chaldæans, the people who formed the most ancient perhaps of all nations, placed a general deluge in the reign of Xisuthrus, whose alleged place in the succession of their kings (the tenth) corresponds to that of Noah among the generations of mankind. This tradition corresponds to the scriptural account, in the divine warning (by the god Kronos or Saturn),—the preservation of Xisuthrus and his family, with all kinds of animals, in a great ark,—the destruction of all the rest of mankind,—the thrice-repeated experiment with the birds, and the final resting of the ark on a mountain in Armenia. The Persian tradition is less clear than that which is found at the extremities of the world, among the Chinese in the East, and the Mexicans in the West. All are acquainted with the Greek legend of Deucalion and Pyrrha.

We do not consider it necessary to discuss the question of antediluvian longevity. There is nothing improbable in the enjoyment of great length of days in the first vigour of our race; and the Scripture certainly marks the shortening of human life as at once the fruit and the penalty of sin. We can see one great use of such longevity in the more rapid peopling of the earth, and another in the transmission of knowledge by a very few steps over a very long period. Thus, according to the numbers of our received text of the Bible, Adam was for more than 60 years the contemporary of Noah's father, Lamech; and Shem, the son of Noah, died only 24 years before the death of Abraham. Shem may therefore have related to Abraham what Lamech had heard from Adam. But, in accepting these genealogies as possessing historic credibility, we are not bound down to any definite chronological results obtained by adding together their numbers, which differ, as we have already seen, in the different chief copies of the Scripture. The same remark applies to the Post-diluvian patriarchs.

CHAPTER III.

THE POST-DILUVIAN WORLD, FROM THE DELUGE TO THE DISPERSION; OR, MAN'S SECOND PROBATION AND FALL.

"Heroes and Kings, obey the charm,
Withdraw the proud high-reaching arm,—
There is an oath on high,
That ne'er on brow of mortal birth
Shall blend again the crowns of earth,
Nor, in according cry,

"Her many voices mingling, own
One tyrant Lord, one idol throne:
But to His triumph soon
He shall descend, who rules above,
And the pure language of His love
All tongues of men shall tune."—KEBLE.

THE NOACHIC PRECEPTS—ABSTINENCE FROM BLOOD—SENTENCE AGAINST MURDER—THE PRINCIPLE OF LAW AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE MAGISTRATE—ORIGIN OF CIVIL SOCIETY—THE PATRIARCHAL CONSTITUTION—AUTHORITY OF THE PATRIARCH BOTH CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS—REMNANTS OF THE PATRIARCHAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT—INCIDENTS OF THE POST-DILUVIAN HISTORY—NOAH'S FALL, AND HAM'S INSULT—THE PROPHETIC CURSE AND BLESSINGS ON HAM, SHEM, AND JAPHETH—DIVISION OF THE EARTH IN THE TIME OF PELEG—MONARCHY OF NIMROD—CITY AND TOWER OF BABEL—CONFUSION OF TONGUES.

WHEN Noah and his family left the Ark, to people the world anew, God repeated to them the blessing He had pronounced on Adam: they were to be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and to subdue all living creatures beneath their government. But their new state was marked by new laws. All the animals were granted to them for food, as the herbs and fruits had been granted to Adam; nor were they restricted to those afterwards defined by the Mosaic law as clean. No reason is given for this change; but, coupling the principle, that laws are made for existing practices, with what we know of the antediluvian age, we may view it as an example of God's condescension in permitting practices which it would have been hard for human nature to give up. This opinion seems confirmed by the emphatic prohibition against the use of blood for food. We may well believe that, in those antediluvian feasts to which our Lord refers, not only was animal food indulged in, but even blood was not refrained from, especially by a people who set at naught other first laws of nature. And, as the use of bloody banquets marks a

sanguinary disposition, this prohibition of blood is naturally associated with the second of the new laws, that against murder, the crime which had stained the antediluvian age, from Cain to his descendant Lamech. Murder was not now first made a crime. The blood of the murdered had from the first cried to God from the very earth that had drunk it up. The new point in the law seems to have been this: under the previous dispensation the murderer was left in the hands of God, a devoted being, whom man must not touch, even in the way of vengeance; but now he was handed over to human law. "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, *by man* shall his blood be shed." The reason is given for the murderer's death, that he had defaced God's image in his victim; and to enforce the sanctity of that image, even the beast who should kill a man must be put to death. Such are the first examples of positive law committed to the administration of man; for the law of the forbidden fruit was in the hands of God alone, who could alone enforce its penalty; and His law of labour carried with it its own penalty of want. The former, indeed, was not a law to regulate life, but a special trial to test the spirit of obedience. Henceforth, therefore, man lived under LAW, a dispensation which antediluvian lawlessness had proved necessary. The laws against murder and the eating of blood, and the authority of the civil magistrate to punish the criminal, may be regarded as the new code of the human race, under the name of the NOACHIC PRECEPTS. We are not to suppose that they include all the positive law of that early age. Marriage had been instituted from the first; and the recognition of civil authority, as a principle, would naturally include all that the common-sense of mankind regarded as needful for protecting life, property, and good order, and enforcing subjection to and reverence for God. Hence the Jews extended the Noachic precepts which were binding on Gentile proselytes to seven—the other four being the laws against idolatry, blasphemy, incest, and theft.

Thus the elements of civil society were established before the Family had grown into the State, forming what is called the PATRIARCHAL CONSTITUTION. And in this earliest form of social order we may observe the truth of Aristotle's great saying, that the State exists not merely that man may *live*, but that he may *live well*. By the first principles of nature and common-sense, the government was placed in the hands of the *Patriarch* (the *father-ruler*). It was ensured to Noah by his peculiar position and character. When it was called in question by his son's contempt,

he did not shrink from using his authority, even to the extent of a terrible prophetic curse. The same example shows that the patriarch's authority did not cease even when his sons had households of their own; for Ham was already the father of Canaan when he incurred his father's censure. And this rule continued throughout the patriarchal age. The first living ancestor had supreme jurisdiction over all the families descended from him; while each family respected also the government of its own immediate head. Thus it was with Abraham, as he dwelt in tents with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs of the promise given to him; but we also see Judah claiming the power of life and death over his daughter-in-law, while Jacob is still alive.

This patriarchal government was religious as well as civil. The patriarch was the priest. In this character Noah offered sacrifice; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob built altars, and called on the name of the Lord; and both heads of houses and civil rulers are found sacrificing even after the institution of a priesthood. It included also the right of dividing the inheritance, which we find exercised by Noah, in his prophetic blessing and curse on his three sons, by Abraham, by Isaac, and by Jacob, the last going so far as to choose the heir of his own heir in Ephraim, the younger son of Joseph. But in the exercise of this power, there was a customary rule: the inheritance was divided into equal parts, of which the heir received two and the other sons one.

In the Book of Job, which, whatever be its date, preserves the record of primitive patriarchal institutions, we see the system still in action after the establishment of cities. In his own family Job rules over his sons, though they had their own separate households; while, in the city, he sits in the gateway with the other elders, receiving the honour due to his station, and administering justice in his turn. Thus did the pure patriarchal government gradually merge into that of patriarchal elders, the primitive type of aristocracy. But neither this, nor the more artificial forms of civil government, have entirely superseded the patriarchal: it still exists where it is suited to the state of society. The Arab descendants of Abraham still live in tents, with the government of the oldest living ancestor scarcely changed; and savage tribes scattered over the earth, especially those in the nomad state, have preserved this relic of their primitive condition.

The incidents of post-diluvian history are few; and these few bear witness to the renewed corruption of mankind. We are not told how long the rescued family lingered among the highlands of

Armenia, before they dispersed themselves over the primeval forests and the alluvial plains, which they had to subdue before they could replenish. Noah began the life of a husbandman, and planted a vineyard; and the righteous man, who had escaped the lusts of the old world, was overcome by shameful intoxication. Then it was proved that in his family, as in that of Adam, there was the distinction between the evil and the good: the wanton insolence of Ham, and the filial piety of Shem and Japheth, received the curse and the blessings which described the destiny of the peoples that have sprung from them. Ham is cursed in the person of his son Canaan,* as the ancestor of the race most hostile to the chosen family, with the doom of servitude to his brethren, and especially to Shem. The inheritance of religious blessing is assigned to Shem; and to Japheth is promised, besides great temporal prosperity, an ultimate share in the privileges of Shem. In this blessing we can clearly see the general outline of the later history of the Hebrew family and the European nations.

Ten generations are enumerated from Noah to Abraham, in the fifth of which (the time of *Peleg*, about B.C. 2247, Ussher), the earth was divided among its several nations. This division was the result, not of quiet diffusion, but of a violent catastrophe, brought on by the increase of corruption, which took the form of political ambition. A difficulty always exists in the arrangement of events where genealogies are our only guide; but remembering that steps are often omitted in these genealogies, which now become more ethnical than personal, we may not improbably connect the monarchy established at Babel by Nimrod, the son of Cush, the son of Ham, with the attempt to build the city and tower of the same name in the Plain of Shinar. There is at all events an obvious moral connexion in these enterprises. As Ham's outrage upon his father was the first great personal offence against patriarchal authority, so Nimrod's kingdom was the first open revolt from the patriarchal government; and the enterprise of the Babel builders was an organized revolt in the same spirit, defying even the power of God himself.

There can be little doubt that these builders were of the Cushite branch of the family of Ham, and that the Plain of Shinar was the great level of Lower Mesopotamia, or Chaldæa, and the site of the city that spot on the banks of the Euphrates, which has

* This special mention of Canaan is a decisive proof that the prophecy has nothing to do with the slavery of the negro races.

ever since borne the name of Babel or Babylon. Their very manner of building, with brick and bitumen,* is still seen in the ruins of edifices on the same spot. Dismissing the childish idea that they meant to build a brick tower as a refuge from an inundation, which they must have known would wash it away, we see in their city, with its lofty citadel, the first attempt to establish a great universal empire, in the might of which their impiety aspired to resist God himself, and to prevent the weakness which their dispersion would cause.†

Of the religious aspect of the movement we are told no more than what is implied in the impiety of the design; but there is ground for tracing in it a positive form of idolatry. The towers of Chaldæa, of the same type as that of Babel, seem always to have been temples; and their peculiar construction was adapted to that early form of idolatry called Sabæism, or the worship of the heavenly bodies. The earliest traditions represent Nimrod as an idolater, and the same is positively affirmed in Scripture of the forefathers of the Israelites, when they dwelt in Chaldæa. Perhaps the temple was the first part of the design, and the city grew up around it.

In the fate of this project we see the sentence which God has declared in every age against every attempt at universal monarchy by those acts of providence which form the most conspicuous events in history. The design was frustrated by a confusion of speech among the builders, produced by Divine intervention, which caused them no longer to understand each other, and so forced them to abandon the work; and hence the name of the city, Babel (*confusion*). The Chaldæans themselves appear to have found the etymology of the name in their own language, as *Bab-il, the gate of the god Il* (Kronos or Saturn), and some regard the Hebrew etymology as only a coincidence; but it is unsafe to use etymological arguments concerning a period before languages were cast into their later types. We are not informed what became of the tower. Jewish tradition has tried to make up for the silence of Scripture by relating its miraculous destruction; while antiquarians have sought for its remains in the ruined towers of Chaldæa, both near to and far from its proper site. The *Birs Nimroud*, which stands at some distance from the right bank of the Euphrates, is now certainly

* This is the most probable interpretation of the word translated *slime* in our version: but the mud of the alluvial plain was also used for cement.

† The motive thus assigned, and their movement from their original seats, prove that the necessity for a dispersion was already obvious even to themselves.

identified with the Temple of Nebo at Borsippa (probably the Chaldæan *Barsip*, or *Tower of Tongues*), which the Talmudists identified with the Tower of Babel. This temple of the "Seven Lights of the Earth" was rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar, who included it within the circuit of Babylon. The dedicatory inscription of that king, lately discovered among the ruins, contains the following passage, as deciphered by Oppert: *—"A former king built it (they reckon forty-two ages), but he did not complete its head. Since a remote time, people had abandoned it, *without order expressing their words.* Since that time the earthquake and the thunder had dispersed its sun-dried clay, the bricks of the casing had been split, and the earth of the interior had been scattered in heaps." This is a proof that the story is no mere Hebrew tradition. The simple statement of the Bible, that they *left off building the city*, would naturally suggest a break between the original and the later Babylon, during which the brick buildings would have fallen into ruin through neglect. At all events, such a break exists between the earlier and later history of Babylon in our own knowledge.

That there was some connexion between this event and the diversities of human language and the dispersion of the nations, is clearly stated in the sacred narrative; but this is not assigned as their only cause. It is sufficient confirmation of the account, that the languages of the earth do bear traces of a violent dislocation, as well as of a progressive development; and what remains may be left to the inquiries of Comparative Philology and Ethnography.

* See Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. iii., pp. 1554-5.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DIVISION OF THE NATIONS.

"God, that made the world and all things therein, hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation."—St. Paul, in *Acts*, xvii. 24—26.

"We know what modifies *form*. Change of latitude, climate, sea-level, conditions of subsistence, conditions of clothing, and so forth, do this; all, or nearly all, such changes being physical. We know too, though in a less degree, what modifies *language*. New wants gratified by objects with new names, new ideas requiring new terms, increased intercourse between man and man, tribe and tribe, nation and nation, island and island, oasis and oasis, country and country, do this. It is our business to learn from history what does all this."—Latham, *Comparative Philology*, p. 708.

THE COMMON ORIGIN OF MANKIND ATTESTED BY THE POSITIVE STATEMENT OF SCRIPTURE — COLLATERAL EVIDENCE OF SCIENCE, ESPECIALLY FROM LANGUAGE — TRIPARTITE ORIGIN OF THE NATIONS—GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE LANDS FIRST PEOPLED—CENTRAL POINT IN THE HIGHLANDS OF ARMENIA—THE TRIPLE CONTINENT OF EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA, VIEWED IN ITS PHYSICAL FORMATION—THE NORTHERN PLAIN, THE GREAT DESERT ZONE, THE MOUNTAIN CHAINS, AND THE SUBJACENT COUNTRIES—BASIN OF THE MEDITERRANEAN—OUTLYING PARTS OF THE WORLD—DISTRIBUTION OF THE SEVERAL RACES FROM THE ORIGINAL CENTRE IN ARMENIA—THE MOSAIC HISTORY GIVES ONLY THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PROCESS—FORM OF THE RECORD ETHNIC RATHER THAN PERSONAL—THE ARYAN AND SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND RACES — CONNEXION OF SHEMITE AND HAMITE RACES—GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE THREE FAMILIES—JAPHETH—HAM—SHEM—LANGUAGES OF THE RESPECTIVE RACES — MODERN CLASSIFICATION BY RACES OR VARIETIES OF MANKIND — THE CAUCASIAN — THE TURANIAN — THE NIGRITIAN—THE MALAY — THE AMERICAN — MEANING OF "ABORIGINAL" TRIBES—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In the age before the Flood, the human race had completed its first great experiment. It had failed in the attempt to achieve the end of its creation as a single united people. The time was now come for that further step which had been contemplated from the first in the Divine command—to replenish the earth and subdue it. The process by which this was effected is an object of enquiry only second in interest to the origin of the race; and the enquiry must be pursued in accordance with the principles we have laid down. The Scriptural account must be regarded not as an expression of the crude opinions of an age, though early, yet long subsequent to the division of mankind into races, but as an historical record, derived from the testimony of those who witnessed the process. This testimony is independent of any question about inspiration; but when an inspired teacher like St. Paul makes the same statements with a directly religious object, we have the highest authority for accepting the unity of the species as an

undoubted fact in the history of man. That the magnificent Caucasian and the debased Hottentot, the noble Red Indian and the woolly Negro, should have sprung from the same stock, may seem incredible to that mere external view which is no safe test of truth. Science may discuss the problem unfettered by the authority, which she will in the end assuredly confirm. Historical criticism will first follow direct testimony, but not without interpreting that testimony by the light of science. The only direct testimony that we possess is the record in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis, to which the early traditions of the several nations scarcely add anything possessing the value of an independent authority. The further aid rendered by science consists in the investigation of national affinities and differences, partly by physical characteristics, but chiefly by the test of language. The latter field of enquiry has been cultivated in our own day with the greatest diligence and success; and, after making allowance for certain artificial changes, of which the record has been generally preserved, Comparative Grammar has been established as the surest guide to Comparative Ethnology.

Two facts stand out in the very forefront of the Scriptural account of the division of the nations—that all were derived from the common stock of Noah in three great divisions, having his three sons for their several ancestors; and that, for a long time after the Flood, "the whole earth was of one language and of one speech." * That great dislocation of this one speech, of which the memory was preserved in the name of Babel, gave a decisive impulse to the separation, which may, nevertheless, have begun before; and its time is fixed to the age of Peleg, in the fifth generation from Noah (B.C. 2247), whose very name (Peleg = *division*) commemorated the division.†

The tripartite descent of all the nations from Shem, Ham, and Japheth is twice plainly stated: "These are the three sons of Noah, and of them was the whole earth overspread." ‡ "These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations: and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood." § Before comparing the list of the nations descended from them with our later knowledge of the peoples of the earth, it is necessary to take a general survey of the lands over which the posterity of Noah's sons began to spread.

The highlands of Armenia—for these, in the geography of

* Genesis, xi. 1. † Ib. x. 25. ‡ Ib. ix. 19. § Ib. x. 32.

Scripture, are meant by the mountains of Ararat, on which the Ark rested—form at once the most natural centre for the distribution of the human race, and the most convenient station from which to view the tripartite continent of Europe, Africa, and Asia. And at once, in thus naming it, we must insist on a more natural division than that into three continents, which, besides, was by no means uniformly accepted by the ancients. The highland region of Armenia is the central knot of the mountain system which forms the skeleton of Western Asia, and whose chains are connected with the great ranges that stretch through the whole length of Asia and of Europe. North of these ranges a vast expanse of land extends with a general slope down to the Arctic Ocean, intersected by great rivers and covered with forests, swamps, and lakes. It is broken, near the centre, by the transverse chain of the Oural Mountains, and terminates on the north-west in the highlands of Scandinavia. With this portion of the earth's surface history has for a long time little or no concern, though destined to be vastly influenced by causes there at work. It lies apart, the rough cradle of those hardy races which were prepared, through a course of ages, to pour down like another deluge on the effete civilization of the Old World. The central and southern portions of the triple continent are again subdivided by marked physical characters. A broad belt of sandy desert, on the greater part of which rain never falls, begins on the western shore of Africa, below the parallel of 30° N. latitude, and sweeps across North Africa, Arabia, and Persia, gradually rising up to the table-land of Iran, beyond which it again spreads out into the vast steppes of Tartary, and reaches nearly to the shores of the Yellow Sea. The valley of the Nile, the basin of the Red Sea, and that of the Tigris and Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, are depressions in the surface of this great desert belt, which is also broken by several oases, where springs of water, and sometimes a considerable stream, nourish valleys, whose scanty verdure seems luxuriant by contrast with the wastes around. The part of this great tract which lies east of the Tigris and Euphrates valley, forming the table-land of Iran, is bordered on the north and south by mountain-chains, which run out from the central highlands of Armenia. The northern range, skirting the southern shore of the Caspian, is prolonged eastward to the Indian Caucasus (or *Hindoo Koosh*), where another great knot is formed. The southern range, skirting the eastern margin of the Tigris valley and the Persian Gulf, ceases on the west side of the Delta of the Indus, whence the transverse chain of the

Soliman Mountains runs up northwards to the Hindoo Koosh. From this new central knot the first chain is continued in the Himalaya and its branches, at the feet of which lie the two great Indian peninsulas and the vast land of China; while another great range, which may be included under the general name of *Altai*, stretches north-east to the very extremity of the continent, along the margin of the steppes of Western Tartary and of the great northern Siberian plain. These two ranges support between them the great plateau of Mongolia, which forms the north-eastern part of the great desert zone.

The course of the mountain chains west of the Armenian highlands affords a striking example of the influence of physical geography on national character. Two ranges, corresponding to the two already described as running to the east, extend westward along the northern and southern shores of Asia Minor, ending abruptly in the western headlands of that peninsula. Their prolongations are lost amidst the European ranges which, sweeping to the north-west, make room for the basin of the Mediterranean, which is bounded on the east by the chains of Amanus, Lebanon, and the hills that prolong them to the south. The southern shore of the Mediterranean is enclosed along half its extent by the slopes of the giant Atlas, which forms the northern boundary of the Great Desert (the *Sahara*); and along the eastern half the Desert itself reaches to the sea-shore, except where it is backed up by hills whose terraces slope down to the Mediterranean, as in the fair peninsula of Cyrene. Thus the shores of this beautiful inland sea are formed by mountain slopes and deeply-indented peninsulas, enjoying the most delicious climate, and affording the greatest facilities for navigation. It is a remarkable feature of the northern shores of the Mediterranean, that the southern faces of the great mountain chains generally fall abruptly to the sea or the intervening plains, while on the north they descend with a long and gradual slope. Hence the lands on their southern side lie within a small compass, open to the great highway of commerce, and sheltered by the steep mountain walls behind them; while on the other side a vast unmanageable mass of land, exposed to a northern climate, presents far greater obstacles to the progress of civilization. The same is true, though on a larger scale, of the Himalayas as well as of the Alps. In fine, the great chain of Caucasus, backing up the Armenian highlands on the north, and extending westward to the Crimea, encloses, with the opposite mountains of Asia Minor and Thrace, the basin of the

Euxine, from whose north-western shores the steppes of Southern Russia slope up to the great Sarmatian plain. The islands which fringe the coast of this great tripartite continent need not be described. The part of Africa south of the Great Desert has only the remotest connexion with ancient history; and the New Worlds of America and Oceania may be left for the present out of view. Our plan is, first to obtain a general idea of the earliest distribution of the human race according to the list given in the tenth chapter of Genesis, aided by the researches of Ethnology, and then to suffer the several nations, except those with which the thread of the history remains, to sink out of our view, till they reappear on the stage of history in their connexion with the others.

This general view of the physical geography of the ancient world may prepare us to see the fitness of the Armenian highlands to be the central cradle of the human race. Forming the highest land of Western Asia, the region lies between the Caspian, the Euxine, the Mediterranean, and the Persian Gulf, which afford access to all quarters of the ancient world. In its heart are the sources of the Euphrates, whose course forms the track, first to Syria and the Mediterranean, and then to the plains of Babylonia and the Persian Gulf; while the Tigris, rising on the southern slopes of its mountains, takes a more direct course to the same point. One of these two paths may have been followed by the first great migration on record, that of the Babel builders, when they journeyed eastward to the plain of Shinar or Babylonia. The valleys of the chain which skirts the basin of the Tigris on the east formed a path by which a hardy mountain race might spread over the table-land of Iran, and thence descend into the plains of Northern India; and in these regions we find a race which assumed, not unworthily, the name of *noble* (the *Aryans*). From the Persian Gulf the way lies open, east and south, to all the coasts and islands of the great Indian Ocean; while the coast of Syria, besides giving immediate access to Egypt, the shores of the Red Sea, and the southern margin of the Mediterranean, looked over the waters of that easily navigable sea to all the lands of Southern Europe. To these countries there was another access by the valleys which descend from Armenia to Asia Minor, along both shores of that peninsula, and by the islands which form stepping-stones across the Ægean into Greece, as well as over the narrow streams of the Bosporus and Hellespont into Thrace. The shores of the Euxine might be reached by the valleys of the Cyrus and the Phasis, whence the way lay open round the foot of the

Caucasian chain into the Crimea and the vast plain of Northern Europe; while the Cyrus and the Araxes also led to the Caspian, across and around which was the route to Central and Northern Asia. Without entering, at present, into the question of the peopling of America, we need only notice the clear physical possibility of a passage from the one continent to the other, both across Behring's Strait and along the chain of the Aleutian Isles. Thus the way lay open on every side; and on nearly every side fertile plains, watered by abounding rivers, invited men down from the mountain valleys into a milder and more productive climate.

Though the descendants of Noah's three sons spread ultimately over the wide regions thus described, we must not expect to find, in the Mosaic account, more than the commencement of the process. Its true historic character necessarily confines it to the then known parts of the world; though inferences may be fairly drawn respecting the progress of population over regions still unknown. The attempt to find all countries of the ancient world in the list has raised needless difficulties. A very unfounded suspicion has also been thrown upon the whole account on the ground of its form. By those who started from the assumption that it was intended for a genealogy of personal names, the discovery that many of these names are strictly national was supposed to reduce it to a mere ethnical speculation. But the only wonder is that the ethnic character of many of these names (such as those ending in *im*, the Hebrew plural, and particularly the dual *Mizraim*, for the *two Egypts*, Upper and Lower) should ever have been overlooked.* Though the writer starts with a genealogy, in the case of the three sons of Noah, the whole scope of his account is manifestly ethnic, and it is fruitless to enquire where the one form ends and the other begins. In determining the localities to which the names should be referred, we have in some cases the guidance of historical geography, and in others a very striking similarity of names; aided by a general notion, derived from the account itself and from the science of Ethnology, as to what parts of the ancient world were peopled by the three races.

The most certain result of Comparative Philology is, that the languages—and therefore the nations†—of Europe and South-

* A striking case occurs in verses 15—18, where the one form passes into the other:—"And Canaan begat Sidon his firstborn, and Heth, and the *Jebusite*, and the *Amorite*, &c." In the next verse, the boundary of the *Canaanites* is given, from Sidon, which now stands for the city.

† It may be necessary here to guard against an objection. "Blood and language, upon a whole," says Dr. Latham, "coincide but slightly. The Arab blood of the

western Asia form two great families, of which the one is named Indo-European, Indo-Germanic, Aryan or Japhetic, and the other Semitic.* The range of the former may be described by a zone, extending S.E. and N.W. from the plain of Northern India across the table-land of Iran, the highlands of Armenia, and at least a part of Asia Minor, into Europe, of which it covers nearly the whole surface. There is little difficulty in referring to parts of this region the races named in Genesis as the posterity of Japheth. This zone leaves on its western margin, for the most part well-defined by dividing mountains, the countries which form the south-western corner of Asia—namely, the Tigris and Euphrates valley, Syria with the adjacent part of Asia Minor, and the peninsula of Arabia. This region, which is the seat of the Semitic languages, as determined by Comparative Grammar, contains the countries which we know, from the whole tenor of Scripture history, to have been peopled chiefly by the race of Shem.

The third race offers more difficulty. Comparative Grammar has not yet established a distinct Hamitic family of languages; but it has proved the difficulty of referring the dialects of Egypt and some neighbouring countries to either of the other families. But the history most indubitably connects Ham with Egypt, his son Canaan with the adjacent district of Palestine, and others of his descendants with Africa on the west, and Arabia on the east, of Egypt. One main source of difficulty, perhaps, arises from a sacrifice of truth to symmetry, in the too eager search for a definite tripartite division of the nations. There seems to have been a much closer connexion (we do not say, affinity) between the races of Shem and Ham, than between them and the race of Japheth. This is already intimated in Noah's prophetic blessing. While Japheth, who seems to have been the elder son, stands apart, "enlarged" with his vast temporal inheritance, Shem, the heir of the spiritual promise, is placed in direct antagonism with Ham, whom he is to reduce to subjection. Accordingly we find a perpetual conflict between the two races, and a perpetual intrusion of the one into

millions who speak Arabic [in Africa] is at a minimum;" and he mentions slavery as a great cause of the intermixture of languages. This must be carefully borne in mind in all speculations on ethnic affinities based on the existing forms of language. But when we are able to ascend to the original speech of a people, we may safely infer their race from their language. In our own islands, for example, the use of English by the Cornish, Welsh, Scotch Highlanders, and Irish, does not tempt us to refer them to the Teutonic race; but our knowledge that their native dialects are Cambrian and Gaelic leads us rightly to class them with the Celtic race.

* This form of the word, though originating in a difficulty with the *sh*, has been so naturalized by use, that the more proper *Shemitic* seems uncouth.

the seats of the other. The very Land of Promise, divinely given to the chosen descendants of Shem, was first possessed by the race of Canaan, the son of Ham. The two races came into conflict on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf, and in the plains of Babylonia, where Nimrod, the son of the Hamite Cush, set up his throne in a country which afterwards belonged to the Semitic race; and hence arose the double application of the name Cush to Babylonia, as well as to Ethiopia above Egypt, to which it properly refers. More than this: according to the Hebrew method of stating geographical facts in a genealogical form, names that are purely local are inserted as if they had an ethnical meaning. Thus in Arabia, where certain districts were occupied at one time by a Semitic race, at another by an Hamitic, the very same names appear in both genealogies, indicating the intrusion of the one family into the possessions of the other; the Cushite races of Sheba and Havilah appear as descendants of the Shemite Joktan in Arabia. The general conclusion is, that we must not expect to find the same marked distinction between the races and languages of Shem and Ham, as between them and the race of Japheth. We may probably view the ancient Egyptians as nearest to the pure type of a Hamite race. That this type is to be found in the negro is a prejudice as unfounded as the attempt to wrest Noah's prophecy of the subjection of the Canaanites to Israel into an argument for negro slavery.

Confining our attention within the probable limits of the knowledge of the time when the list was composed, the settlements of the three sons of Noah may be roughly described as forming three parallel zones;—Japheth, stretching from the highlands of Armenia, to the south-east, into the table-land of Iran, and to the west into Thrace and the Grecian peninsula and islands; Shem, occupying the middle belt, from the south-eastern part of Asia Minor * to the Persian Gulf, and most, if not all, of the peninsula of Arabia; and Ham, Egypt and Ethiopia, with the adjacent parts of Africa, as well as Palestine and the country round the head of the Red Sea.

The names of the tribes belonging to each of the three races are the following:—

I. The sons of JAPHETH.

1. GOMER; and his sons Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah. These are supposed to belong to the primeval seats of the race, in

* The Semitic and Aryan races were much mingled in this peninsula. In a very general sense, the River Halys may be named as a boundary between them.

the highlands of Armenia, and the centre of Asia Minor. *Togarmah* appears to be identified in Scripture with Armenia. As these are probably the races which ultimately spread north-westward over Europe, we cannot tell how far we have to look for them among existing nations; and a wide range is left open to speculation. The name of *Gomer* resembles that of the great Cimmerian or Cymric race, which is found both on the shores of the Euxine, where the Crimea still preserves its name, and in the extreme west of Europe. In *Ash-kenaz* some of the best authorities find the name of Asia, which was at first localized on the shores of the Euxine and in Asia Minor.* The extension of the *name* to the whole continent has no ethnical meaning; but the *race*, spreading to the north-west, is regarded by the authorities just referred to as the original of the Teutonic nations. *Riphath* has not been satisfactorily explained; Josephus says that the Paphlagonians were called of old Rhiphæans.

2. Magog is a name which occurs again in Scripture, with that of Gog, for some great and wild tribe, who fought on horseback with the bow, and came from a country adjacent to Togarmah, that is, Armenia (Ezekiel xxxviii. xxxix.). Ezekiel's description, as well as some ancient traditions preserved by the Arabians, point to the tribes north of the Caucasus, who were included by the Greeks under the general name of Scythians. But here great difficulties arise, partly from the very wide and indefinite range given by the classical writers to this name of Scythians, and partly from the movements of the tribes which have at various times displaced one another over the northern parts of Europe and Asia. Thus the name has come to denote two very distinct races; the one Japhetic, the other belonging to that great Turanian family of which we have still to speak. The former seem to be the *Magog* of Scripture, as they certainly are the Scythians of Herodotus and the other earlier Greek writers. They are the family whose chief branch, settled in the east and south-east of Europe, along the northern sides of the Black Sea, the Caucasus, and the Caspian, obtained the name of *Sarmatians* from one of their lesser tribes, when that of *Scythians* was transferred to the Turanian races of Northern and North-eastern Asia. Upon the whole, however, where ethnical affinities are so obscure, it may be safer to regard the name as merely geographical, which is certainly the case with some others in the list. According to a probable etymology, *Ma-gog* signifies the *People of Gog*, Gog being the prophetic name of a supposed prince of these tribes.

* See the article *Asia* in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

3. MADAI almost certainly represents the *Medes*, whom ethnical science has proved to be a branch of the Indo-European race.

4. JAVAN, with his sons Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim, peopled the "Isles of the Gentiles," a term which always seems to signify, in Scriptural geography, the western shores of Asia Minor and the countries on the European coasts of the Mediterranean. The name of *Javan*, stripped of the vowel points, is the same as the Greek ION, and Milton adopts the identification when he speaks of

"The *Ionian* gods of *Javan's* issue."

Nay, the very name of Japheth himself reappears in the Titan deity Iapetus, whose son Prometheus,

"*Japheth's* wiser son,"

is, in the oldest Greek mythology, the benefactor and preserver, nay, even the creator of the human race. The identification of *Elishah* with the Æolians, and of *Dodanim* with the Dardanians of Asia Minor (a people undoubtedly akin to the Greeks), and the placing of the *Kittim* in the island of Cyprus, are questions too minute to be more than barely mentioned. But the name of *Tarshish* is of wider interest. It often occurs in Scripture as that of a distant land, the commerce with which gave a name to the largest class of merchant vessels, like our "Indiamen;" and it is generally believed to denote either the lands in the western part of the Mediterranean in general, or in particular Spain, where the great maritime city of Tartessus was famous in the earliest times. It may, however, be doubted whether so distant a region would be within the writer's knowledge.

5. TUBAL has been placed in Pontus, on account of the resemblance of the name to the Tibareni.

6. MESHECH has been identified, for a similar reason, with the Moschi in Pontus.

7. TIRAS seems to represent the great nation of the Thracians.

In looking at the subject from the historical point of view, in the light of the earliest authentic documents, we cannot enter on the wider field of scientific enquiry into the origin and affinities of the ancient and existing nations of the world. But it may be well to indicate the results obtained by the modern science of Comparative Philology. The nations, ancient and modern, comprised in the great zone which has already been mentioned as extending from Northern India on the south-east to the western shores of Europe, are classified, according to their languages, in the following order:—

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ARYAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.*

Classes.	*Branches.*	*Dead Languages.*	*Living Languages.*
INDIC		Prakrit and Pali, Modern and Vedic Sanskrit	Dialects of India.
			,, the Gipsies.
IRANIC		Parsi, Pehlevi, Zend	,, Persia.
			,, Afghanistan.
			,, Kurdistan.
			,, Bokhara.
		Old Armenian	,, Armenia.
			,, Ossethi.
CELTIC	Cymric		,, Wales.
			,, Brittany.
		Cornish	,, +
	Gadhelic		,, Scotland.
			,, Ireland.
			,, Isle of Man.
ITALIC			,, Portugal.
		Oscan .. Umbrian .. Latin ..	,, Spain.
		Langued'oc.. Langued'cil..	,, Provence.
			,, France.
			,, Italy.
ILLYRIC			,, Wallachia.
			,, the Grisons.
HELLENIC		Dialects of Greek	,, Albania.
			,, Greece.
WINDIC	Lettic		,, Lithuania.
		Old Prussian	,, +
			,, Friesland and Livonia (Lettish).
	South-east Slavonic	Ecclesiastical Slavonic	,, Bulgaria.
			,, Russia.
			,, Illyria.
	West Slavonic		,, Poland.
		Old Bohemian	,, Bohemia.
		Polabian	,, Lusatia.
TEUTONIC	High German	Old High German and Middle High German	,, Germany.
	Low German	Gothic	+
		Anglo-Saxon	,, England.
		Old Dutch	,, Holland.
		Old Friesian	,, Friesland.
		Old Saxon	,, North Germany (Platt Deutsch).
	Scandinavian	Old Norse	,, Denmark.
			,, Sweden.
			,, Norway.
			,, Iceland.

* From Max Müller: *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 380.

That this table should include the dialects of races whose names are not seen in the Mosaic list, is quite consistent with the limits within which that list is confined. Representing the original diffusion of the families of mankind, it does not follow them into their later ramifications. One case demands more special notice, that of the language which stands first, both in the table and in the name Indo-European, and to which precedence has been generally given by modern scholars—the Indic. Neither this nor the chief dialects of the Iranic appear in the Mosaic list, just because they lay beyond its range; and perhaps, too, because of the well-known fact that the Aryan race in Northern India displaced an earlier Hamite or Turanian population. But there has been too great a tendency to regard the Indic as the prototype, and even the parent of the whole family; and hence some have even supposed that we must look for the cradle of the human race, not in the highlands of Armenia, but in those of the Hindoo Koosh. This precedence in antiquity, however, is more than can be justly claimed for the Indic dialects; and, in fact, the original centre of the race cannot be determined by such reasoning. "There is," says Dr. Latham, "a tacit assumption that, as the East is the probable quarter in which either the human species or the greater part of our civilization originated, everything came from it. But surely in this there is a confusion between the primary diffusion of mankind over the world at large, and those secondary movements by which, according even to the ordinary hypothesis, the Lithuanic came from Asia into Europe? A mile is a mile, and a league a league, from whichever end it is measured, and it is no further from the Danube to the Indus, than from the Indus to the Danube:" * and we may add, it is only half as far from Armenia to either.

II. The RACE OF HAM formed four great families, which can be identified pretty certainly with known races, though the minuter subdivisions involve considerable difficulties. They all belong to the dark-coloured variety of mankind; and the very name of Ham has such a signification, being akin to the word by which the Egyptians described the black soil of their own country.†

1. CUSH seems to be a generic term for the dark tribes of Africa, like the Greek name Ethiopian; but his numerous progeny extend also into Asia. The name of his eldest son, Seba, is identical with

* Latham, *Comparative Philology*, p. 612. The passage is part of an argument which we cannot, of course, discuss here—that Sanskrit, which is closely allied to the Slavonian dialects, is rather of European than of Asiatic origin.

† See Book II., chapter vi.

the most ancient name of the great island (as it was called) formed between the two branches of the Nile, the Astaboras and Astapus, and famous as the seat of the Ethiopian kingdom of Meroë. The following names of Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah (with his sons Sheba and Dedan), and Sabtechah, certainly belong in part to the peninsula of Arabia. Then follows one of the most interesting records of primeval history; how Nimrod, a descendant of Cush, began to be a mighty one in the earth, and was distinguished in early traditions as "the mighty hunter" (the phrase "before Jehovah" is a Hebrew pleonasm of intensity). There is little doubt that this epithet describes the forays which the first great conqueror named in history made upon the surrounding nations. He is expressly declared to have founded a kingdom, the seat of which is accurately defined. Its beginning was at Babel and the neighbouring cities of Erech, Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar; that is, the great plain of Babylonia, or, to speak more widely, Southern Mesopotamia. Thence he is supposed by some to have extended his empire northward along the valley of the Tigris into the land of Asshur (Assyria), where he built the cities of Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen.* It is, of course, quite indifferent whether these were the exploits of an individual, or, as seems more probable, of the dynasty he founded. The great fact established is this, that the earliest empire in the world was set up by a Cushite dynasty in the great plain of Babylonia. Traditions of the most ancient times, and the recently discovered records of the oldest Babylonian language, point to an original Cushite population in those regions, where the appellation of the race was long preserved in such names as Chuthah, Cossæi, Chuzistan or Susiana. For the Cushites peopled not only the plains of Mesopotamia, but the highlands of Susiana and Persia Proper; and we may follow the footsteps of the race still further to the east, across the deserts of Beloochistan and the Mekran, at the head of the Indian Ocean, to the peninsula of India; where, besides the evidence of language, their presence is shown by their characteristic temple-towers or pagodas. In these countries they were mingled with the Aryan race. Thus we see the Cushite race extending from

* That is, according to the reading of Genesis x. 11, now generally preferred; "out of that land he went into Assyria"—but it is not certain that the authorized translation is not right:—"out of that land went forth Asshur" (driven out by a Cushite invader), "and built Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen," a Semitic tetrapolis in Northern Mesopotamia, in contrast to the Cushite tetrapolis in the South. This Cushite kingdom is mixed up by historians with the early history of Assyria. See Book II., chapter ix.

above Egypt, across the south and east of Arabia, the plain of Babylonia or Chaldæa, and as far as India, in a sort of crescent: but the question still remains, what was the course of their migration? Did they ascend the Nile to their primitive seats in Nubia and Abyssinia, and then spread to the north-east, displacing an earlier Shemite population in Arabia and on the Tigris? Or did they first descend the valley of the Euphrates, and spread thence to the south-west? Or did they follow both courses? This question is one of the most difficult in the whole science of Ethnology. The results of modern research point, as we shall see hereafter, to the entrance of the Cushites into Chaldæa by way of the Persian Gulf; and this is supposed to be in accordance with the order in the Book of Genesis, which derives Nimrod from Cush, and not Cush from Nimrod. But, on the other hand, the narrative of the building of Babel appears rather to suggest that the Cushite peopling of Babylonia was effected by the more direct route, and that it was connected with the migration of the Babel builders. It would seem that the race of Ham, like the Cainites before the Flood, having cast off the patriarchal law, were the first to indulge their restless desire of wide dominion.

2. Mizraim, the name of Ham's second son, has a uniform geographical significance in Scripture. Even its dual form has its proper force, denoting Upper and Lower Egypt. The singular, Mazor, seems to have the same significance as Ham, and Egypt is expressly called in Scripture "the land of Ham" (Psalm lxxviii. 51; cv. 23; cvi. 22);—strong arguments for the opinion that Egypt, though named second in geographical order, was the chief seat of the Hamite race. Its extent along the valley of the Nile is defined by the unchanged physical limit of the first cataract; and the distinct characteristics of the ancient Egyptians are inscribed indelibly on their monuments. But they were surrounded by kindred tribes—Ludim, Anamim, Lehabim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, Casluhim (the progenitors of the Philistim), and Caphtorim. It seems that all these, as we know for certain of the Philistines, were colonies sent forth by the primitive race of Mizraim; and that they are enumerated in a geographical order, from west to east. The Ludim (or Lud) are mentioned in several passages of Scripture as serving in the armies of Egypt: but a difficulty arises from the twofold use of the name; for besides the Mizraite Lud or Ludim, there was a Shemite Lud, probably the Lydians. Of the Anamim we have no certain knowledge; but the Lehabim (elsewhere called Lubim) seem to be without doubt the Rebu of the

Egyptian monuments, and the Libyans of the Greeks, in the narrower sense. Their ancient dependence on the Egyptians is stated by Manetho as an historical fact. The Naphtuhim dwelt close to Egypt on the west. The Pathrusim, Casluhim, and Caphtorim were probably settled in the Delta itself. The parenthesis, which describes the origin of the Philistines, seems to be misplaced, for this people are elsewhere uniformly described as an offshoot of the Caphtorim. They were the only one of the Mizraite colonies which extended into Asia, and their affinity with the Egyptians should be remembered in studying Jewish history. The Caphtorim were not improbably an old race, closely akin to the Cushites, who dwelt in Egypt before its final settlement by its historical inhabitants. Their name seems to be connected with that of Coptos, and to contain the old root which is preserved in the modern name of the Egyptian people and language, and in the Greek appellation of the country (Ae-gyptus = the land of Copt). Retiring to the Delta, the Caphtorim seem to have sent forth colonies, not only to the adjacent maritime plain of Philistia, but across the Mediterranean to the south-west shores of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands. The old Leleges and Carians, as well as the Cretans, had a close affinity with the Philistines, especially if the last two of these three peoples be rightly identified with the Tok-Karu and the Khairetana (the Hebrew Cherethim), who appear on the Egyptian monuments as allies of the Philistines. They are evidently a race cognate to the Egyptians, but distinguished from them by some marked peculiarities.

3. Phut, the third son of Ham, is also often mentioned in the prophetic Scriptures as allied with the Egyptians. The name corresponds with that of a nomad people, Petu (*bowmen*), which occurs on the monuments. It seems probable that they were the Nubians, and this would account for their being mentioned next after Mizraim, as Nubia was always a dependency of Egypt.

4. Canaan is the last-named of the sons of Ham, but the best known to the Hebrew author, who not only gives a full list of the Canaanite tribes, but an exact description of their territories, from the borders of Egypt and the plain of Sodom and Gomorrah on the south, to the city of Sidon and the land of Hamath (the valley of the Orontes) on the north; thus including the whole of the Holy Land and some of the adjacent parts of Phœnicia and Syria, which were afterwards peopled by the race of Shem.

The illustration of this family by Comparative Philology is an enquiry as yet in its infancy; all that can at present be said with

safety is that some progress has been made towards the recognition of a distinct class of Hamitic languages. The tendency of modern research is to show that, as on the one hand the race of Ham led the way in material civilization, and consequently in the changes of language which it calls for, and as on the other hand their civilization took more and more a Semitic form of development, so their languages will be found to constitute an intermediate link between the primitive undeveloped Turanian and the Semitic. Some philologers even go so far as to doubt whether the Semitic family of languages should not rather be called Hamitic. But, in truth, little success can be expected in the attempt to classify languages according to the three races, since the chief modifying causes, which have moulded languages into their existing forms, are long subsequent to the original partition of mankind. The ancient language of Egypt, and the Coptic derived from it, have perhaps the best claim to represent the Hamitic family; but it is now clear that both the people of Egypt, and their language, contained a large infusion of the Nigritian element.

The characteristics of the race may perhaps be best seen in the traditions and monuments of their civilization. Their great work was to make material nature subserve their power and pomp, to found great empires, and to resist the inroads of nomad races. They reared those massive works of grand and sombre architecture, which still excite our admiration in Egypt, Babylonia, and Southern Arabia, as well as in the little we know of the earliest monuments of Phœnicia. Indeed, the principle recently propounded by Mr. Fergusson, though often partially recognized before,* of using prevailing styles of architecture as a test of race, may be safely applied, if in any case, to the family of Ham. Viewed in this light, the wondrous legends of the old Arabian kings who, in their marvellous palaces, dared to defy the Divine power, till sudden destruction fell upon them from heaven, may be traditions not entirely imaginary. In every land this material grandeur yielded partially, and in most altogether, before the spiritual power and the active energy of the sons of Shem and Japheth. The material civilization of the world was *begun* by the race of Ham, *ennobled* and put to the highest uses by the race of Shem, and, if the phrase may be allowed, *popularized* and made the handmaid of energetic progress by the race of Japheth, to whom Noah's prophecy gave the highest development of worldly greatness.

* As in the comparisons frequently made between the temples of India and Egypt.

III. The Sons of Shem are named last in the list, probably as being the chosen race, with whom the main stream of the sacred history abides. They occupied a comparatively small territory, shut in between the wide possessions of Japheth on the north, and those of Ham on the south. This fact seems to suggest, from the very first, that their destiny was not so much to overspread the earth, as to exhibit, on their allotted portion of it, the dealings of divine Providence with one part of mankind as a pattern of the rest. Two stages are clearly marked, in the ethnic genealogy, by the description of Shem as "the father of all the children of Eber:" the latter, as the head of the most important subdivision of the race, is thus only second in importance to Shem, the ancestor of the whole. As in the Hamite races, so here there seems to be a geographical order in the enumeration, which proceeds from south-east to north-west along the highlands which extend from the head of the Persian Gulf through Armenia into Asia Minor. Aram is mentioned last, as lying south of the curved line thus formed.

1. Elam, a name preserved in that of the Elymæi, belongs to the mountains which separate the table-land of Iran from the Persian Gulf and the lower part of the Tigris valley, including also a portion of these lowlands. It corresponds in general to the Susiana of later geographers. This people, at the extremity of the Semitic chain, came into contact on the east with the Japhetic Persians, with whom they are sometimes confounded, while on the other side they were pressed upon by the Cushite invaders. The result was their ultimate reduction to a mountain tribe, comparatively insignificant in numbers, but famed as archers both in secular and sacred history. The early importance of their country is attested by the title of "King of Elam" given to the great Cushite sovereign, Chedorlaomer.

2. Asshur, the great Assyrian nation, had its abode in the upper valleys of the Tigris; where having been for a time subdued by the Chaldæan monarchy of Nimrod, it became the seat of the first great Semitic monarchy after that of Solomon.

3. Arphaxad is the name both of a person and of a race. As the eldest son of Shem (born two years after the flood), we should naturally expect to find his progeny near the primeval home of the race; and there are good reasons for placing them in the southern part of the Armenian highlands, about the sources of the Tigris. One intervening step of the genealogy, Salah, leads from Arphaxad to Eber, the common ancestor of the Hebrews and the Semitic Arabs, who were descended respectively from his two sons, Peleg

and Joktan. The significance of the name Eber seems to point to a home "on the other side" of the Euphrates; and this agrees both with the position of Chaldæa, the native country of Abraham, and the statement of Joshua to the Israelites, that their fathers had dwelt in the days of their idolatry, "beyond the flood," that is, the waters of the Euphrates. While the personal genealogy of the chosen race is traced down from Peleg, through Reu, Serug, and Nahor, to Terah the father of Abram, Joktan is described as the father of the numerous Arabian tribes, whose dwellings are defined as extending "from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the east." The latter is almost certainly the modern Zafari, a port in the east of Yemen, and formerly a great seat of the Indian and African trade. Hence their settlements were in the south of the peninsula, where the traces of their power are found in history. Their chief tribe was that of Sheba (the Sabæans of classical geography), who very early established a great monarchy in the south-west corner of the peninsula. The dominion passed from them to the Himyarites (the Homeritæ of the Greeks), who are not mentioned in the Mosaic list. They seem to have been, in fact, the chief subdivision of the Sabæan tribe. Their still extant inscriptions attest the close connection between the Semitic population and that Cushite element which spread, as we have already seen, over these regions, and which has left here, as in the valleys of the Tigris and the Nile, the traces of its presence and power in its giant monuments. But the limitation of the Joktanite Arabs to the south of the peninsula seems to describe only their later possessions. At a very early period they extended into the great Syrian Desert, as far north as Damascus. Here they afterwards encountered two other great waves of Semitic population, which passed over the north and centre of the land; the descendants of Abraham, through his son Ishmael, and by his wife Keturah. This most interesting mixture of populations, which still requires and will reward investigation, is attested by the occurrence of the same names in the Biblical genealogies of Cush, Joktan, Ishmael, and Keturah.

4. LUD is most probably identified with the great Lydian nation of Asia Minor. The intermixture of peoples in that peninsula presents one of the most curious and intricate problems of ancient ethnography. It seems to have been occupied by the three races, in three nearly parallel belts; the Japhethites along the north, the Shemites in the south-east, centre, and west, and the Hamites in the south-west.

5. ARAM, from a root signifying *high*, was the general name of the people of the highlands that enclosed on the north the plains and lower hills of Canaan, and the table-land of the Syrian Desert. It corresponds roughly to the northern parts of Syria, Mesopotamia,* and Assyria. The language of this wide-spread people has always been divided into two distinctly marked dialects, the Eastern and Western Aramæan. The former, improperly called Chaldee, was in use at Babylon at the time of the Jewish captivity; the latter is represented by the Syriac, which was the vernacular language of Syria till the Arab conquest. The latter is near akin to the Hebrew, which contains also a large admixture of pure Aramaic forms.

The children assigned to Aram are, Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash. The first name, as well as Aram itself, recurs among the descendants of Nahor, the brother of Abraham, whose home was at Padan-Aram. Hence we can have little hesitation in placing Uz, the land of Job, in the country of Mesopotamia.

The most important branch of the Semitic race, the people of Israel, does not appear in this list, as they had not at first a distinct national existence. The land destined to become the scene of the wonders of their history was peopled by the race of Ham, while their ancestor Abram did not separate from the posterity of Eber till after five generations.

There is another important branch of the Semitic race, which does not appear in the Mosaic list. These are the Phœnicians, who inhabited the narrow slip of the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, between Syria and Palestine, at the foot of the chain of the Lebanon. They seem to have migrated from Chaldæa about the time of the call of Abraham; and both these movements of the Semitic race up the valley of the Euphrates to the shores of the Mediterranean may have been influenced by a common impulse.† That the settlers found a Hamite population already in the country, may be inferred from the statement that Sidon was the first-born of Canaan,‡ as well as from the Hamitic character of the earliest Phœnician monuments. From Phœnicia, the Semitic race was spread by colonization to Carthage and other places on the Mediterranean shores of North Africa and Spain.

When these settlements in the land of Canaan had been effected,

* This was the *Aram-Naharaim*, that is, *Aram between the rivers*, of Scripture. *Padan-Aram*, the *cultivated Aram*, was another name of the same district.

† See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. iv., Essay II.

‡ Genesis x. 15.

the Semitic race acquired that form, which its peculiar fixity of character and habits preserved for long ages; which was only altered, indeed, by the force of foreign conquest. This character offers peculiar facilities to the researches of the ethnologist, the results of which are embodied by Professor Max Müller in the following

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SEMITIC FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.*

Classes.	*Dead Languages.*	*Living Languages.*
ARABIC or Southern	.....	Dialects of Arabic.
	Ethiopic	Amharic.
	Himyaritic Inscriptions	+
HEBRAIC or Middle..	Biblical Hebrew.....	Dialects of the Jews.
	Samaritan Pentateuch, 3rd century A.D.....	+
	Carthaginian, Phœnician Inscriptions	+
ARAMAIC or Northern	Chaldee, Masora, Talmud, Targum, Biblical Chaldee	+
	Syriac, Peshito, 2nd century A.D.	Neo-Syriac.
	Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylon and Nineveh.	+

The Scriptural account is naturally silent about the colonies which were established on the shores of the Mediterranean by the maritime energy of the Phœnicians, and by means of which the Semitic and Japhetic races were brought into conflict for the empire of the world, in the Punic Wars. Nor should we omit to notice that, anterior to these colonies, there are traces of a Semitic population along the northern coast of Africa, which is still probably represented by the Berbers, a people quite distinct from the later Arab conquerors.

Such are, in brief outline, the general results of an examination of the "Book of the Generations of the Sons of Noah" in the light of ethnical science. But when that science extends its enquiries to the whole surface of the globe, it gives us other results, which are certainly not directly deducible from the historical account, though there is no reason to regard them as inconsistent with it.

The double test of physical and linguistic distinctions divides the human race into five varieties.

1. The *Caucasian* is so called because its finest physical type is still found in the region of Mount Caucasus, near the original seat of the human race. It includes all the nations that speak the Indo-Germanic languages, as well as most of the tribes of the great Indian peninsula, the Semitic peoples of Western Asia, and the inhabitants of Northern Africa. Its physical characters are a tall

* *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 381.

stature, symmetry and strength of body, a free and noble bearing, and especially the erect countenance and fully developed brain and forehead, which are the marks of high intellect. Its history has always fulfilled the destiny which nature has manifestly stamped upon it, as the ruling family of mankind, supreme in power, and foremost in civilization. It embraces, with a few very doubtful exceptions, all the nations that are described in the above list as the earliest progeny of the three sons of Noah.

But the inference by no means follows, that no room is left for other races, consistently with a common descent from Noah. The remoter parts of the earth, not comprised in the Mosaic list, may have been peopled by races sprung from the same original stock, but yet so modified by climate and other influences, as to bear strong marks of difference. Naturalists, for the most part, admit that such modifications are agreeable to the laws of physical science. That they have actually taken place is the more probable from the fact, that all the departures from the Caucasian type show signs of degeneracy. In other classes of organic life, each species is more or less perfect in its kind; but all the other varieties of mankind are less perfect than the Caucasian. Nor is it hopeless to expect that more accurate observation, especially in the field of language, may enable us to detect, in the peculiar characteristics of the non-Caucasian races, the exaggeration of those of the three great families. Thus, for example, the researches which have made us better acquainted with the Hamite nations, have also detected among them a strong Turanian element, which may have arisen from a common primeval origin, as well as from a later intermixture. We are, in fact, little beyond the threshold of such investigations. Meanwhile, the Mosaic account of the origin of the nations, instead of being contradicted by varieties of race, is much more confirmed by the fact, that these varieties are found in regions remote from those in which the first families of mankind are placed by the historian, while these latter bear undoubted marks of a common origin.

It remains to mention the non-Caucasian varieties, though it is long before history has much to do with them. Two of these varieties are found in the ancient world, lying beyond the range of the great zone which contains the civilized and historic races, the Nigritian on the one side, and the Turanian on the other.

2. We name the *Nigritian* or Negro race first, because we have least to say of it. Its physical characters are very distinctly marked; the small stature united with great strength, but altogether wanting

in symmetry, the black colour, woolly hair, long receding forehead, and prominent jaws. It includes, in general, the tribes of Central and Southern Africa.* They bear every mark of a race greatly modified by the influence of climate, and degraded by the oppressions of the more civilized races from time immemorial. In their turn they have had an influence on these powerful neighbours, and thus a decided Nigritian element has been traced in ancient Egypt. The affinities of their dialects form too large and difficult a question to be discussed here.

3. The *Turanian*† (called by earlier writers the *Mongolian*) is the race most closely connected with the Caucasian in ancient history. Its extreme physical type is strongly marked by flat broad features, a low forehead, and generally a small stature; but its higher forms approach more nearly to the Caucasian. It is found spread over the vast tracts of Central and Eastern Asia, as well as the great northern plain which slopes down to the shores of the Arctic Ocean, not only in Asia and Europe, but also in America. It includes the ancient Huns and Scythians, the Mongolian, Calmuck, or Tatar tribes, the Samoyedes of Siberia, the Ugrians, Fins, and Laps of Europe, and the Esquimaux of America. Besides these peoples, who, shut in between mountains, steppes, and an Arctic sea, lead the life of nomad herdsmen and hunters, other branches of the same race, placed under more favourable conditions on the vast fertile plains and extensive sea-board of China and Farther India, reached a much more advanced stage of civilization.

The languages of these tribes are considered as forming the third great family, the *Turanian*, which comprises all the languages spoken in Asia or Europe, not included under the Aryan and Semitic families, with the exception of Chinese and its cognate dialects.‡ These last are assigned to a still earlier stage, the first in the formation of language, in which roots form independent words, and grammatical inflections are unknown. The Turanian dialects belong to that second stage, in which, two roots being joined together to form words, one of them loses its independence and becomes subsidiary to the other. This first step towards the use of merely grammatical inflexions, such as are seen in the Aryan and Semitic families, has been well described by the name "agglutination," or

* In the extreme south, the Caffres are evidently a Caucasian race, who have overpowered the Nigritian tribes.

† The name is derived from the great table land of Turan in Central Asia, which is divided from that of Iran by the Hindoo Koosh and its western extension.

‡ Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 275.

gluing together. This term signifies that form or stage of language, in which the additions that make declensions and conjugations are tacked on to the words they modify, so as to be still separable, instead of being incorporated with them as inflections. We happen to have an English example of agglutination in the comparatively modern barbarism, "John his book." This structure characterizes an early stage in the development of language; a stage through which each family of languages has passed, but which has become stereotyped among the races now called Turanian. It is thus that, as in the physical world, where processes have been arrested at a certain stage, as if to preserve them for our study, so the progress of civilization has halted among nations the less favoured in the means of progress; and in them we may see former conditions of races now far more advanced. Thus the Turanian is distinctively the class of languages spoken by the nomad tribes of Asia and Northern Europe, as distinguished from the more settled Aryan and Semitic populations. But we must be very careful to infer no more than the premisses will warrant. We must not, for example, conclude from the early prevalence of Turanian forms of speech a state of civilization exactly parallel to that of the existing Turanian races. Especially is this caution needed when we find the traces of a Turanian population in those parts of Western Asia—Chaldæa for example—which were the earliest seats of civilization. In short, this Turanian occupation seems to mark a period when the great demarcations between languages and races were not yet established. Whether the Turanian race was nearer to the Hamitic or to the Semitic family, is one of the most difficult problems of Ethnology. The most probable opinion seems to be that the Turanian was the stage of speech which the different races carried with them when they first left their primeval seats; that it was developed by the race of Ham, who, as the earliest cultivators of science and art, would be the first to require new forms of language, into the stage seen in the Hamitic dialects of Africa and Southern Asia; and that these were again modified, by contact with Semitic races, into the forms of speech called Semitic. The Aryan languages seem to have passed out of the Turanian stage by a still more direct process.

Professor Max Müller gives a genealogical table of the Turanian languages, too detailed to be transferred to our pages. He divides the Turanian family into two great classes, the *Northern* and the *Southern*. The Northern, which is sometimes called the *Ural-Altaïc* or *Ugro-Tataric*, is divided into five sections, the *Tungusic*,

Mongolic, *Turkic*, *Finnic*, and *Samoyedic*. The Southern, which occupies the south of Asia, is divided into four sections: the *Tamulic*, or languages of the Dekhan; the *Bhotiya*, or dialects of Tibet and the Bhotan; the *Taïc*, or dialects of Siam; and the *Malaïc*, or Malay and Polynesian dialects.

4. From this classification it would follow—at least so far as race may be inferred from language—that the fourth variety of mankind, usually called the *Malay*, or *Polynesian*, was a branch of the Turanian, which passed over from the two great Indian peninsulas. Its other name, *Australasian*, may be taken not only in a local, but also in an etymological sense, denoting the origin of the race from Southern Asia. In confirmation of this view, we know that the primitive Hamite race extended as far as India, where it was overpowered by the irruption of the Aryans; and the pressure of nation upon nation, which always results from such movements, would naturally find an outlet by the Malay peninsula and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, whence the race might spread, by means of their light canoes, over the calm waters of the Pacific. Moreover, the physical characters of the Malay race are very similar to those of the Hamite populations of Southern Asia, as they are seen on the monuments of Chaldæa, and described by Herodotus under the name of the "Asiatic Ethiopians." They have the complexion of various shades of darkness,—black hair, generally straight, but inclining in some tribes to the crisp curl which distinguished the Cushites of Africa,—with regular features, resembling the Caucasian type. There is, on the other hand, a striking contrast between the energy and invention of the Hamite race in Asia and the sensual life of the Polynesian savages, in which indolence and cruelty are strangely mingled. Their soft liquid dialects, scarcely possessing the more vigorous elements of speech, afford no bad type of their prevailing character, as a race which has degenerated, from causes not far to seek. Shut out from the great movements of their fellow men, in beautiful islands, where a tropical climate and spontaneous vegetation leave no care for food and clothing, they show what man becomes when really placed in the "Islands of the Blessed."

But one type is not sufficient to describe the Malay tribes. They vary from the highest standard of the manly savage in New Zealand to the lowest degradation in Australia, Papua, and elsewhere; and in most of the islands the distinction between the chieftains and the common people is as marked as that imagined by Homer between the "Jove-born kings" and the vulgar herd. These cir-

cumstances seem to point to a mixed descent, partly from the Caucasian, and partly from the Negro race.

5. The *American race* is a name given in common to the warlike hunting tribes who peopled the forests and prairies of North America, the more civilized people who founded cities and kingdoms in the Centre, and the savages of the South; though the unity of all these requires further proof. The chief existing type is to be seen in the so-called Indians of North America. Their main distinction is a copper-coloured complexion, with thin lank hair. Their physical perfection, noble carriage, and manly courage, point to a Caucasian origin, while in language and manners they have many points of resemblance to the Turanians; so that a mixture of these two races appears to supply the most probable account of their origin.

The ancient Greeks held that the first inhabitants of every land were sprung from the soil; and the nobles of Athens wore golden grasshoppers in token that they boasted to be Autochthons. The Latin races expressed the same belief by the word Aborigines, which modern usage has adopted. But it is scarcely necessary to say, that by an aboriginal people we now mean simply the earliest known inhabitants of their country.

In concluding this chapter, we must emphatically repeat, that the enquiry of which it treats is as yet only in its infancy; but we seem at length to have reached a stage in which the intrinsic difficulties of the subject need no longer be enhanced by a wilful conflict between science and authority. In what remains to be done, no caution perhaps is more necessary than to bear in mind that the diffusion of our race cannot be accounted for by any single movement from its common centre. We must take into account, not only the successive impulses which have followed one another at long intervals, but the flux and reflux of the great tides of population. Every such wave has left behind it traces as marked as those of the waters which have covered the lands during the great geological periods. But their traces are the nations, languages, monuments, and customs of living men, whose vital action has worked changes much more difficult to classify than the strata of dead matter. All that has been done, however, has tended to confirm that great primeval document, "The Book of the Generations of the Sons of Noah."

CHAPTER V.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE HEBREW RACE — FROM THE CALL OF ABRAHAM TO THE EXODUS, B.C. 1921-1491.

"Thus will this latter, as the former world,
Still tend from bad to worse; till God at last,
Wearied with their iniquities, withdraw
His presence from among them, and avert
His holy eyes; resolving from henceforth
To leave them to their own polluted ways;
And one peculiar nation to select
From all the rest, of whom to be invoked—
A nation from one faithful man to spring."—MILTON.

THE HEBREWS NOT THE MOST ANCIENT NATION—REASON FOR THEIR PRECEDENCE—THE LINE OF SHEM TO ABRAHAM—UR OF THE CHALDEES, ITS PROBABLE SITE—CALL OF ABRAM AND MIGRATION OF TERAH'S FAMILY — FIRST SETTLEMENT AT CHARRAN — ABRAM'S JOURNEY INTO CANAAN TO THE VALLEY OF SHECHEM—REMOVAL TO EGYPT AND RETURN TO BETHEL—SEPARATION FROM LOT—THE CITIES OF THE PLAIN—EXPEDITION OF CHEDORLAOMER—THE TRIBES OF THE CANAANITES—ABRAM AT HEBRON—HIS SUBSEQUENT HISTORY—BIRTH AND MARRIAGE OF ISAAC—DEATH OF SARAH — BIRTH OF ESAU AND JACOB — DESTRUCTION OF SODOM AND GOMORRHA — ORIGIN OF THE NATIONS OF MOAB AND AMMON, THE ISHMAELITE AND KETURAÏTE ARABS—LIFE OF ISAAC—ESAU AND JACOB—THE EDOMITES—JACOB IN PADAN-ARAM—HIS RETURN TO CANAAN—AFFAIRS AT SHECHEM—JOURNEY TO THE SOUTH—REMOVAL INTO EGYPT—THE CAPTIVITY—CLOSE OF THE PATRIARCHAL AGE—THE EXODUS—AN EPOCH IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY.

OUT of all the nations that sprang from the three sons of Noah, the sacred history, which is still our only positive authority, begins with the story of the Hebrew race. Not that this was the first of the nations in chronological order. It did not even become a nation till four hundred and thirty years after the call of Abraham; and his history furnishes abundant proofs that great cities had already been built, and mighty kingdoms established. The very name of his native place, Ur of the Chaldees, attests that it belonged to the dominions of the great Cushite empire which has already been mentioned in the Book of Genesis, and with which Abraham comes into conflict at a later period. Damascus is already an important city; and, as Abraham journeys to the south, he finds Egypt at a high pitch of wealth and power, to say nothing of the nations of the Canaanites and Philistines.

The precedence given to Abraham's call has that moral significance, which forms the true life of history. It is the next event after the confusion of the Babel builders, in which the direct action of God's providence is seen, and the first step in that course of

moral government, to which all the affairs of the surrounding nations are secondary. Following the same order, we shall take up the history of those nations, as they come in contact with the main current of the story of the chosen race.

The Scriptural genealogy follows the line of Shem to Abram, through ten generations and four hundred and fifty years; the birth of Shem being in B.C. 2446, and that of Abram in B.C. 1996, according to the received chronology. In the fifth generation, the line of Shem is divided into two by the two sons of Eber, Peleg and Joktan; of whom the latter became the ancestor of the older Arabs, while the descendants of the former were named, from the common ancestor, Hebrews. Thus Abraham is called the Hebrew (Gen. xiv. 13).*

Four generations from Peleg bring us to Terah, the father of Abram, Nahor, and Haran, the land of whose nativity was "Ur of the Chaldees." But this very statement of the locality raises a difficulty at the threshold. The prevailing opinion respecting the site of Ur identifies it with the Edessa of the Greeks, and the modern Orfah, in the extreme north of Mesopotamia, beyond the Euphrates, within the great bend which the river makes in descending from Armenia to Syria. This view is supported by the resemblance of name (which is perhaps more apparent than real), the local traditions about Abraham, and the fact that Charran, the first stage in the migration, the site of which is certainly known, lies on the high road to Palestine. The appellation "Chaldæan" is explained on the assumption, either that the great Chaldæan empire had spread thus far to the north, or that these regions formed one at least of the early seats of the Chaldæan people. On the other hand, some of the most recent enquirers in this field place Ur at the very lowest part of the course of the Euphrates, on the right bank of the river, opposite to the confluence of the Shat-el-Hie, which unites it with the Tigris; once probably a maritime position, though now 120 miles inland. The site is marked by the ruins of Mugheir, a city dedicated to the Moon, and a sacred burial-place, as is proved by its innumerable tombs. This spot also possesses its traditions about Abraham. It seems to have been the great maritime city of the Chaldæan empire, and only second in importance to Babylon, if it did not even form a still earlier capital.

* It is, however, only fair to mention the preference of some of the best Hebrew scholars for the purely geographical origin of the appellation, as signifying one *from the other side* of the Euphrates, = the Greek περάτης. But this sense does not exclude the other.

But how can we account for Abraham's journey thence to the land of Canaan by way of Charran, near the upper course of the Euphrates? It is answered, first, that this was no mere journey, but the migration of a whole patriarchal family, with their flocks and herds, which could make no safe passage across the desert. But, besides, it does not appear that Canaan was the first goal of the migration. Abram "was called to go into a land that God should show him, and he went forth, *not knowing whither he went.*" The other branch of Terah's family, that of Nahor, clearly had another end for their journey, for they settled in the pasturages about Charran; and it would seem to have been here that Abram first learnt his final destination. According to this view, the movement was a great migration of the leading branch of the Semitic family, who had preserved the worship of the true God, retiring before the oppression and religious corruption of the Cushite sovereigns, and retracing their steps towards the highlands from which their fathers had descended.* Our knowledge is hardly ripe for a decision between these two views, but the latter is far too important not to be fully stated. The former has still powerful advocates, and must not be hastily rejected.

From this ancient city of Ur, whatever may have been its true position, the family of Terah was called forth by a divine command addressed to Abram, who seems to have been the youngest of his three sons. We are expressly told that idolatry already prevailed in the land; and that it infected the family of Terah, as it did afterwards the Israelites in Egypt.† Oriental tradition has ascribed to Abram the most courageous attacks upon the idols, and miraculous deliverances from the rage of the idolaters; but the sacred history is content with the record of his faithful obedience to the divine command, which called him to found a great nation, who should preserve the worship and covenant of God, in some land as yet unknown to him, and which promised blessing and security to his descendants—nay more, a blessing through him to all the families of the earth. The whole family joined in the migration—the patriarch Terah, Abram's brother Nahor, and Lot the son of his other brother Haran, who had already died at Ur. The two daughters of Haran, Milcah and Sarai or Iscah, were married to their uncles, Nahor and Abram. Remote as is this event, such are the unchanged manners of those countries, that

* Respecting the kingdom then established in Chaldæa, see Book II. chapter ix.

† Joshua xxiv. 2, 14.

the spectator of a caravan of Bedouins, with their flocks and herds, may at this day witness its outward appearance.

The first permanent resting-place of the wanderers was Haran, or rather Charran, in Padan-Aram, or Upper Mesopotamia. The name describes the region; a place where the highlands sink down into fertile foot-hills, rich in pasturage. Such is the country that lies at the foot of Mount Masius, between the great bend of the Euphrates and the river Khabour, watered by the Belilk, which flows southwards into the Euphrates. Near its source is Orfah, the Ur of the popular belief, and about half-way down its course the unchanged name of Harran still marks the ancient site. Here Terah died; and here Nahor settled with his family, whom we find, in the next generation, preserving the selfish character displayed in such a choice; while Abram, with his nephew Lot, pressed onward, moved, as it would seem, by a renewal of the divine call. His stay at Charran was evidently long, and his wealth in cattle and slaves was greatly increased. He was seventy-five years old when he left Charran, in B.C. 1921.

It was now revealed to him that his destination was the land of Canaan; and it would doubtless be a new trial of his faith, that he was called to live among that very Hamite race before whose power and wickedness he had fled from his first home. Two caravan routes lead from the Euphrates across the great Syrian Desert to the countries on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. The shorter and more northerly tends westward to the upper course of the Orontes, which the traveller follows upward into the deep valley of Cœlesyria, between the two great chains of Lebanon and Anti-Libanus. Emerging thence he finds himself at the sources of the Jordan, with the whole land of Palestine spread before him; a land formed by the hills which extend southward from the ranges of Lebanon to the peninsula of Arabia Petræa, breaking off on the east into the Desert, and sloping down on the west to the Mediterranean; divided from north to south by the great depression of the Jordan valley, and intersected from east to west by lateral valleys and plains. The other route strikes to the south-west; and, after a long journey across the Desert, divided by the oasis of Tadmor or Palmyra, reaches Damascus, one of the oldest and fairest cities of the world. It is built in an oasis, formed by the rivers Abana and Pharpar, with innumerable other streamlets, which descend from the eastern slope of Anti-Libanus, and are not lost in the Desert till they have clothed with verdure and beauty the plain over which the houses of the city lie scattered, embosomed

in groves and gardens. By whatever route Abraham crossed the Desert, it seems clear that he rested at Damascus, as the servant who became the head of his household was a native of that city. From Damascus his course would lie over the hills on the eastern side of the valley of the Jordan. Having passed the rivers Hieromax and Jabbok, which flow into the Jordan from the east, he turned westward across the river and entered the promised land by the pass which leads down into the central valley of Shechem. "The Canaanite was then in the land;" a statement which some suppose to imply the displacement of an earlier population. The city of Shechem seems to have been already built; and near it Abram chose a grove of oaks for the site of his encampment and of the altar which he built to God, who again appeared to him here. Thus was the worship of the true God re-established amidst the idolatrous children of Ham, in the very spot which became its first centre when the people of Abraham came forth, as a nation, from Egypt.

Whether from the failure of pasturage, or to avoid collision with the people of the land, Abram travelled southwards along the central highlands, and stayed for a time on the hills between Bethel and Ai, west of the fertile plain of the lower Jordan, where he built another altar to Jehovah. Before long he was driven by a famine to take refuge in Egypt, where his dealings with Pharaoh are familiar to every reader of Scripture. The great monarchy, with which he was thus brought into contact, will claim our attention in the next book.

Abram returned from Egypt, enriched by Pharaoh's liberality, to his old encampment between Bethel and Ai; but the very increase of his wealth proved an embarrassment. The mountain pasturages became too scanty for his own flocks and those of his nephew Lot. They agreed to part; and Lot, accepting the choice offered him by Abram, descended into the plains they had hitherto avoided, while Abram was consoled for his worser share by a new promise of the inheritance of the whole land to a progeny countless as its dust.

The region of Lot's choice was the lower valley of the Jordan, then a wide plain, fertile and well watered "as the garden of Jehovah." Here the Canaanites (the dwellers in the lowlands) had established the *pentapolis* of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Zoar, each city under its own king. Built in a most fertile country, these cities lay in the track of the commerce between Arabia and Syria, Egypt and the East; and their wealth had given full scope to the lawlessness which from the first had marked their race. The very worst vices of the most corrupted

luxury were openly practised among them, and things of which even to speak is shameful derive their only name from Sodom, where Lot already began to be punished for his selfishness by grief at the wickedness he saw. The great Chaldæan empire already mentioned, and from which Abram had removed, had lately reduced these cities to a tributary condition. After twelve years' subjection, the five kings revolted, and the Chaldæan monarch, Chedorlaomer, marched against them, with his three allied kings. The first battle recorded in the world's history was fought in the plain of Siddim, now, in part at least, the basin of the Dead Sea. The forces of the five kings were entangled amidst the bitumen pits, of which the plain was full; and the victors retired up the valley of the Jordan, carrying off Lot and his property amongst the spoil of Sodom. The rapid pursuit of Abram, with his small band of household servants and the followers of his Amorite confederates, his surprise and defeat of the retreating hosts, whom he pursued beyond Damascus, and his recovery of Lot with all the spoil, taught the great Eastern monarch the same lesson which had already been impressed on Pharaoh, that a power more truly great than all their kingdoms had arisen in their midst. The episode of Melchizedek's welcome to Abram on his return is too closely connected with theological questions to be dwelt on here; but it seems to show that one at least of the cities of Canaan was held by a patriarch of the Shemite race, who was at once a king and a priest of the true God.

In this adventure we see the patriarch for the first time in league with the Canaanitish tribes of the Amorites, the people of the mountains, as the Canaanites (in the narrower sense) were of the plains. The former seem to have been a far less corrupted race, for we are told that "the iniquity of the Amorites was not yet full." There are ten tribes enumerated of the inhabitants of the land, between Egypt and the Euphrates. The Kenites, Kenizzites, and Kadmonites dwelt on the east of the Jordan. The Hittites (or children of Heth), Perrizzites, and Rephaims were smaller tribes connected with the great nation of the Amorites, who occupied the central highlands from the valley of Shechem southwards. The Canaanites possessed the low country, both along the course of the Jordan and in the great maritime plain, for the latter does not seem to have been yet invaded by the Philistines. The Girgashites appear to have been a mountain tribe, like the Jebusites, whose city was the later Jerusalem. It was with the Hittites that Abram had the first commercial transaction of which we

read in history, the purchase of the "double cave" of Machpelah as a burying-place. The mention in this affair of a definite weight of silver, as "current money with the merchant," proves that commerce was carried on among these tribes, and that standards of weight and value had been already settled. Of the origin of such measures we shall have to speak presently.

Abram's permanent abode had been fixed, after his separation from Lot, among the Amorites of the southern hills, under the oaks of Mamre, near Hebron, one of the oldest cities of the world. "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." *

The part of Abram's life subsequent to the rescue of Lot is chiefly important in the religious history of the world. It embraces the great covenant which God made with him, in addition to the promise already given, and the institution of circumcision as its seal;† the supernatural birth of Isaac, the heir of the promise, both of a mighty nation and of the great descendant in whom all families of the earth should be blessed; the trial of the patriarch's faith, and the redemption of Isaac from sacrifice; the death of Sarah, and her burial at Machpelah. It was shortly after her death that Abraham married Isaac to Rebekah, the grand-daughter of his brother Nahor, whose family was still settled at Charran, "the city of Nahor." The birth of Isaac's twin sons, Esau and Jacob, took place according to the received chronology in B.C. 1837, fifteen years before the death of Abraham, who thus literally "dwelt in tents with Isaac and Jacob, heirs with him of the same promise."

During this period, also, we have some important notices of the surrounding nations. First comes the catastrophe of the cities of the plain, which changed the fertile valley of the lower Jordan into a spot which no traveller sees without acknowledging the marks of the Divine judgment. At the depth of 1317 feet below the level of the Mediterranean, the Dead, or, as the Jews always called it, the Salt Sea, receives the waters of the Jordan within its shores blasted by volcanic action. There can be no doubt that its intensely bitter waters cover most of the once fair vale of Siddim, though all attempts have proved vain to discover traces of the devoted cities, Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboiim. Bela, or Zoar, alone was spared, as a refuge for Lot, from whose incest with his two daughters sprang the peoples of Moab and Benammi (or Ammon), who settled among the hills to the east of the Jordan

* Numbers xiii. 22.

† It was on this occasion that his name was changed from AB-RAM, *exalted father*, to AB-RAHAM, *father of a multitude*.

and the Dead Sea. About the same time, the relations of Abraham with Abimelech, king of Gerar, afterwards renewed by Isaac, show us the Philistines occupying the border land between Canaan and Egypt. The exile of Ishmael, the son of Abraham by his servant Hagar, led to the establishment of his descendants, the twelve tribes of the Bedouin Arabs, "to the east of all their brethren," Jews, Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, in the northern deserts of Arabia; while the Keturaïte Arabs, children of Abraham and Keturah, were intermixed with the older Joktanite and Cushite tribes of the peninsula. These branches of his family were sent away by Abraham with gifts, during his lifetime, that they might not dispute the inheritance with Isaac. Through all the history of the Arab race, they have never forgotten the tie to their progenitor. It will be long before they reappear as bearing any distinguished part in history.

Abraham died, at the age of 175, in the year B.C. 1822 of the received chronology, and was buried by Isaac and Ishmael at Machpelah. The quiet life of Isaac offers no materials for a general history. His two sons, Esau and Jacob, the huntsman and the shepherd, were marked from the very womb as the progenitors of hostile though kindred races, and this prophecy tinges the whole current of Jewish history. We need not dwell on the familiar story of their early lives, the importance of which is moral and religious, rather than historical; but still the historian must not overlook the lesson to be learnt from the faults of Jacob and his sons, that divine providence measures out privileges to nations by another standard than that of the merit of their ancestors.

When Jacob, after fraudulently obtaining the patriarchal blessing, which his brother would have as fraudulently received after he had foolishly sold it, fled to his mother's relatives at Padan-Aram (B.C. 1760), Esau, who was seventy-seven years old, had already married two Hittite women, and now, to please his father, he married Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael. These intermarriages seem to mark the Edomites as from the first a very mixed race. But another element went to make up that nation. Esau fixed his abode ultimately in the chain of mountains which runs southwards from the valley of the Jordan and Dead Sea to the head of the eastern gulf of the Red Sea, under the name of Mount Seir, and formed matrimonial alliances with the old inhabitants, the Horites. The latter people were ultimately absorbed in the Edomites, who grew into a great nation, with the cities of Selah (Petra) and Bozrah for their capitals, and Elath (Ælana) and Ezion-Geber

for their ports on the Red Sea. They will reappear again and again in the course of Jewish history.

Meanwhile, Jacob had fulfilled his twenty years' servitude to his cousin and father-in-law, Laban, in Mesopotamia, and returned, with his two wives and their two handmaids, his eleven sons, and immense wealth in flocks and herds and slaves, over the river Jabbok, which he had crossed as a lonely fugitive, with no possession but his shepherd's staff (B.C. 1739). Like Abraham, 180 years before, he passed over the Jordan into the vale of Shechem. But the land was now more densely peopled; the Amorites had built new cities, such as Shalem; and Jacob had to buy of their princes the land on which he pitched his camp and built an altar to "God, the God of Israel," the new name which the patriarch had earned by his wrestling with Jehovah. He was soon brought into collision with the people of Shechem, by their insolence, which was treacherously and cruelly avenged by his sons, Simeon and Levi. Shechem was spoiled; but a retreat seems to have been necessary for fear of the vengeance of the other Amorites. They, on their part, had not the courage to pursue Jacob as he went on southwards to Bethel, close to the second encampment of Abraham, and the scene of the vision granted to him on his flight, in memory of which the city, formerly called Luz, was now named Bethel (the *House of God*). On the further journey from Bethel to Isaac's encampment at Hebron, Jacob's family was completed by the birth of Benjamin, but at the price of the life of his beloved Rachel, near Ephrath, the later Bethlehem. Sixteen years later, he again met Esau at the burial of Isaac at Machpelah (B.C. 1716).

Jacob continued to live at Hebron as a patriarchal prince, like some modern Arab sheikh, respected and feared by the people of the land. He appears to have given a second blow to the Shechemites by wresting from them in war the possession which they had probably resumed after his departure to the south. His sons fed his flocks at their will near Shechem, and still further to the north. It seemed as if this foreign tribe were to overspread the land. But it was otherwise appointed; and no lesson of history is of deeper moral significance than the process by which the Israelites were hardened by suffering and compacted into a nation, during their residence in Egypt. Their condition throughout the interval from their descent into Egypt to the great epoch of the Exodus (B.C. 1491), will be better understood after we have taken a survey of Egyptian history.

THE REGION OF THE ANCIENT MONARCHIES

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BOOK II.

THE GREAT MONARCHIES OF THE EAST.

FROM THE EARLIEST EGYPTIAN TRADITIONS TO THE REIGN OF DARIUS HYSTASPIS.

N.B.—The Note respecting the early Chronology, on page 1, needs repetition here, especially as the computed Egyptian chronology goes back beyond the date assigned by Ussher to the Flood. The dates given in the two Chapters, VI. and VII., are merely intended to represent the opinions of Egyptologers. A similar remark applies to the early Babylonian chronology in Chapter IX.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE HISTORY OF EGYPT TO THE SHEPHERD INVASION. B.C. 2717? TO B.C. 2080?

"Virtue alone outbuilds the Pyramids;
Her monuments shall last, when Egypt's fall."—YOUNG.

ANTIQUITY OF EGYPT—NAMES OF THE COUNTRY—GEOGRAPHY OF EGYPT—THE NILE—ITS INUNDATION—LIMITS AND AREA OF EGYPT—ANCIENT CONDITION AND PRODUCTIONS—ADVANTAGES OF ITS POSITION—RELATION TO ITS NEIGHBOURS—ORIGINAL POPULATION—A MIXED RACE, CHIEFLY HAMITIC—AUTHORITIES—SCRIPTURE—GREEK WRITERS—MONUMENTS AND PAPYRI—EGYPTIAN WRITING—MANETHO—ASTRONOMICAL RECORDS—DATE OF THE PYRAMIDS—EGYPTIAN TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY—HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY—TRADITIONAL HISTORY—RULE OF THE GODS—FIRST DYNASTY: MENES—SECOND DYNASTY: QUEEN NITOCRIS—MEMPHITE DYNASTIES: THIRD, FOURTH, AND SIXTH—HIGH STATE OF CIVILIZATION—HERACLEOPOLITE DYNASTIES: NINTH AND TENTH—THEBAN KINGDOM: ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH DYNASTIES—INVASION OF THE SHEPHERDS—MONUMENTS OF THE EARLY PHARAOHS—PYRAMIDS AND TOMBS—EGYPTIAN BELIEF CONCERNING THE DEAD—DESCRIPTION OF THE PYRAMIDS.

Of the two regions in which the race of Ham founded the earliest known kingdoms and made the first advances in learning and civilization, namely, the valley of the Nile and that of the Tigris and the Euphrates, we must allow Egypt the precedence in antiquity. The mere claim of the people to be the oldest among mankind is, indeed, of little more value than the strange experiment of Psammetichus to test its truth. That king of Egypt, Herodotus tells us, caused two new-born children to be brought up in a hut, upon the milk of goats, with no other attendant than the goatherd, who was forbidden to utter a word in their presence. When they had passed the age of inarticulate mutterings, the herdsman was one day astonished to see the children toddle up to him crying *bekos*. But when this had happened often, and the king had found upon inquiry that *bekos* was the Phrygian for *bread*, the experiment seemed decisive. That the Egyptians, upon such evidence as this, yielded the honour of antiquity to the Phrygians, would have been altogether incredible, had not the historian related the test as if he himself believed in its value. And yet we can hardly tell, in this and other instances, how much sly humour is hidden under the quiet gravity of Herodotus.

Very different is the real evidence for the antiquity of the nation, its government, and its civilization. While the sacred

record of the primeval peopling of the earth represents the names of all other countries as derived from the descendants of Noah's sons, Egypt bore the name of one of those sons themselves. It is true that Mizraim, the Scriptural name of the country, is that only of a son of Ham, and not the eldest, and that the description of Egypt as "the land of Ham," does not necessarily imply more than a remote derivation of its people. But the case is much stronger when we find that the native name of the country was that of the patriarch himself. The name Khem, by which Egypt is denoted on its monuments, is the same as the Hebrew Ham (or rather Cham), and has a kindred signification. The Egyptian word gives the phonetic value of the hieroglyphic sign for the country, the crocodile's tail, which varies in colour from slate to reddish brown. The Hebrew, derived from a root signifying "heat," fitly describes the ancestor of the dark races, like the Greek Ethiopian; while the same word in the cognate Arabic, denotes "fetid black mud," such as that of the valley of the Nile. In Arabic, too, we see the link between the two names, Khem and Mizraim, for *misr* also signifies "red mud," and hence the colour of red and reddish brown. To this day Misr is used as a name of Egypt by the Arabs, and it has been found on an ancient Assyrian inscription. It appears, in fact, to be the Semitic equivalent to the Hamitic Chem, a name of prophetic signification, like those of Noah, Japheth, and probably Shem. The Hebrew singular Mazor, which is sometimes found, may perhaps even be regarded as the personal name of Ham in the Semitic dialects. The dual form, Mizraim, which is much more common, points to the twofold division of the country into Upper and Lower Egypt. Another biblical name is Rahab (*the proud*).

The conclusion, that Egypt was the chief primeval seat of the race of Ham, seems somewhat at variance with the biblical genealogy, which makes Mizraim only the second son of Ham, and Cush the eldest. Accordingly some ethnologists seek for the primitive seats of the Hamite race, not in the valley of the Nile itself, but in the hills about its upper course, the Cush of Scripture, and the Ethiopia above Egypt of the Greeks, whence they suppose that one stream of population descended the Nile to Egypt, while another moved eastward across Arabia into Chaldæa. But it is pretty evident that the original settlers, who descended from the common centre in Armenia, must have ascended the Nile to reach Ethiopia, unless they came by the opposite route from Chaldæa, which is most improbable. Nor

does it seem unlikely that migrations may have taken place both up and down the valley of the Nile, as we know to have been the case with the tide of conquest in historic times. It would appear that in the time of Moses the existing Egyptians were fitly represented as standing in a secondary relation to the founder of their race, while the older Cushite population of the country had receded further to the south.

The peculiar geographical position of Egypt adds probability to these claims of high antiquity. Consisting really of the valley of the Nile, and shut in by the deserts of Arabia and Libya on the east and west, it lay open on the north alone to the great stream of immigration from the Armenian highlands through Syria and Palestine. When the valley of the Nile and the highlands about its upper course were once peopled with kindred races, the intrusion of foreign elements became very difficult. The country was subjugated by Ethiopian conquerors; but these were allied to the Egyptians in race, manners, and religion. A Semitic race, the Shepherd Kings, at one time overran Egypt; but they were expelled. The Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs never succeeded in permanently subduing their rivals on the Nile. Even when the people yielded to a Persian conqueror, their ancient character remained almost unchanged. Commercial intercourse with the Greeks was as slow in its influence as European dealings with China in our own time. No permanent change was effected till the conquests of Alexander led to a Greek colonization of the country; and even then the Ptolemies conformed in many respects to the peculiar institutions of their subjects, to which Christianity alone had power to give the final death-blow.

The language of ancient Egypt also bears marks of the highest antiquity. It has the agglutinative and monosyllabic structure of the Turanian dialects. It exhibits points of affinity with the Chinese as well as the Nigritian dialects, and it partakes of a Semitic character, especially in its pronouns and its grammatical constructions. This evidence agrees with the physical qualities, the habits, and the religion of the ancient Egyptians, to place them as a link between the Semitic and Nigritian races. Their reddish colour distinguished them both from the white Caucasian and black Negro races, while the thick lips and elongated eye connect them with the Nubians of Ethiopia. To the contemplative and religious nature of the Asiatic, they added the degraded fetishism of the African race, in their elaborate system of animal worship. Their frugal habits were marred by occasional luxury

and the grossest sensuality. Their patriotism was mingled with the greatest prejudice against foreigners, though they treated them with hospitality. One of their most striking characteristics is the division of the people into *castes*, that is, classes devoted to particular occupations, and kept distinct from each other in blood.* This institution is an infallible sign of a mixed population, in which one people has been overpowered by another, the conquerors forming the higher castes. These are always, as in ancient Egypt, the priests and warriors, the former generally preserving the ascendency over the latter which intellect gives. The king belonged to both castes, being the chief priest as well as the civil ruler of the nation. His authority was limited, not only by the laws, but by the minute regulations for his life imposed upon him by the priests. His power in war depended on his gratifying the soldiers. These relations provoked, of course, jealousies and collisions, which may often be traced in the history of Egypt. The whole land was in the possession of the king and these two castes, the priests having the sacred domains, and the soldiers certain estates free from taxes. The agriculturists, who formed the next class, seem to have held their land chiefly under the king, to whom they paid a tithe, which was doubled by the policy of Joseph during the great famine.† The artizans came next; and last the shepherds, who were an "abomination," like the pariahs of India. The minute details given by Herodotus are very uncertain. The higher castes were undoubtedly of the Caucasian race; the lower were a mixed population, chiefly of the Nigritian type.

The mixed character of the people joined with the peculiar position of their country to make the ancients doubt whether Egypt belonged to Africa or Asia. It was, in fact, locally African, but Asiatic in its social affinities and its political relations. Far more important than such technical divisions is its physical connexion with the surrounding region. We have already spoken of the Nile valley, as a depression in the great desert zone which stretches from the Atlantic coast of Africa nearly to the shores of the Yellow Sea, a depression much shallower than the Red Sea, and narrower than Mesopotamia. This

* This, of course, only applies to the *pure* castes.

† Genesis xlvii. The lands of the priests were exempt from this charge and acknowledgment of royal ownership; but nothing is said of those of the soldiers. At a much later period, Herodotus tells us of an attempt to confiscate them by the supposed priest-king Sethos.

valley is divided from the surrounding deserts by ranges of hills on the east and the west; but these alone would be a feeble barrier against the sands. It is the fertilizing flood of the Nile that makes the distinction between Egypt and the deserts on either side. The "Abyss of Waters" (for so the Egyptians called it), whose source was one of the great problems of the ancient world,—a problem which Pharaohs, Ptolemies, and Cæsars sought in vain to solve,—has at last been seen by our countrymen Speke and Grant, issuing from the great lake, called Victoria Nyanza, just under the equator, and on the eastern margin of the table-land of Central Africa. Its course of almost 3000 miles to the Mediterranean is so nearly due north, that the meridian of 30 degrees E. longitude, which cuts across its western mouth, is very near its chief bend above the 20th parallel of latitude, grazes its first bend below the 10th parallel, and passes but little to the west of the lake Victoria Nyanza itself.

This main stream, fed from other great lakes in the same swampy table-land, and enlarged by numerous tributaries, of which the chief is the *Bahr-el-Ghazal* from the west, flows in its northern course over about 16 degrees of latitude (more than 1000 miles, including windings), to the modern city of Khartoum. Here it receives the first of the two great rivers which drain the highlands of Abyssinia, the Astapus and Astaboras of the ancients, the latter, which is still called Atbara, joining it about 170 miles lower. While all three branches contributed to the inundation of the lower Nile, under the joint operation of the equatorial summer rains and the melting of the mountain snows, it is to the Abyssinian confluents that the flood owes it fertilizing power. The Astapus especially brings down such a vast amount of soil and decayed vegetable matter, that it has received the name of the Blue River (*Bahr-el-Azrek*, in Arabic); and the contrast it presents at Khartoum to the clear water of the main stream has given to the latter the title of White River (*Bahr-el-Abiad*).* There is, however, no proper ground for the question which of these rivers is the true Nile. Though, in the season of flood, the Blue River pours down the larger volume of water, in the dry season it often dwindles to an insignificant and fordable stream; and the Astaboras is very much smaller. The great plain

* The turbidness which affects the whole river below the confluence, is the origin of its chief name in Hebrew (*Shihor*, i. e. the *black* river).

enclosed between these two rivers and the Nile forms the "island of Meroë" of the ancients, the seat of a great Cushite kingdom, which rivalled that of Egypt. Below the Atbara the Nile completes the second half of its course without receiving a single tributary. In Nubia, where it makes its greatest bend, it falls over a series of rocky shelves, forming rapids, which were called by the Greeks *Cataracts*. The most considerable of these are five in number, and the lowest, which is called the First, reckoning up the stream, has always been considered as the southern boundary of Egypt. It lies so little north of the tropic of Cancer, that at Syene (*Assouan*) just below it, Herodotus was told that the sun was reflected vertically in a well at the summer solstice; but this is not literally true. From Syene the Nile flows between high banks of mud, in the valley bounded by the hills already mentioned, the plain between them having an average width of about seven miles, till it passes Cairo and the Pyramids, in about 30° N. latitude. Here it divides into two branches, which enclose the great alluvial plain called the Delta, from its resemblance to that letter (Δ), a term which geographers have extended to similar formations at the mouths of rivers in general. In ancient times the river flowed through the Delta in seven channels, five of which, Herodotus tells us, were natural, while two were artificial. These two, which formed the extreme branches to the east and west, are now the only mouths. The valley of the river may be compared to a flower with a branching head on a single long stem, or to a serpent with several heads, a likeness which seems to be intended in several passages of Scripture.* This form has given rise, from time immemorial, to that subdivision of the country into Upper and Lower Egypt, which is implied in the dual name of Mizraim. The exact point of division was above Memphis, which was not so far south of the apex of the Delta as at present. The subdivision of Upper Egypt into the Heptanomis (or Middle Egypt), and the Thebaid (or Upper Egypt), dates from the early Cæsars.

Thus far we have spoken of the valley of the Nile, and this is, in fact, physically the land of Egypt. Herodotus records an oracle of Ammon, defining Egypt as the country overflowed by the Nile, as far south as the first cataract. The deserts of Libya and Arabia, and even the hills which bound the valley of the river on either side, are most properly excluded by this definition; for their

* Psalm lxxiv. 13, 14; Isaiah xxvii. 1, li. 9; Ezekiel xxix. 3, xxxii. 2.

nomad population has always been quite distinct from the inhabitants of Egypt. It is solely to the inundation, and to the soil deposited by the river, that Egypt owes its existence as a habitable land, for rain scarcely ever falls. Beginning to rise about the summer solstice, and overflowing about two months later, the river pours its turbid red waters over the fields through innumerable canals and cuttings in the banks. About the autumnal equinox the inundation has reached its height. It subsides much more slowly than it rose, leaving a deposit of rich black mud, upon which the seed is sown without ploughing or any other tillage.* The crops thus sown about a month after the autumnal equinox are reaped after the vernal equinox: flax and barley being the earliest, wheat and rye later.† When the inundation falls short of the average height by only a few inches, large portions of the country are consigned to sterility and famine; while an unusual rise may devastate whole districts.‡ Parallel to the river, on its west side, at a distance of from three to six miles, the canal called in its lower part *Joseph's River* (*Bahr-Youssouf*) § runs from a point above Abydos to the Canopic (the western) branch of the river, with which it has several other points of connexion. Near the ancient Heracleopolis a branch goes off to the great lake of Mœris (*Birket-el-Keroum*), a natural lake, though the works of the Egyptian kings upon it, for the regulation of the inundation, gained them the credit of its formation.

With good reason, therefore, the Egyptians called their land the gift of the river. The average rate of the addition made to the soil is about 4½ inches in a century. Assuming that the valley of the Nile was once a rocky chasm, like the bed of the Red Sea, and that the space now occupied by the Delta was an estuary, many writers, from Herodotus downwards, have tried to calculate the long ages during which the Nile has been filling up the bottom of the valley and projecting the Delta into the sea. But they overlooked the fact, that the alluvium is only a superficial deposit, under which we soon come to the rocks, which are limestone as far as the upper part of the Thebaid, where the subjacent sandstone appears above the surface, followed by breccia

* The plough was, however, used where the soil required it, and all the processes of agriculture are seen on the monuments.

† Exodus ix.

‡ An example occurs at the very moment of writing this passage, in the autumn of 1863, when an excessive inundation has done great damage.

§ The name is derived, not from the patriarch, but from an Arab ruler who improved the canal. Its origin is unknown.

and various primitive rocks, till at Syene we reach the granite which was used for the chief colossal statues. The actual rise of the soil, as measured by its accumulation around ancient monuments, has been estimated, near the first cataract, at about nine feet in 1700 years, at Thebes about seven, and less still in Lower Egypt; while at the mouths of the river, where, according to the theories above noticed, the land should be constantly advancing into the sea, no increase is perceptible. It would seem, indeed, that the underlying rocks are gradually subsiding, while those about the head of the Red Sea are rising.

The country thus defined as watered by the Nile, lies between 24° 1′ and 31° 37′ of N. latitude, and between 27° 13′ and 34° 12′ of E. longitude. Its length, along the valley of the Nile, up to the first cataract, is about 500 miles, its breadth in the valley averages about seven; but the coast-line of the Delta, though its boundaries are somewhat indefinite, extends over about 250 miles.* The whole area is about 115,000 geographical square miles, of which about 9600 are within reach of the fertilizing inundation, and 5600 are under cultivation. But in ancient times this area was greatly extended by a complete system of irrigation. Only second in importance to the fertilizing power of the river was the abundance of its fish, which were carefully preserved in great ponds, connected with the river by conduits; but these works also have fallen into decay, and the fisheries have dwindled away, as was predicted by Isaiah (xix. 8, 10). Nor has his prophecy been less literally fulfilled in the comparative disappearance, except in the marshes of the Delta, of the abundant vegetation of the river, the reeds that fringed its banks, and the lotus and other beautiful water-plants that floated on its surface. The famous papyrus, especially, after serving the old inhabitants for innumerable uses, including boat-building, and having furnished both to them and the Ptolemies that great material of literature, which still gives its name to a different substance, is now almost extinct. The land abounded with gardens, orchards, and vineyards; and we still see on the monuments all the processes of gathering the fruit and making the wine. The "cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions, and garlic," for which the Israelites longed in the wilderness, were

* In political geography, Egypt had a far wider extent, including the Arabian Desert to the Red Sea, and much of the Libyan Desert to the West. The three chief oases of the latter were occupied by the Egyptians; and that of Ammon in particular (now the *Oasis of Siwah*), was the chief seat of the worship of the great national deity from whom it takes its name.

but a few of the esculent vegetables and herbs of Egypt. Its cereal products have made it a chief granary of the world, ever since the days when Abraham took refuge in it from famine, and Jacob heard that there was corn in Egypt.

To this exuberant fertility Egypt added the advantage of a position at the very confluence of the great lines of traffic between the east and the west, by the isthmus of Suez on the land, and by the Mediterranean and Red Seas on the water. Long after the glories of its old monarchy had decayed under the domination of Persia, Alexander saw this vast advantage, and fixed the commercial capital of his empire at Alexandria. And, in our own times, though the stream of oriental commerce has long been diverted into the route round the Cape, the command of the shorter transit through Egypt has risen to a political question of the first magnitude. We have already spoken of the defensible position of Egypt. On the side where it lay most open, to the upper valley of the Nile, security was obtained by conquest, and the part of Ethiopia immediately to the south was almost always a dependency of Egypt, governed by a viceroy, with the title of the "Prince of Kesh (Cush)." There were, however, times when the rival kings of Meroë, still further to the south, obtained the mastery of Upper Egypt; but their rule was rather a change of dynasty than a foreign conquest. The wild tribes of the deserts which isolated Egypt on the west are constantly seen on the monuments either as captives, tributaries, or mercenaries. From the like evidence we learn that the power of the Pharaohs reached as far as the negro tribes, but probably only in the form of predatory incursions to obtain slaves. The Arabian tribes of the eastern deserts appear to have generally maintained their independence; but the peninsula of Mount Sinai belonged to the kings of the Fourth, Sixth, and later Dynasties, who engraved records of their Asiatic conquests on its rocks. Foreigners not within the reach of conquest were treated upon a jealous system of exclusion, and it was not till a late period that they were allowed a single port on the Mediterranean. Even when hospitably received, as in the the case of the Israelites, they were only permitted to settle in a border district. This exclusiveness arose partly from a repugnance towards other races, and partly from the resolution to preserve the national character and habits uncontaminated.

Egypt already possessed a powerful and wealthy court when Abram was driven into the land by a famine in Canaan. But the origin of that monarchy, and of the elaborate system of civiliza-

tion, religion, and government, that flourished under it, is lost in the furthest remoteness of antiquity. We have already had occasion to notice the Scriptural evidence, from which we learn little more than that the original Egyptians, the people of Mizraim, were one of the oldest Hamitic races, and closely kindred to the Cushites of Ethiopia. The theory, started by Diodorus Siculus, and recently maintained by Heeren, that the course of civilization was down the Nile, from Ethiopia to Egypt, is now deservedly rejected. The monuments of Nubia, instead of being the first rude efforts of the art afterwards developed in Egypt, are the debased products of that art in its decline. The thorough domination of the priestly caste in the kingdom of Meroë, which is cited as the original type of Egyptian institutions, admits of another explanation.

The materials for the most ancient history of Egypt are: first, the narratives in the books of Genesis and Exodus; next, the information obtained in the country by the Greek travellers and historians,—Herodotus in the fifth century B.C., and Diodorus Siculus in the first, with many notices in the other classical writers. But in addition to these foreign testimonies, we have a large body of native sources of information. These are of two kinds,—written documents and inscribed monuments. Of the former, we have now chiefly secondary, but still invaluable records; the latter stand where they were first engraved, the materials for a harvest of which we have only reaped the first-fruits. While the invention of the title "Egyptologers" proves the importance of this field of study, it is somewhat discouraging to observe how few positive results have been gained by their labours since the great discovery by which Champollion and Young made hieroglyphics legible; but it is no small gain to have obtained the key. And even if further researches should disappoint our hopes, there remains a mass of records which it needs no learning to decipher; the pictures of wars, conquests, and public ceremonials, of agriculture, industry and domestic life, which are of far greater value than the names and dates of kings and dynasties.

Our space will not permit more than the briefest description of the Egyptian hieroglyphics and other forms of writing, in which, as also in the cuneiform inscriptions, we clearly trace the successive stages in the invention of the art of writing. Three forms of writing are found on the Egyptian monuments and papyri. The first are the *Hiëroglyphics* (i.e. *sacred engravings*), so called from an idea, not strictly correct, that the knowledge

of them was confined to the priests. The hieroglyphic characters are pictures of objects, separately and distinctly defined; and representing, in their various uses, the earliest stages in the invention of writing. As *symbols*, they are used in three ways: first, in direct imitation, as when a circle is put for the *sun*, a crescent for the *moon*, a male figure for *man*, a female figure for *woman*, and the two together for *mankind;* these figures are called "iconographic" or "ideographic." Their second use is "anaglyphic" or "tropical," in which the meaning is conveyed figuratively, as a *leg in a trap* for deceit, a youth with a finger to his mouth for an *infant*. Thirdly, there is the *allegorical* or enigmatic form, in which the object intended to be expressed is represented by another which is used as its conventional emblem; as two water-plants of slightly different forms for Upper and Lower Egypt. But the hieroglyphics are also used as "Kyriologic," or phonetic signs, the initial letters of their primitive meanings standing for those of other words, and for the words themselves, having the same initials. This is the second stage in the invention of writing; but the signs do not seem to have reached the last, or alphabetic stage.

The second form of writing was the "Hieratic," in which the hieroglyphic symbols become characters in a sort of running hand, with only a distant resemblance to their original form. This form of writing was really, as its name implies, confined to the priests, in whose hands it became so conventional, that the characters often bear less resemblance to the original objects than in the third form. Most of the existing papyri are written in this character.

The third form is the "Demotic" (*popular*) or "Enchorial" (*of the country*), in which the language of the common people was written. It was, except in the few cases just noticed, a still more cursive modification of the hieroglyphics than in the hieratic writing. It was used for records of civil transactions during the Ptolemaic period, and continued in use to the third or fourth century of our era.

The existence of a trilingual inscription, in hieroglyphical, enchorial, and Greek characters—being a decree of the priests of Memphis in honour of Ptolemy V., Epiphanes (about B.C. 196)—on the celebrated "Rosetta Stone," now in the British Museum, gave the clue by which Young and Champollion were guided independently to the principles of hieroglyphic interpretation; a discovery which has opened up to us the contemporary records of every period of Egypt's history.

Among the hieroglyphic signs on monuments of a date supposed to exceed 2000 years before the Christian era, are those for the papyrus and the pen and ink, proving that writing, already employed in the form of engraving upon stone, had now reached a form fit for the multiplication of books. We are assured by Diodorus Siculus that the Egyptian priests had preserved the records of all their kings from the earliest ages, not merely in the form of dry annals, but with descriptions of their personal characters and exploits; and Herodotus says that the priests showed him a papyrus with the names of 330 kings from Menes to Moeris; we know too that their great temples had libraries of sacred books. Of such records we have still a specimen in the form of a hieratic papyrus, of the Egyptian kings, now in the Museum of Turin.* Many portions of the "Ritual of the Dead" and other sacred books on papyrus are in the British Museum. When the mass of these records themselves was lost we cannot tell, but they were doubtless in existence at the time of Alexander's conquest, and furnished materials for the works which were written to gratify the curiosity of the new Greek sovereigns and the pride of the Egyptian priests. The first and most important of these works was the "History of Egypt," by Manetho, a priest of Sebennytus, under Ptolemy I., at the beginning of the third century before Christ. Though Manetho's history has perished, like the sacred books from which he compiled it, the chronologers Eusebius and Julius Africanus have preserved his list of the thirty dynasties who reigned in Egypt. This list has been confirmed to a great extent by the hieroglyphic inscriptions, but it has been greatly interpolated, and even if these corruptions could be removed, great difficulties would remain.

We do not feel it necessary to enter into the controversy between the Egyptologers and their opponents, respecting the historical value of Manetho's lists. Feeling unable to reject them altogether, without leaving a blank in the place of that very ancient history which is attested both by Scripture and the monuments, we cannot accept the dictum of the one party, that "Egyptian history begins with Psammetichus," however we may be staggered by the assertion, on the other side, that: "Whereas, in the annals of other ancient nations a time of tradition intervenes between that of myths and that of facts, no such period of transition is found in the Egyptian records, where we find

* Edited in facsimile by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, London, 1851.

pure fiction immediately followed by accurate history." We prefer to give the history as told by the ancient authors and by the most diligent modern students of the monuments, leaving its value to be settled by criticism based on more extensive knowledge than we have yet acquired. The statements we proceed to make must therefore be understood, not only as the mere results of enquiries too elaborate for us to trouble the reader with, but as results that only express a certain state of opinion, which cannot be regarded as placed beyond dispute.* A minor difficulty is one of form. We scarcely tread on safe ground, either historical or chronological, till the accession of the Eighteenth Dynasty, under whose rule Egypt was finally united, and began the most brilliant period of her history. It is here that the dynasties first become continuous. To suppose them so from the beginning, would place their commencement as early as B.C. 5000. Not only is this at variance with the monuments, but there is internal evidence that some of the dynasties were contemporaneous; nay more, it has been recently discovered that successive kings of the same dynasty reigned in part together. Upper and Lower Egypt were for a long period distinct kingdoms; and smaller kingdoms existed in different parts of the country, with capitals at This, Memphis, Elephantine, Heracleopolis, Thebes, and Xoïs. Of the seventeen dynasties that occupied this interval from the era of Menes, the following table exhibits an arrangement, proposed by Mr. Lane in 1830, approved by the most eminent Egyptologers, and since confirmed in many points by the monuments.

However interesting as a field for speculative research, the space occupied by these seventeen dynasties would scarcely claim the notice of the historian, but for its connexion with the sacred history, and for those wondrous monuments of the early Pharaohs, the Pyramids at Ghizeh near the ancient Memphis.

The traditional history of Egypt, which we read in Herodotus and Diodorus, may be accepted as a fair report, by truthful enquirers, of what it was the pleasure of the priests to tell them, allowance being made for misunderstandings. But it is clear that the priests were far more ready to amuse the eager enquirer with marvellous tales, than to communicate the contents of their sacred books. These were first unfolded by Manetho, with whose records the stories of Herodotus and Diodorus can seldom be brought into agreement; and the evidence of the monuments is almost always in confirmation of Manetho.

* See further the note on *Egyptian Chronology* at the end of the chapter.

MR. LANE'S TABLE OF THE FIRST SEVENTEEN DYNASTIES.

B.C.	THINITES								
2700	I. 2717 (era of Menes)	MEMPHITES							
		III. cir. 2650							
2600									
2500			ELEPHANTINITES						
	II. cir. 2470	IV. cir. 2440	V. cir. 2440						
2400									
		2352. Date in reign of Suphises.							
2300									
				HERACLEOPOLITES.	DIOSPOLITES				
2200		VI. cir. 2200		IX. cir. 2200	XI. cir. 2200				
2100						XOITES	SHEPHERDS		
					XII. cir. 2080	XIV. cir. 2080	XV. cir. 2080	XVI. cir. 2080	cir. 2081. Abraham visits Egypt.
					2005. Date in reign of Amenemha II.				
2000					1986. Date in reign of Sesertesen III.?				
					XIII. cir. 1920				
1900									1876. Joseph governor. 1867. Jacob goes into Egypt.
1800		VII. cir. 1800 VIII. cir. 1800		X. cir. 1750					(215 years)
1700							XVII. cir. 1680		1652. Exodus
1600									
					XVIII. cir. 1525				
1500									

All agreed in representing the gods, demigods, heroes, and manes (or souls of the departed) as having reigned in Egypt for many ages before any dynasty of mortals; Manetho says for 25,900 years. This legend seems not to have been the fruit merely of national pride, but it embodied the first principles of their religious faith. They referred the creation and government of the world to the will of the one supreme God, of whom they permitted themselves no visible representation, symbol, or form of worship, but adored Him "in silence." But the infinitely varied manifestations of this one divine essence, when put forth in action, moral and intellectual as well as material, came to be regarded as distinct deities. Hence the Egyptian Pantheon embraced names and forms, in which nearly every other people recognised the objects of their own religion, from the Sabæism of the Chaldees and the elemental worship of the Magians, to the degraded Fetishism of the Nigritian races. The adoration of the heavenly bodies, the deification of elemental powers, and the elaborate system of animal worship, seem to have sprung alike from the common source of Pantheism. How far these and other developments of that first principle were aided by the influence of other nations, we need not stay to enquire; nor can we attempt a complete account of the Egyptian religion.*

First of the divine rulers of Egypt was placed Ptah, the Creator, the personification of the all-working powers of fire, and hence identified by the Greeks with their Hephæstus, the Latin Vulcan. But the metaphysical element, which accompanied and perhaps preceded the physical, is seen in the constant association of the symbol of Truth with this deity. The next who reigned was the Sun (Helios), the Egyptian Ra, whose worship was maintained from the earliest times at On (Heliopolis) in Lower Egypt. The wife of Joseph was the daughter of a priest of On. The name of the third in Manetho, Agathodæmon, points to an abstract principle, and is identified by Egyptologers either with Har-Hat or with Num, Nu, or Nef, a deity whose emblems are the boat and asp, and who is said to represent the vital principle generated from the waters. The fourth is Chronos or Saturn, Seb, the personification of Time, who, as in the classical mytho-

* For this, and all other matters falling within the province of the national antiquities, the reader is referred to the various modern works on Egypt, especially those of Sir J. G. Wilkinson, and Mr. Poole's article "Egypt" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, last edition.

logies, stands between the elemental and creative powers and those by whom the world is governed. These latter were the children of Seb and Netpe (Rhea); their names were Osiris, Seth, Aroeris, Isis, and Nepthys. The conflict of good and evil, in the persons of Osiris and Seth (Typhon), fills a large space in the later Egyptian mythology; but it should be carefully observed, that Sin was not necessarily included in the Evil originally typified by Typhon. Thus, in the list of the divine kings, Seb is succeeded by Osiris, the god who appeared on earth in human form, to manifest and work all good for men, and, having been put to death by the malice of the evil being, was raised again to life, and became the judge of souls in the world beyond the grave. Osiris and his wife Isis are said by Herodotus to have been the only gods worshipped throughout all Egypt. He was succeeded by the usurper Typhon, who was in his turn slain by Isis, with the assistance of her son Horus, the seventh of these divine rulers. Horus, whom the Greeks identified with Apollo, is the manifestation of his father's virtues in youthful energy and beauty, who restores order upon the earth, and begins a new era of truth and justice. After him the different lists derived from Manetho give different names, which cannot here be pursued in detail; and the whole series of divine dynasties ends with a second Horus. In some forms of the mythology the first Horus is the brother, the second the son of Osiris. This outline will sufficiently show that in the succession of divine rulers we have an embodiment of the Egyptian belief concerning the primeval order of creation and providence.

All the authorities are agreed in placing at the head of the *First Dynasty* of mortals, Menes, or MEN, as his name is read in the Turin papyrus, which contains a list of the Egyptian kings in the hieratic character. His name is also found in hieroglyphics, in the form Menee, in the Rameseum at El-Kurneh. Herodotus affects to give particulars of his works: the dyke that protected Memphis from the inundation, and the change of the course of the Nile from the edge of the Libyan hills to the middle of the valley. But how much of the mythical element was mingled with the traditions of that remote period is shown by the historian's assertion, that all Egypt, except the Thebaic nome, was then a marsh, from which he proceeds to calculate the myriads of years required for the deposit of the Delta. The very name of Menes suggests a mythical impersonation of the human race, like the Indian Menu, the Greek Minyas and Minos, the

Etruscan Menerfa, and the German Mannus. Other traditions state that Menes built the great temple of Ptah at Memphis, that he extended his conquests into Ethiopia, and was killed by a hippopotamus, and that his memory was devoted to a curse because he induced the Egyptians to change their earlier and simpler mode of life. Amidst these legends we can trace as a clear fact the great antiquity of Memphis as the seat of the earliest Egyptian monarchy; while the derivation of Menes from This (the later Abydos) in the Thebaid, accounts for the precedence always given to Upper Egypt on the monuments.* It would seem, then, that an older monarchy even than that of Memphis flourished in Upper Egypt, with its capital at This. But no monuments remain at This; and those of Memphis are older than any at Thebes. Neither Menes, nor his successors of the First Dynasty, have left any monuments, but his name appears on those of a much later date. Of his successors of the First Dynasty, who were seven in number, the monuments bear no record. One of them, Athothis, will claim notice again presently.

The *Second Dynasty* consisted of nine Thinite kings, according to Manetho, who assigns it a duration of 300 years. The monuments appear to show that it lasted nearly four centuries, and was finally overthrown, with the Memphite Dynasty, by the invasion of the Shepherd Kings, about B.C. 2080. The Thinite kingdom had probably been long before eclipsed by the superior power of the Memphian kings. Under the second king, Manetho places the deification of the bulls, Apis at Memphis, and Mnevis at Heliopolis, and of the goat Mendes at the city of the same name. The succession of women to the throne is said to have been made legal under his successor. This usage seems to show the influence of the Nigritian races. Among the early sovereigns was the celebrated queen Nitocris (Neitakri), whose cruel revenge of her brother's murder is related by Herodotus. She is the last of Manetho's Sixth Dynasty. Another Nitocris, of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, was about contemporary with the Babylonian queen of the same name.

The *Third*, *Fourth*, *and Sixth Dynasties* of Memphite kings seem to have been contemporary with the First and Second of Thinites, as represented above in Mr. Lane's table. Egyptologers hold the third to have been a dynasty established by the Thinite kings at their newly founded city of Memphis, the first king, Nekherophis, being contemporary with Menes. His successor,

* Some make Menes a Theban.

Tosorthus, is actually identified with Athothis, the son of Menes, by the common character of great medical knowledge, and being the first who built with hewn stone, in erecting the palace at Memphis. A revolt of the Libyans, and their submission through terror at a sudden increase of the moon, is placed by Manetho in the reign of Nekherophis.

The eight Memphite kings of the *Fourth Dynasty* have left their own wonderful monuments in the pyramids of Ghizeh. Nor are these their only records. "Not only does the construction of the pyramids, but the scenes depicted in the sculptured tombs of this epoch, show that the Egyptians had the same habits and arts as in after times; and the hieroglyphics in the Great Pyramid, written in the cursive character on the stones before they were taken from the quarry, prove that writing had been long in use." "In the tombs of the Pyramid-period are represented the same fowling and fishing scenes; the rearing of cattle and wild animals of the deserts; the scribes using the same kind of reed for writing on the papyrus an inventory of the estate, which was to be presented to the owner; the same boats, though rigged with a double mast, instead of the single one of later times; the same mode of preparing for the entertainment of guests; the same introduction of music and dancing; the same trades—as *glass-blowers*, cabinet-makers, and others—as well as similar agricultural scenes, implements, and granaries. We also see the same costume of the priests; and the prophet, or *Sam*, with his leopard's-skin dress; and the painted sculptures are both in relief and intaglio. And if some changes took place, they were only such as necessarily happen in all ages, and were far less marked than in other countries."* In one respect, the art of this age is superior to that of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties; there is less of that stiff conventional form which sacred rules imposed in the treatment of the human figure, while the drawing of other forms is quite equal to that of the best ages. Thus the monumental history of Egypt presents the phenomenon of a total absence of the period which is elsewhere marked by the first rude stages of art and civilization. Besides this evidence of the political power of these Memphite kings, we have records of their dominion in the peninsula of Mount Sinai, where they worked copper mines. Sculptures at Wady-el-Magharah represent Shura (Soris), the first king of the Fourth Dynasty, slaying enemies of

* Sir J. G. Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Book II. App. chap. viii. vol. ii. pp. 344, 345.

an Asiatic race. His name has also been found in the tombs near Ghizeh, and in the quarry marks of the northern pyramid of Abou-Seir. This pyramid, thus proved to be the tomb of Shura, is the earliest Egyptian monument which bears certain evidence of its builder. His two successors bore the same name, Suphis (the Cheops of Herodotus); the third king being distinguished from the second by the exacter appellation of Sensuphis (a brother of Sufis); their names on the monuments are Shufu and Num-Shufu. That they reigned in great part together, and were the joint builders of the Great Pyramid, is proved—says Sir Gardner Wilkinson—"by the number of years ascribed to their reigns;* by their names being found among the quarry marks on the blocks used in that monument; by their being on the sculptured walls of the same tomb behind the Great Pyramids; and by this pyramid having two funereal chambers, one for each king, rather than as generally supposed, for the king and queen." What is known further of their reigns may be best described in the words of Mr. Poole:—"The names of both the Suphises occur among the rock inscriptions of Wady-el-Magharah in the peninsula of Sinai, where the second of them, or Num-Shufu, is represented slaying a foreigner. The military expeditions of the Egyptians, however, at this period, were probably of little importance, and designed to repress the nomad tribes, which have at all times infested the eastern and other borders of Egypt, and to maintain the possessions beyond these borders. The Memphite Pharaohs were rather celebrated for the arts of peace, and for the care with which they promoted the interests of literature and science. Of Suphis I. Manetho writes that he was arrogant towards the gods, but, repenting, wrote the Sacred Book. This seems to agree well with what Herodotus and Diodorus relate of the impiety and cruelty of the king who built the Great Pyramid; but if we suppose that he was arrogant towards the priests, we find a sufficient cause for the ascription to him of this character so ill according with the prosperity and peacefulness of his time, as shown by the monuments. The power of the king or kings is evidenced by the magnitude of the Great Pyramid, and the costly manner of its construction; the safety of the kingdom, by no soldiers being represented in the sculptures, and the general custom of going unarmed, common to the great and small; the wealth of the subjects, by the scenes pourtrayed upon the walls of their tombs;

* For two brothers could not have reigned successively sixty-three and sixty-six years. The latter number implies that Suphis II. survived his brother.

and the state of science and art, by the construction of monuments, gigantic in size, of materials many of which were transported from a great distance, and fitted together with an accuracy that has never been excelled; as well as by the astronomical and other knowledge of which evidence is found in the contemporary inscriptions."

The fame of the two Suphises as pyramid builders, is shared by their successor, Men-ka-ré, the Mencheres of Manetho, and Mycerinus of Herodotus, whose name is painted on the roof of the chamber of one of the smaller pyramids near the Great Pyramid; but part of his mummy case now in the British Museum, and bearing his name, was found in the "Third Pyramid," of which he was the builder. Manetho assigns this pyramid to Queen Nitocris, the last of the Sixth Dynasty, who probably enlarged it, and made it her own sepulchre, as it contains two passages and chambers, the older passage being built over in extending the structure. The "Second Pyramid," is ascribed by Herodotus to Cephren, the brother and successor of Cheops, and uncle to Mycerinus. By these tokens, Cephren should correspond to the second Suphis of Manetho; but besides the improbability of two brothers achieving two such enormous works, there is no likeness in the names. There is however, in the Fifth Dynasty, a Shaf-ra (Sephres), who may perhaps answer to Cephren, and may have completed the work of which the foundation had been laid by the second Suphis in emulation of his brother. Nothing is known of the remaining four kings of this mighty dynasty. Their whole rule seems to have somewhat exceeded two hundred years. We shall have presently to speak further of their works.

The *Sixth Dynasty* succeeded the Fourth at Memphis, about B.C. 2200, and lasted about a century and a half. Only two of its six sovereigns require mention. Papa, or Phiops, is said by Manetho to have become king at six years of age, and to have completed his hundredth year. Some confirmation of the length of his reign is found on his monuments, the number of which through all Egypt attests his great power. The Queen Nitocris of whom we have already had occasion to speak, appears in the Turin papyrus as Neet-akar-tee, which is said to signify Neith (Minerva) the Victorious. With her the dynasty closed, being overthrown by Shepherd Kings, who fixed their capital at Memphis.

The *Fifth Dynasty*, of nine (or as Eusebius has it, thirty-one) Elephantine kings, began about the same time as the Fourth, and appears to have lasted little less than 600 years. At first sight it

appears improbable that this dynasty ruled at Elephantine, on the extreme south border of Upper Egypt; and the association of their names in the Memphian tombs with those of the Fourth Dynasty seems to imply that their capital was some place of the same name in Lower Egypt. But if they were a branch of the other reigning family, we can easily understand their using the same sepulchres, however distant; and the length of time that their rule survived the invasion of the Shepherds, is in accordance with the more obvious view. Their last king, Unas (Ormos, in Manetho) is known by an inscription to have been contemporary with Assa, the fifth king of the Fifteenth Dynasty (of Shepherds) at Memphis. The only memorable sovereign of this dynasty is Shaf-ra or Khaf-ra, the Sephres of Manetho, and probably, as we have seen, the Cephren or Kephren to whom Herodotus and Diodorus assign the Second Pyramid. The tombs around the Pyramids bear the names of great numbers of persons of rank belonging to his reign.

The *Ninth Dynasty* was founded at Heracleopolis, about the same time that the Sixth ruled at Memphis, soon after B.C. 2200. Of its nineteen kings, to whom he assigns 409 years, Manetho only mentions the first as the most cruel of all before him. Six of their names are found in hieroglyphic inscriptions, which make it probable that they became vassals to the powerful Diospolites of the Twelfth Dynasty. The *Tenth* (Heracleopolite) *Dynasty*, as well as a large portion of the Ninth, falls in the time of the Shepherds.

The *Eleventh Dynasty* founded the great kingdom of Diospolis, or Thebes, which was destined to unite all Egypt under its sway, about the same year, B.C. 2200. Of its sixteen kings, however, only the last, Amenemha I., possessed any great power.

It was the *Twelfth Dynasty* that really established the great Diospolite kingdom, at a time most critical for Egypt. Under the preceding dynasties, which appear to have been for the most part offshoots of one reigning family, the land had enjoyed a long season of repose. But just about the time of the accession of the Twelfth Dynasty, it was overrun by that great assault of a foreign race, which, under the name of the invasion of the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings, forms the great catastrophe of the early Egyptian history. These foreigners established their power for about 500 years, first at Memphis, and afterwards over all Egypt, except perhaps the Thebaid, by whose kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty they were ultimately expelled. The period of their rule is especially interesting on the supposition that it includes all the relations of the Hebrew patriarchs with Egypt, from the journey of Abraham

to escape the famine, down to the great deliverance of the Exodus.

Before we pass on to these events, or to the exploits of the Diospolite kings of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, we must look back upon the state of Egypt before this first revolution, at least in its known history. We have seen, as we have proceeded, the evidence borne by its monuments to the high state of civilization which was attained at least as early as the Fourth Dynasty. In those monuments, in the relics which have been transported to Europe, and in which our own Museum is peculiarly rich, and in the faithful transcripts of Rosellini, Wilkinson, Lepsius, and other labourers in this field, the life of this great people is set before our eyes, beginning with a period 4000 years ago; and we wonder to see how much it is like our own. It is not the province of the historian to describe the minute details of a nation's manners, and no written description would convey any idea of those of the Egyptians, compared to what may be gained by a few hours' inspection of the objects and scenes preserved in the British Museum, and depicted in the great works we have just named.

With the exception of the pyramids and tombs, the monuments of the first eleven dynasties are few. The British Museum possesses several sepulchral tablets, and a coloured wooden statue found in a tomb at Ghizeh, certainly one of the oldest effigies in the world. The use of wood for statues in tombs is common in every period of Egyptian art; and such figures seem always to have been painted, like the effigies on the mummy cases. They are generally in a freer attitude than the stone statues. Herodotus mentions the wooden statues he saw at Thebes, of all the priests from the earliest ages down to his own time.

But as few can behold, and fewer still inspect the secrets of those great monuments of the early Pharaohs which have always been the wonder of the world, it becomes necessary to give some account of the Pyramids. These, with the tombs surrounding them, are the great monuments of the periods of those "Memphian kings," whose works Milton describes as outdone only by the structures reared by the fallen angels. Their names very rarely occur in the Thebaid, and then not on monuments of their own, but in the tombs of private persons who lived during their reigns. This should be carefully borne in mind, to correct the vague impression created by viewing Egypt as a whole, through the mist of remote antiquity, and even fancying that most of its monuments

were of an age not very different from the Israelite captivity and Exodus. The great temples, tombs, and statues of Upper Egypt (from which we gain our chief knowledge of the people), were erected under the Theban kings, who probably reached the acmé of their power after the Exodus. But the Pyramids of Lower Egypt were seen by Abraham far across the valley of the Nile, as he approached the royal city of Memphis, with the same general outline for the first sight of which the traveller still strains his gaze. The impression which the view of them produces is thus described by one of these recent eye-witnesses:—

"The approach to the Pyramids (by one travelling westward from Cairo and the banks of the Nile) is first a rich green plain, and then the Desert; that is, they are just at the beginning of the Desert, on a ridge which of itself gives them a lift above the valley of the Nile. It is impossible not to feel a thrill as one finds oneself drawing nearer to the greatest and most ancient monuments in the world, to see them coming out stone by stone into view, and the dark head of the Sphinx peering over the lower sandhills. Yet the usual accounts are correct, which represent this nearer sight as not impressive; their size diminishes, and the clearness with which you see their several stones strips them of their awful and mysterious character. It is not till you are close under the Great Pyramid, and look up at the huge blocks rising above you into the sky, that the consciousness is forced upon you that this is the nearest approach to a mountain that the art of man has produced."*

These successive emotions are not unfit emblems of the stages of our interest in the problem of the pyramids and in Egyptian history itself. An object of vague but universal curiosity, the first approach to its study involves us in no little doubt and disappointment, which it requires a closer knowledge to dispel.

The traveller at once discovers, what the historian too often forgets, that the pyramids are not to be viewed or studied by themselves. "The strangest feature in the view is the platform on which the pyramids stand. It completely dispels the involuntary notion that one has formed of the solitary abruptness of the three pyramids. Not to speak of the groups, in the distance, of Abou-Seir, Sakkara, and Dashour, the whole platform of this greatest of them all is a maze of pyramids and tombs. Three little ones stand beside the First, three also beside the Third. The Second and Third are each surrounded by traces of square enclosures, and their eastern faces are approached through enormous masses of ruins

* Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, Introduction, p. lvi.

as if of some great temple; whilst the First is enclosed on three sides by long rows of massive tombs, on which you look down from the top as on the plats of a stone-garden. You see, in short, that it is the most sacred and frequented part of that vast cemetery which extends all along the western ridge for twenty miles behind Memphis." *

The situation of these tombs, on the western border of the Nile valley, arose from the belief that the abodes of the dead were in the West, the land of sunset and of darkness. The very few tombs on the east side of the Nile have evidently been placed there for reasons of convenience. No pyramids are found on the east till we come to Upper Ethiopia, which lay beyond the sacred land, whither men conveyed the bodies of their relations. The region of the West, and the abode of departed spirits (the *Hades* of the Greeks), were expressed by the cognate words *Ement* and *Amenti*. Like the kindred race in Chaldæa, the Egyptians regarded certain cities as sacred burial-places. Such, besides the vast cemetery common to Memphis and Heliopolis, was the great Necropolis of Thebes, with its royal tombs, and that of Abydos, both of which have yielded a vast harvest of antiquities.

The immense pains bestowed by the Egyptians upon the remains and resting-places of the dead bear witness to one of the most important points in their religious philosophy. The paintings of their tombs continually confirm the statement of Herodotus, that they believed in the immortality of the human soul, and in its reunion to the body which it had quitted at death, after a long cycle (Herodotus says 3000 years) of transmigration through the forms of all the animals of air, earth, and water.† Together with this belief, they held the doctrine of a future judgment. The soul was regarded as an emanation from the Divine Essence, to which it returned at death, either to be re-united to the Deity in a state of blessedness, or to be banished into the bodies of unclean animals till its sins were purged away. Each man's rank after his death was determined by the judgment supposed to have been passed upon his life. The elaborate embalmment of the dead, the ceremonies performed before the mummy, and the care taken of it in the sepulchre, were honours paid to the form in which a part of the Divine Essence had resided and would reside again. In this belief

* Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, Introduction, p. lvii.

† The Greek writers, who unanimously attest that the Egyptians held the doctrine of metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls, say that Pythagoras borrowed it from them.

we cannot but trace a remnant of the primitive religion planted in Egypt at the first settlement of the primeval race of Ham, and preserved by the unchanging habits of the people. That it had not a more powerful influence on their lives, will not surprise those who know the nature of man. When the restraints of a pure creed on evil habits have once been broken through, arguments are even found in the former for the indulgence of the latter. We know that the perpetual regard paid to the truth of their mortality was perverted by the Egyptians into a motive for sensual indulgence, and the forms of the dead were brought into their banquets to point the lesson, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Nor would the present temptations of power, gain, and self-indulgence be much checked by a pantheistic doctrine of immortality, which promised to all an ultimate reunion to the Divine Essence. In fact, the most powerful motives to justice and temperance seem to have been derived rather from the shame of dishonour to the remains of the dead, than fear of their future state.

We leave to the excellent writers on Egyptian antiquities the details of the various modes of embalmment and of the funeral rites. The body was devoted to Osiris, who, with Isis, ruled over Amenti; it received his name, was bound up in imitation of his likeness, and was marked with some of his emblems, especially the beard of a form which belonged only to the gods. Sacrifices having been offered for the deceased to Osiris, or one of the other deities of Amenti, the mummies were placed in a sort of moveable closet, with folding doors, in which, having often remained for some time in the house, they were conveyed on a sledge to the place of burial. This was, for the poor, either a pit dug in the earth to hold many mummies, or niches in the sides of a rock-hewn cave, which was closed up with masonry when full. The tombs of the rich had likewise their pits or caves for the deposit of the mummies, over which was another chamber, or even more, hewn in the solid rock, when the situation allowed, or else sumptuously built of masonry. The inner walls were adorned with paintings, sculptures, and inscriptions in hieroglyphics, and here the relatives of the deceased often met, to join the priests in services for the dead. The possession of such a tomb, or even of a share in one, was an object cherished by all classes. Herodotus tells us that one of the Egyptian kings permitted family tombs to be pledged for money lent, as the debtor would make every effort to avoid the disgrace of such a loss. The kings and priests, and the wealthy of the other high castes, were conveyed to the tomb in a pompous procession,

the mummy being borne in a hearse, with ornamental panels, one of which was removed to display its head. In the route of the funeral there always lay a lake, the emblem of the gulf between the two worlds, over which the hearse was conveyed in the *baris*, or sacred boat; the boatman bearing, as the Greek writers tell us, the name of Charon, whence they traced their own fable of his ferrying the dead over the infernal river Styx. This Charon appears to have been the god Horus. But the deceased was not suffered to embark till he had stood a trial before forty-two judges, who sat in a semicircle on the margin of the lake. Any person might come forward to accuse him of having led an evil life, on pain of the heaviest penalties if he failed. If the charges were proved, the priests denied the rites of sepulture—the worst disgrace that could befal a man. It was, as Wilkinson observes, like being left on the wrong side of the Styx. Not even the kings were exempt from this ordeal; and cases are recorded of their being refused sepulture, like some of the Jewish kings. But no further indignities were perpetrated, and even the worst of men were suffered to be privately buried by their friends; a lot shared by those whose poverty did not allow them a public funeral. Formidable as this funereal judgment was, it only typified that which was believed to be held in the other world by Osiris, before whom the souls were brought by Anubis, at the gate of Amenti, and there weighed in the scales of Truth by Justice, whom the Egyptians figure not only as blind, but without a head. The gate is guarded by a monster more hideous than the Cerberus of the Greeks, called the Devourer of the Wicked. Such are the scenes that we may still behold vividly pourtrayed on the walls of those tombs to which the corpse was at length conveyed, to rest until the sepulchre should be ransacked by the curiosity of succeeding ages.

The position of the pyramids, grouped with and towering above these abodes of the dead, whose sculptures bear evidence of a contemporary age, and the actual discovery in the Third Pyramid of the body of its founder, can leave little doubt that the ancient writers are correct in representing them as designed by kings, whose arrogance could be satisfied with no meaner edifices for their own sepulchres. Herodotus relates, on the authority of the priests, the full story of the forced labour by means of which Cheops (Shufu) erected the First Pyramid, as well as the gigantic causeway to convey the stones across the valley of the Nile from the eastern hills, a work not inferior to the pyramid itself.* He tells us

* Here is a striking proof of the importance attached to the position on the west

that this causeway was ten years in building, and the pyramid itself twenty. He describes the mode of erecting it by successive stages, and the means of raising the huge stones by machines placed on these stages. He even repeats the reading given by an interpreter of an inscription which he saw upon the pyramid, recording the quantities of radishes, onions, and garlic consumed by the builders —(the savoury pot-herbs of Egyptian labourers, which the liberated Israelites so sorely missed)—and the sum spent in its erection, namely, 1600 talents of silver.* After making every allowance for mistakes, and even for deception, by the interpreters—who certainly sometimes amused themselves at the traveller's expense—these details seem to prove that the time, and manner, and purpose of the erection were known to the priests in the time of Herodotus. The recent discovery of the founder's name completes the evidence.

A bare mention will therefore suffice for the ingenious theories which assign to the pyramids other builders and a widely different purpose. In regarding them, however, primarily as regal sepulchres, we do not exclude the supposition that they may have been so planned as to give their construction other uses and meanings. Their position, exactly facing the four cardinal points, and the inclination of their main passages, which we have already noticed, seem to show a connexion with the science of astronomy. Their dimensions would naturally be exact multiples of the standards of length used by the Egyptians. But the discovery of all manner of ratios in the sides, sloping edges, height, and angles, of the Great Pyramid, and in the length, breadth, thickness, and solid content of the sarcophagus or coffer in its central chamber, besides being suspicious from the very number of the supposed coincidences, requires a previous assumption as to the scientific knowledge of the builders. Let it be proved, from other evidence, that they had obtained, by their astronomical science, a tolerably correct measure of the earth, and that they had deduced an exact metrical system from that measurement; and then we might accept the probability that the dimensions of the pyramids perpetuate their measures. But to prove all this we want more than coincidences, and even if proved, it would not exclude the belief in the primary purpose of the buildings as sepulchral monuments. We can far more

side of the Nile. Traces of causeways are seen in front of the First and Third Pyramids.

* This would amount, on the largest estimate of the talent, to about £400,000, an enormous sum in those days, and yet one which might appear inadequate, were it not for the fact that the labour was forced.

readily believe that such edifices, erected for their own uses, should be so constructed as also to preserve standards of measure in their several parts, than that they were designed solely to perpetuate those standards. How strongly the ordinary view is confirmed by what we know of the manner of their construction, will appear as we proceed.

The pyramids of Lower Egypt, then, are the chief sepulchral monuments in that vast necropolis of ancient Memphis, the general plan of which can still be clearly traced. They were the tombs of the kings, towering in the midst of the lesser sepulchres of their subjects. The form of monument seems to have been coëval with the Egyptian monarchy, for Manetho tells us that Venephes, the fourth king of the First Dynasty, built a pyramid at Kochome, the site of which is uncertain. The capital of Lower Egypt stood on the west side of the Nile, about ten miles above Cairo; and its people chose for their cemetery the lowest platform of the western hills, where they could not only rest far above the reach of the inundation, but hew their sepulchral chambers in the solid rock. The existing pyramids—for many have been destroyed—stand together in groups, of which a good general view is obtained from the citadel of Cairo. Looking a little to the south of west, we see the three largest pyramids, which are distinguished by the name of the neighbouring village of *El-Ghizeh*. Further south are those of *Abou-Seir*, also three in number, but much smaller. A little beyond them is the very curious pyramid of *Sakkara*, called the "Pyramid of Degrees," from the steps on its surface, surrounded by a large number of smaller pyramids. The two pyramids of *Dashour*, the next largest to those of Ghizeh, are the last that can be referred to the necropolis of Memphis, though there are several others further to the south. The whole necropolis, which appears to have been common to Heliopolis and Memphis, extends over a space of about twenty miles, from the ruined pyramid of Abou-Ruweysh, a little to the north of those of El-Ghizeh, to the southernmost pyramid of Dashour.* But the whole district over which the pyramids are spread extends from 29° to 30° N. latitude, or almost 70 miles, corresponding very nearly with Middle Egypt. Their number is estimated at about 69, or one to a mile on the average. Of all these, the northern pyramid of Abou-Seir is probably the most ancient; being, as we have seen, the tomb of Shura, the first king of the Fourth Dynasty;

* A map and panorama of the whole district is given by General Howard Vyse, *Operations carried on at the Pyramids of Ghizeh in* 1837, vol. iii.

unless, as some suppose, the ruined pyramid of Abou-Ruweysh, the northernmost of the whole, be the pyramid of Venephes, of the First Dynasty. The next is the "Great Pyramid" of Ghizeh, which has always been the chief object of curiosity, and affords the best type of this sort of edifice. It is the largest and northernmost of the three, which are placed, so to speak, *en échelon* from N.E. to S.W. The other two are the "Second Pyramid," which Herodotus ascribes to Cephren, and the "Third," or Pyramid of Mycerinus.

The name Pyramid is not Egyptian, but Greek, nor did it originally denote the peculiar geometrical form to which we now apply it, but a common object, to which the pyramids of Egypt bore some resemblance.* In the same way the Egyptian *obelisk* was so named by the Greeks from its resemblance to a spit or ingot. Nay, we might even venture on the paradoxical statement, that these edifices were not originally pyramids at all in the modern sense of the word. Like those other great types of Hamite architecture, the temple-towers of Chaldæa, and the pagodas of India, they were at first built in successive stages, each smaller than the one below.† The distinct statement of Herodotus and other ancient writers to this effect is now abundantly confirmed by the form of the "Pyramid of Degrees" and of several of the smaller pyramids, and by a minute examination of the construction of the others. This fact seems to prove that the Chaldæan towers are of the more ancient type, and it raises a presumption that, like them, the Egyptian pyramids were originally temples, connected with a Sabæan form of idolatry. It may be too fanciful to suppose that the appropriation to his own sepulchre of a form sacred to the gods was the impiety which the priests charged on the greatest king of the Fourth Dynasty, but we may be allowed to conjecture that those mighty Pharaohs, who assumed the names and attributes of their chief gods, aspired after death to the divine honour of a temple tomb. It is interesting to observe how the mode of construction admitted of the lateral enlargement of the pyramid; and the Third Pyramid bears evidence of having been enlarged in this manner. In some cases, at

* The exact etymology is uncertain.

† The faces of these steps, or, as Herodotus calls them, battlements, were sometimes not perpendicular. In the "Pyramid of Degrees" they are inclined about 70° to the horizon. The pyramid of Meydoon is an admirable case of construction in three stages with oblique sides, giving a form intermediate between the Chaldæan tower and the regular pyramid. The resemblance to the old form of Chaldæan temple is very striking in the three-staged brick pyramid of Illahoon.

least, a piece of the solid rock which was levelled to form the base of the pyramid, was left standing as a central core of the whole edifice. In the Great Pyramid it reaches about 80 feet above the base.

It has been supposed that the lateral extension of the larger pyramids, and the number of their stages, bore a definite relation to the length of their intended occupant's reign; that the chamber designed for his sarcophagus was first excavated in the solid rock, with a passage down to it just large enough to admit the sarcophagus, and inclined at a convenient angle to aid its descent;* that a cubical block of masonry was then built over the chamber, forming the first stage of the pyramid;—that fresh stages were added for each year of the king's reign, and those below extended proportionally;—and that the final process of finishing off the surface was performed after his death. In that final process, the angles of the stages were built up with masonry, the outer courses of which formed steps more numerous and smaller than the original stages; and the surface was then finished with blocks of stone, the outer faces of which had already been quarried to the required slope, and these were finally brought to a fine polish. It is no doubt to this last process that Herodotus refers, when he says that the pyramid was finished from the top downwards. In the upper part of the Second Pyramid these casing-stones are still perfect. In the Great Pyramid their loss has converted each face into a series of 203 rough steps, whose height varies from 4 feet 10 inches at the bottom to 2 feet 2 inches at the top, their breadth being 6 feet 6 inches. Some of the lowest casing-stones were discovered in their places by General Howard Vyse.† They were 4 feet 11 inches high, and 6 feet 3 inches on the sloping face, 4 feet 3 inches wide at the top, and 8 feet 3 inches at the base. They were united by the hardest cement, with joints no thicker than silver paper; and their angles were so accurately formed, that a calculation based on them gave the actual height of the pyramid. Like the bulk of the masonry, they are of the calcareous stone from the quarries of Tourah in the eastern hills.‡ As thus finished, the whole edifice formed a "right

* This passage almost always faces the north. When the entrance is higher up the side of the building than the ground line, it seems to prove a lateral extension beyond that originally allowed for. We shall presently see how curious a case of this sort is presented by the Great Pyramid. The southern pyramid of Dashour has, besides the original chamber and passage, another much higher up, with an entrance in the west front.

† Some pieces of them are in the British Museum.

‡ The Second Pyramid is cased with granite from Upper Egypt.

pyramid" on a square base, herein differing from the Chaldæan towers, in which the stages are not placed concentrically over each other. The faces are a little less in altitude than equilateral triangles; in other words, the edges are somewhat shorter than the base.* These proportions, however, are not the same in all the other pyramids.†

The dimensions of the Great Pyramid have been accurately taken by General Howard Vyse, whose observations were completed and reconciled with some former measurements by the discovery of the casing-stones. The base was originally a square of 756 feet, the height was 480 feet 9 inches, the angles made by the triangular sides with the plane of the base 51° 50′, ‡ and the angle between two opposite faces at the vertex 76° 20′. By the loss of the casing and other stones, carried off to Cairo to be used for building, and the accumulation of rubbish and sand round the base, it is reduced to 732 feet square, and the height to 460 feet 9 inches. The area of the base, now 535,824 square feet, was originally 571,536 square feet, covering more than thirteen acres. The whole mass contained 90,000,000 cubic feet of masonry, weighing about 6,316,000 tons. These last are numbers scarcely intelligible to any but a railway engineer, but the reader may form some conception of the edifice by imagining a pyramid nearly one-third higher than St. Paul's standing on a base somewhat larger than Lincoln's-inn-fields.

What might be the chambers and passages constructed, and what the objects deposited, within this enormous mass of masonry, were questions perhaps forbidden to the Egyptians by religious reverence, but which foreign travellers and rulers have always tried to solve. It has been observed that Homer makes no mention of the pyramids, as they did not come under his notice, though a modern poet has fancied that the same mummy might

> "Have hob-a-nobbed with Pharaoh glass to glass,
> Or dropped a half-penny in Homer's hat!"

Herodotus tells us, on the information of the priests, that below the Great Pyramid were chambers hewn out of the solid rock, and designed by Cheops for use as vaults; and that these formed a

* The angle between the edge and base in each triangle is 57° 59′ 40″.

† The southern pyramid of Dashour has two different slopes, the upper half forming the acuter angle with the horizon. But the supposition that this was a mere accident, arising from a wish to complete the building more speedily, is confirmed by the rough workmanship of the upper part.

‡ This is also the angle at the base of the casing-stones.

sort of island, surrounded by water introduced from the Nile by a canal. How far this agrees with modern discoveries will appear presently. The respect paid to the royal sepulchres by Persian and Grecian rulers was no barrier to the Romans, under whose government the descriptions of Strabo, Pliny, and others, prove that the Great Pyramid had been rifled. In modern times it has been repeatedly examined. One entrance to it is a forced passage made by the caliphs. The second pyramid was entered, with vast labour, by Belzoni, who found that the Caliph Othman had been there before him, and had recorded his entrance in a Cufic inscription (A.D. 1196-7). The numerous investigations since made, leave little doubt of the general internal plan and purpose of the pyramids.

A single narrow passage, entered from the northern face, at or near the ground-line, leads down into the sepulchral chamber, hewn out of the solid rock beneath the centre of the pyramid. Above this is usually another chamber, corresponding to the upper chamber of an ordinary tomb, but by no means for the same uses. For nothing is more remarkable in these buildings than the jealous care with which the entrance and passage were closed, by blocks of stone so massive that explorers have had to force a way round them through the masonry. The tombs of ordinary persons were left open, to admit future burials, and to allow of the performance of funeral rites; while the Memphian Pharaohs slept in solitary state beneath a huge funereal mole of masonry. But not even its solid mass could secure their repose. The sarcophagus of Cheops has been empty from its first discovery. Belzoni found the tomb of Cephrenes rifled by his Arab predecessors. The remains of these kings are consigned to oblivion; but the fate of Mycerinus has been even worse. Standing to-day in our museum beside curious spectators, in front of the glass case which contains the shattered remnants of his coffin, and the mouldering fragments of his bones, the mockery even of a skeleton, we knew not which to admire most, the vanity of human greatness, or the recklessness of human curiosity. Neither the Roman satirist in his *Expende Hannibalem*, nor Shakspere when he uttered the like moral—

> "Imperial Cæsar, dead and turned to clay,
> May stop a hole, to keep the wind away,"

contemplated the case of the royal dust which still retains, in its degradation, some vestiges of the human form!

It still remains to notice some very peculiar and interesting

points in the internal structure of the Great Pyramid. The entrance lies in its northern face, 24 ft. 6 in. east of the central axis, 49 feet above the base, and is easily reached by a mound of the fallen stones. It is about 3 ft. 5½ in. broad by 3 ft. 11 in. high, the sarcophagus in the central chamber being 3 ft. 3 in. broad by 3 ft. 5½ in. high, so closely was the passage fitted to it. Above this small opening is a gigantic architrave, formed by huge stones inclined to one another, the arch being as yet unknown. The passage, inclined downwards at an angle of 26° 41′, and 320 ft. 10 in. long, leads for some distance through the masonry, and then much further through the solid rock, to what was doubtless the original sepulchral chamber, 100 feet below the base of the pyramid itself; it is 46 ft. by 27 ft., and 11 ft. 6 in. high. A passage, which runs from it horizontally to the south for about 55 feet, appears to have been abandoned. It would seem as if the length of the king's reign had caused the masonry of the pyramid to cover the original mouth of the first passage, and instead of leaving it open, a new one was formed in another direction. At the distance of 63 ft. 2 in. from the entrance, and about where the masonry covers the rock, this new passage branches off upwards at an angle of 26° 18′ to the length of 124 ft. 4 in. From this point it is continued horizontally for 109 ft. 10 in. to a chamber which lies nearly in the centre of the pyramid, 67 ft. 4 in. above its base. This, which is commonly called the "Queen's Chamber," is 18 ft. 9 in. by 17 ft., and 20 ft. 3 in. high, with a roof of flat stones placed so as to form an angle. But neither was the sarcophagus deposited here. These passages are all lined with calcareous stone finely polished. But the upward inclined passage is continued from the point where the horizontal passage branches off, in the form of a grand gallery 150 feet 10 in. long and 28 feet high, lined with blocks of granite, in courses projecting each over the one below. From the end of this gallery another short passage, or vestibule, leads horizontally to a chamber 34 ft. 3 in. by 17 ft. 1 in., and 19 ft. 1 in. high, roofed with nine flat slabs of granite; the whole chamber and vestibule being lined with blocks of the same material. This is known as the "King's Chamber." Near its western end, placed due north and south, is a red granite sarcophagus, of so fine a crystalline substance that it rings like a bell when struck. It is 7 ft. 6½ in. long, 3 ft. 3 in. wide, 3 ft. 5½ in. high, and 7½ in. thick at the base. The sarcophagus has neither hieroglyphics nor sculptures of any sort. Its occupant, if one ever rested there, is

gone, and even the lid is missing. It is one of the problems of the Great Pyramid, whether this sarcophagus was introduced after its completion. We have seen that the first passage was only just large enough to let it pass, and the same is true of the first part of the upward passage and its horizontal prolongation; and it is not easy to see how it could be got past the first bend and up the slope. The last is the only difficulty offered by the great gallery; but the entrance to the vestibule is so small, that if the sarcophagus ever passed through it, it must have been contracted since. The absence of any sarcophagus from the subterranean and "Queen's" chambers favours the opinion that each was in turn destined for the royal tomb, and afterwards abandoned. When the position of the King's Chamber was finally settled, what is now nearly the centre of the pyramid may have been its summit. The sarcophagus may have been raised along the upward passage before it was covered in, and the pyramid afterwards finished, leaving the mummy to be brought in in its wooden coffin. That the chamber was not finally closed when first constructed, is clear from the elaborate provision for its ventilation. Two air channels, about 9 inches square, are carried from it to the north and south faces of the pyramid, perpendicular to the outer surface; they were evidently constructed as the building proceeded. When these channels were opened by Mr. Perring in 1837, the ventilation of the chamber was completely restored. The jealous care with which the pyramid was finally closed is proved by a huge block of granite, which so effectually shuts the mouth of the upward passage, that explorers have had to force their way round it through the solid masonry, as well as by the granite portcullis which as effectually blocks the horizontal vestibule to the King's Chamber. This closing of the passages is an argument against the truth of the tradition, that by the judgment after his death, Cheops was refused burial in his intended sepulchre.

Two very interesting points still require notice. Above the King's Chamber is a series of five low chambers, of somewhat larger area, and from 6 ft. 4 in. to 8 ft. 7 in. in height. Their floors and roof are of the red granite of Syene, the former being rough hewn, the latter flat, except the uppermost, the slabs of which form an angle to support the superincumbent weight. This roof is 69 ft. 3 in. above that of the King's Chamber. They were evidently designed to lighten the pressure on the flat roof of that chamber. The lowest of the five was discovered by Davison in 1764, the rest in 1837, by General Howard Vyse, who named

them after Wellington, Nelson, Sir Robert Arbuthnot, and Colonel Campbell. It was on the blocks of these chambers that General Howard Vyse made his grand discovery of the names of Khufu and Num-Khufu, scrawled in large linear hieroglyphics, which are evidently quarry marks, for some of them have been cut through in sawing the blocks.* Thus the tradition was confirmed, and Cheops proved to be the builder of the pyramid.

The remaining point relates to the so-called "Well." This is a shaft, 2 ft. 4 in. square, cut down through the solid masonry, from the point where the horizontal passage to the "Queen's Chamber" branches off from the upward inclined passage. It descends perpendicularly 26 ft. 1 in., then more irregularly for 32 ft. 5 in. to a recess called the "Grotto," not far from the base of the pyramid, and thence into the lower inclined passage, a little above the subterranean chamber. Its total length is about 155 feet. It is supposed to have been made as an exit for the workmen after they had closed the two ends of the great passage. Some explorers have sought in it the explanation of what Herodotus and Pliny say about a subterraneous communication with the Nile; but no such communication has been found, and the story seems most improbable.

The base of the Great Pyramid is about 137 feet above the level of the inundation of the Nile; the floor of the subterranean chamber is about 100 feet below the base, and consequently about 37 feet above high Nile; the floor of the "Queen's Chamber" is about 60 feet, and that of the King's Chamber 125 feet, above the base; from the roof of the latter to the original apex of the pyramid is about 300 feet.

The Second, or Pyramid of Cephren, is of somewhat smaller dimensions. It has, so far as is known, only one sepulchral chamber, cut into the surface of the rock, with a groined roof in the base of the pyramid. There are two entrances; one 37 ft. 8 in. above the base, descending at an angle of 25° 55′ to the surface of the rock, along which it runs horizontally to the sepulchral chamber; the other entrance is on the base line, from which the passage descends some distance into the solid rock, and then re-ascends to join the horizontal passage. The granite sarcophagus was found empty by Belzoni.

* This discovery disposes of the error, that hieroglyphics were not used thus early. The names of Cheops and Cephren have also been found on the stone scarabæi, which the Egyptians used as emblems of Cheper, the Creator, a gigantic specimen of which may be seen in the British Museum.

Of the Third Pyramid we have already had occasion to speak; of the rest we can only stay to mention that several are of brick, cased with stone.* One of the two brick pyramids of Dashour is supposed by some to be that ascribed by Herodotus to Asychis, whom he makes the successor of Mycerinus, but whose name does not appear in the lists of Manetho.† It bore, as the historian tells us, an inscription, cut in stone, to the following effect: "Despise me not in comparison with the stone pyramids; for I surpass them all, as much as Jove surpasses the other gods. A pole was plunged into a lake, and the mud which clave thereto was gathered; and bricks were made of the mud, and so I was formed." The quality of the alluvial soil of Egypt naturally suggested the making of bricks from the earliest ages; but the Egyptian bricks (at least under the early Pharaohs) were never burnt, but only sun-dried. They were used for houses, city walls, fortresses, the enclosures of temples, in short, for all buildings not of a monumental character. It was only as art declined that they were put to the latter use, and then, as we have just seen, with an apology disguised under a boast. They are found stamped with the names of Thothmes III., Amenoph III., and other Diospolite kings, and the whole process of their manufacture is represented on the Theban sculptures. These, though most probably of an age subsequent to the servitude of Israel, set most vividly before us scenes exactly parallel to those described in the book of Exodus. The brickmakers are evidently captives, working at heavy burthens, under taskmasters who are plying the stick and whip without mercy. To complete the illustration, the bricks of several buildings are found mixed with chopped straw; for without some such substance the fine alluvial mud was too friable to bind well. Several specimens of Egyptian bricks may be seen in the British Museum.

The building of pyramids seems to have been disused in Egypt after the Twelfth Dynasty, but it was continued in Ethiopia. The Nubian pyramids are very inferior in care of construction, and they furnish one of the many proofs that Ethiopian art was not the parent, but the debased offspring, of the Egyptian. The entrance to the Nubian pyramids is generally covered by a temple and propylæa. Several of the Egyptian pyramids also are connected with temples, and all doubtless stood within sacred enclosures,

* There are also several small brick pyramids in the Thebaid.

† Sir G. Wilkinson conjectures that the name may be meant for Shishak, of the Twenty-second Dynasty, perhaps confounded with some other king.

like those which surround the Second and Third Pyramids. In fact, the tomb of an Egyptian was essentially a temple, consecrated to the deities of Amenti.

The limits of our work will not admit, in general, of antiquarian discussions on the scale we have allotted to the Pyramids; but their vast antiquity, their existing state, and the deeply interesting problems they suggest, seemed to demand that the reader should be put in possession of all that is known concerning them. They stand out as conspicuously on the comparatively blank page of early Egyptian history, as their forms rise above the valley of the Nile, the monuments of an almost unknown chapter in the history of the world.

NOTE ON EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

The various sytems of chronology adopted by the Egyptologers are based on astronomical calculations, on the traditions of Manetho and others, and in some degree on the chronology of Scripture. Enjoying, like the kindred Chaldæans, the greatest advantages of climate and horizon, the Egyptians divide with that people the honour of being the first cultivators of astronomy. Like the Chaldæan temple-towers, the pyramids had probably a connexion with astronomical observation. In addition to other proofs, it has been discovered that the passages which slope inwards from the northern face of these structures are inclined at the very angle which would make them point to what was the pole-star at the epoch of their erection. We have seen the reasons for ascribing these edifices to the Fourth Dynasty, probably about the middle of the twenty-fourth century B.C., or about 4000 years ago. At that time, on account of the precession of the equinoxes, the north pole of the heavens was about 3° 44′ from the star α Draconis. The latitude of Ghizeh, where the pyramids stand, being just 30° N., this would be, at all times, the inclination of a tube pointing to the true pole. But the altitude of the then polar star, at its two meridian passages, would differ from this elevation by the amount just stated, and, at its lower culmination, would be about 26° 16′; and so slightly do the passages of the three principal pyramids differ from this inclination, that the mean is 26° 13′. "At the bottom of every one of these passages, therefore, the then pole-star must have been visible at its lower culmination, a circumstance which can hardly be supposed to have been unintentional, and was doubtless connected with the astronomical observation of that star, of whose proximity to the pole, at the epoch of the erection of these wonderful structures, we are thus furnished with a monumental record of the most imperishable nature." * It is obvious how complete a criterion this discovery would afford for the date of the erection of the pyramids, if we could be quite sure that it is not an accidental coincidence.

* Sir J. Herschel, *Outlines of Astronomy*, §§ 319, 320, ed. 1849.

Other Egyptian monuments, such as the famous zodiac in the temple at Denderah, show the care of the priests in taking and recording astronomical observations, upon which they based an elaborate system of chronology. They claimed the discovery of the true length of the solar year, by means of the stars, but the priests kept this reckoning to themselves. The year employed in ordinary computations, both civil and religious, was the "Vague Year" of 365 days, divided into twelve months of 30 days each, with five days added after the twelfth. It was in use from a time at least as early as the second king of the Eighteenth Dynasty (about B.C. 1500), till it was merged in the Julian year by Augustus (B.C. 24). The neglect of the quarter of a day would of course, as in the Roman calendar before the Julian reform, have caused the year to retire through the seasons. But its division into three seasons of four months each seems to prove that they also used a "Tropical Year," that is, one whose length was regulated by the recurrence of the seasons. The three seasons were called by names which the best authorities interpret as signifying those of "Vegetation," "Manifestation," and the "Waters" or "Inundation." The months were named after the different deities. The year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, which seems to have been the nearest approximation they made to the true length of the year, was determined by the heliacal rising of Thoth or Soth (the Dog Star), and hence was called the "Sothic Year." The interval between two coincidences of the Vague and Sothic years was 1461 of the former and 1460 of the latter. This was called the "Sothic, or Dog Star Cycle," and is a period of the greatest importance in Egyptian chronology. The ancient writers mention two Sothic epochs, the one called the era of Menophres (the Men-ptah of the monuments), on July 20th, B.C. 1322, probably near the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and the other on July 20th, A.D. 139, in the reign of Antoninus Pius. There seems to have been also a "Tropical Cycle," at the end of which the Vague and Tropical years coincided, consisting of about 1500 Vague years; but our information on this point is scanty and uncertain. Supposing that the Tropical cycle began with the Vague year in which the new moon fell at or near the vernal equinox, we obtain two such epochs, namely, Jan. 7, B.C. 2005, in the reign of Amenemha II., of the Twelfth Dynasty; and Dec. 28, B.C. 507, under Darius Hystaspis. Equally important and difficult is the "Phœnix Cycle," to which Herodotus alludes in his celebrated fable of the phœnix. From the astronomical ceiling of the Rameseum (formerly called the Memnonium) at El-Kurneh, we learn that this fabled bird was a constellation, "the Phœnix of Osiris," corresponding probably to the constellation now called Cygnus. Its heliacal rising on the first day of the Vague year seems to have marked the commencement of a Phœnix cycle, which would therefore be of the same length as the Sothic cycle, namely, 1460 Julian, or 1461 Vague years, the very interval which Tacitus assigns to the successive returns of the phœnix. Tacitus also places the recurrences of the cycle in the reigns of Sesostris (probably Sesertesen III.), Amasis, and Ptolemy III.; and Mr. Poole has shown that the two latter known dates agree fairly well with those calculated approximately from the Rameseum. These epochs may be more accurately deduced from the "Great Panegyrical Year," an Egyptian cycle, four of which made up 1461 Julian years, having a mean length of $365\frac{1}{4}$ Julian years, and made up of $364\frac{1}{2}$ and 366 such years alternately. If the Phœnix

cycle corresponded exactly with the Panegyrical, it must have consisted of 1461 Julian (instead of Vague) years. The Great Panegyrical Month contained 30 Julian years, and the Year was made up by intercalating $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 6 years alternately. From these data Mr. Poole has calculated the following chronological epochs :

B.C.
2717. Era of Menes, the first king of Egypt. *First Great Panegyrical Year.* Length, $364\frac{1}{2}$ years.
2352. Time of Suphis I. and II., kings of the Fourth Dynasty.
Second Great Panegyrical Year. Length, 366 years.
1986. Time of Sesertesen III., fourth king of the Twelfth Dynasty.
Third Great Panegyrical Year. Length, $364\frac{1}{2}$ years.
First Phœnix Cycle.
1622. *Fourth Great Panegyrical Year.* Length, 366 years.
1256. *Fifth Great Panegyrical Year.* Length, $364\frac{1}{2}$ years.
891. *Sixth Great Panegyrical Year.* Length, 366 years.
525. In the reign of Amasis, of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.
Seventh Great Panegyrical Year. Length, $364\frac{1}{2}$ years.
Second Phœnix Cycle.
161. In the reign of Ptolemy Philometor.
Eighth Great Panegyrical Year. Length, 366 years.
A.D.
205. In the reign of Septimius Severus.
Ninth Great Panegyrical Year. Length, $364\frac{1}{2}$ years.

Mr. Poole also gives the following table of epochs mentioned on the monuments, with their probable dates :

B.C.
2352. *Second Panegyrical Year.*
Time of Suphis I. and II., kings of the Fourth Dynasty, and builders of the Great Pyramid.
2005. *First Tropical Cycle.*
Time of Amenemha II. Twelfth Dynasty.
1472-1. Date in the fourth year of Sethee. Eighteenth Dynasty.
1442. Date in the sixteenth year of Queen Amen-nunt. Eighteenth Dynasty.
1412. Date in the thirty-third year of Thothmes III. Eighteenth Dynasty.
591. Date in the reign of Psammetichus II. Twenty-sixth Dynasty.
561. Date in the reign of Amasis. Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

The accession of the Eighteenth Dynasty is fixed, with a high degree of probability, about B.C. 1525. Different opinions are held as to the correspondence of this epoch with the Exodus ; some chronologers placing it about the same time, others (as Mr. Poole) as much as 125 years earlier, and others (as the Rabbis and Lepsius) 200 years later. Unfortunately it is impossible to settle this epoch independently, as a point in Scripture chronology.

The Egyptian priests told Herodotus that there had been 341 generations, both of kings and of high-priests, from Menes to Sethos (the successor of the Ethiopian Tirhaka). This he calculates as 11,340 years. He adds that, during this period, the sun had "twice risen where he now sets, and twice set where he now rises." This apparently absurd statement is explained by Mr. Poole as referring to "the solar risings of stars having fallen on those days of the Vague year on which the settings fell in the time of Sethos" (*Horæ Ægyptiacæ*, p. 94).

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF EGYPT FROM THE SHEPHERD INVASION TO THE FINAL CONQUEST BY PERSIA. B.C. 2080? TO B.C. 353.

"High on his car Sesostris struck my view,
Whom scepter'd slaves in golden harness drew:
His hands a bow and pointed javelin hold;
His giant limbs are arm'd in scales of gold.
Between the statues Obelisks were placed,
And the learn'd walls with Hieroglyphics graced."—POPE.

THE SHEPHERD KINGS, OR HYKSOS, THE FIFTEENTH, SIXTEENTH, AND SEVENTEENTH DYNASTIES OF MANETHO—THEIR CONNEXION WITH THE SCRIPTURE HISTORY—QUESTION OF THE EXODUS—CONNEXION OF EGYPT WITH GREECE—EXPULSION OF THE SHEPHERDS—UNION OF EGYPT—THE CITY OF THEBES—TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH DYNASTIES—EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH, THE CLIMAX OF EGYPTIAN POWER AND ART—EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY: THE THOTHMES—AMENOPH III.—THE VOCAL MEMNON—THE SUN-WORSHIPPERS—NINETEENTH DYNASTY: SETHEE I.—RAMESES II.—"SESOSTRIS"—ASIATIC CONQUESTS—STELÆ—TEMPLES AT THEBES AND MEMPHIS, AND IN ETHIOPIA—COLOSSAL STATUES—MEN-PTAH—TWENTIETH DYNASTY: RAMESES III.—DECLINE OF THE KINGDOM—TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY AT TANIS—SEMITIC INFLUENCE IN EGYPT—TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY AT BUBASTIS—ASSYRIANS—SHISHAK AND REHOBOAM—ZERAH THE CUSHITE—TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY AT TANIS—OBSCURITY AND DECLINE—TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY—BOCCHORIS THE WISE—TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY, OF ETHIOPIANS—THE SABACOS AND TIRHAKAH—HOSHEA, KING OF ISRAEL—SENNACHERIB AND HEZEKIAH—LEGEND OF THE PRIEST SETHOS—THE DODECARCHY—TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY AT SAÏS—PSAMMETICHUS I.—GREEK MERCENARIES—SIEGE OF ASHDOD—SECESSION OF THE SOLDIERS—NEKO OR PHARAOH-NECHO—WAR WITH NEBUCHADNEZZAR—DEATH OF JOSIAH—CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA—NEKO'S CANAL—PSAMMETICHUS II.—APRIES OR PHARAOH-HOPHRA—NEBUCHADNEZZAR IN EGYPT—WAR WITH CYRENE—REVOLT OF THE ARMY—DEATH OF APRIES—REIGN OF AAHMES II. OR AMASIS—HIS MONUMENTS—HIS CHARACTER AND HABITS—INTERNAL PROSPERITY—INTERCOURSE WITH GREECE—PSAMMENITUS—CONQUEST OF EGYPT BY CAMBYSES—THE TWENTY-SEVENTH, OR PERSIAN DYNASTY—REVOLT OF INARUS AND AMYRTÆUS—EGYPT AGAIN INDEPENDENT—TWENTY-NINTH AND THIRTIETH DYNASTIES—THE NECTANEBOS, ETC.—FINAL PERSIAN CONQUEST—ALEXANDER AND THE PTOLEMIES.

THE rule of the Shepherd Kings, by whom the Memphian and other kingdoms were overthrown, is doubly interesting from its probable connexion with sacred history. Unfortunately, however, its annals are as obscure as the Scripture history itself is rendered by chronological difficulties, and by the constant use of the title Pharaoh, without the proper names of the respective kings. The dynasties of the Hyksos,* or Shepherd Kings, are the *Fifteenth*,

* This, their Egyptian name, is derived by Manetho from *Hyk*, a king, and *Sos*, a shepherd. The latter word exists in Coptic. In the hieroglyphics *Hak* is *king*, and *Huk*, *captive*, a sense which Manetho also mentions. This etymology has helped to favour the now exploded opinion that these "captive-shepherds" were the Israelites. But the Egyptians used *captive* as a term of contempt for foreigners; so that the word may mean "foreign shepherds."

Sixteenth, and Seventeenth. Manetho says that they were Arabs; but he calls the six kings of the Fifteenth, or First Shepherd Dynasty, Phœnicians. This statement is adopted by Mr. Poole, who connects the invasion of the Shepherds with the great movement of the Phœnicians from the shores of the Erythræan Sea, and with the expedition of Chedorlaomer. Manetho says that they took Memphis, and founded a city in the Sethroite nome (probably the fortified camp of Avaris, the later Pelusium, on the eastern frontier), whence they conquered all Egypt. The primary object of this camp was to resist the Assyrians, from whom, Manetho tells us, they expected an invasion. He adds that they easily gained possession of the country without a battle, which has been explained by the hypothesis that they were brought in as auxiliaries or mercenaries, in contests between the native dynasties; perhaps to aid the Memphians against the Thebans. Mr. Poole supposes them to have been at first in a subordinate position, and on friendly terms with some of the Egyptian kings, so that their rule in Lower and part of Upper Egypt was not inconsistent with that of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties at Thebes. It was not, he thinks, till the close of the latter dynasty, that the Shepherds began that oppressive rule which made them hateful to the Egyptians, and so provoked their expulsion.

The first king of the Fifteenth Dynasty was Salatis or Saites (about B.C. 2080?), who ruled at Memphis, and made both Upper and Lower Egypt tributary; Mr. Poole assigns Abraham's visit to Egypt to about the beginning of his reign. The name of his fourth successor is found on the hieroglyphics as Assa; and this is the king to whom Joseph was prime minister, according to Mr. Poole's computations.

It is impossible to discuss here the various opinions held upon this most difficult and as yet undecided question. Its settlement on purely chronological grounds is forbidden by the difficulties in which both Egyptian and Scriptural chronology are involved; and it is necessary to draw other arguments from the state of Egyptian affairs as described in the book of Genesis. The chronology of Egypt is now so far settled, that the accession of the Eighteenth (Theban) Dynasty may be regarded as fixed to within a few years of B.C. 1525. The era of the Exodus, on the system of Ussher (that given in the margin of our English Bibles), is B.C. 1491. The obvious conclusion agrees with the statement of Manetho, according to Julius Africanus, that Moses

left Egypt under the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, whose name was Amos or Amosis.* The same king, according to Josephus (who calls him Tethmosis), expelled the Shepherd Kings; and there is, in fact, no doubt that the great power of the Eighteenth Dynasty was connected with their expulsion. In this change of dynasty many writers see a natural explanation of the "new king who knew not Joseph." Sir Gardner Wilkinson, for instance, supposes that the Israelites held their possessions in Goshen under the Memphian kings on the condition of certain service, but that the conquering Theban dynasty paid no respect to the agreement, and converted the fixed service into a cruel bondage. The same distinguished writer, following the received Scriptural chronology, assigned the exodus to the fourth year of Thothmes III., the fifth and greatest king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, arguing that there is no explicit statement of the death of Pharaoh himself in the Red Sea.† So far from finding any difficulty in the blow which must have been inflicted on Egypt, first by the plagues, and then by the loss of its army, he viewed the departure of the Israelites as leaving the king free to make new conquests! It is hard to believe that, in such a sense as this, "Egypt was glad when they departed." Lepsius places the arrival of the Israelites under the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the exodus under the Nineteenth.

Passing over as hardly worthy of notice the opposite extreme, of placing the exodus before the Shepherd invasion, we must give a brief account of Mr. Poole's theory. For reasons which we cannot stay to mention, he rejects the very corner-stone of the received chronology, namely, the period of 480 years from the exodus to the building of Solomon's temple, and places the exodus in the year B.C. 1652. This date is founded chiefly on the numbers given in the Book of Judges, combined with the statement of St. Paul, that the rule of the Judges lasted about 450 years, and confirmed by an ingenious argument from technical chronology and some minor proofs. Then, assigning 215 years to the sojourn in Egypt, he brings the migration of Israel to B.C. 1867, and the government of Joseph to B.C. 1876. All these

* According to the Armenian version of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, Moses led the Jews out of Egypt under Achencheres, the ninth king of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The former statement may rather refer to the flight of Moses than to the Exodus.

† In his Essay on Egyptian History, however, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus* (book ii. app. ii. ch. viii.; vol. ii. p. 308), Wilkinson says: "It is probable that the exodus took place in the reign of Ptathmen," the son of Rameses II., a king of the Nineteenth Dynasty, which is the date of the Rabbins and Lepsius.

dates fall within the dynasties of the Shepherds, whom we may easily believe to have been Egyptianized enough to account for the indications given in Scripture of Egyptian customs and religious usages. On the other hand, Mr. Poole argues that many points of the narrative are quite irreconcilable with the idea that the Pharaohs of this period were native Egyptians. Such are their cordial reception of foreigners, whom the Egyptians despised and hated; and the pure despotism of Joseph's Pharaoh, whose will is law, and who reduces the Egyptians to serfdom, while the native monarchs were restrained by law, and set a high value on the attachment of their subjects. In the fear lest the Israelites should join their enemies in some expected war, Mr. Poole finds an allusion to the rival Assyrian dynasty or to the growing power of the native Theban kings. The rise of the new king who knew not Joseph he explains by the fact that there were different dynasties of Shepherds. Besides the Fifteenth, under whom Joseph is supposed to have lived, and who were probably Phœnicians, the Sixteenth seem to have established themselves on the eastern frontier about the same time; and it is agreed that they were an Assyrian race. Assyrian names occur in the Turin list of kings, and the prophet Isaiah uses this remarkable expression, "My people went down aforetime into Egypt, to sojourn there, and the *Assyrian* oppressed them without cause." * Now we are distinctly told that the first king of the Fifteenth Dynasty fortified his frontier against the Assyrians, who would seem at length to have taken Memphis, and founded there the Sixteenth Dynasty.

Such, omitting minor and more doubtful points, is the present state of this great question, so interesting to every student of the Bible. The internal evidence seems very evenly balanced. The former view has ancient tradition on its side, and the highly ingenious arguments on which the latter rests would fall at once to the ground if the key-stone of the received chronology could be maintained, a conclusion for which there is much to be said. The uncertainty in which we are obliged to leave the subject gives one of those striking lessons of which ancient, and especially sacred, history is full,—that we may well be content to have the great events of history preserved for us in that broad

* Isaiah lii. 4. This is quoted as a part of Mr. Poole's argument; but certainly it seems more natural to understand the prophet as speaking of two parallel events in the history of Israel, the Egyptian bondage, and the captivity of the Ten Tribes by the Assyrians, the latter a contemporary event.

outline which compels us to regard them in their great moral significance, without being suffered to fritter away our attention on unprofitable details. The Pharaohs of Abraham, Joseph, and Moses, are simply "Pharaohs" after all, unnamed rulers of the land of bondage, and our chief concern is with the race to whom they were made the instruments of God's designs.*

We need not be surprised at the absence from the monuments of any record of the sojourn or departure of the Israelites, for the scenes of brick-making at Thebes, already noticed, can hardly refer to them, as their residence was in Lower Egypt. In any case, we should not expect such events as the elevation of a foreign viceroy, or the calamities of the exodus, to be depicted on the national monuments. But besides, the whole period of the Shepherd Kings is singularly barren of monumental records, an argument, so far as it goes, in favour of Mr. Poole's view.

Of the Shepherd Kings themselves, we have only further to say, that at the close of the Fifteenth Dynasty the native Memphian kings seem to have recovered their power for a time, forming the *Seventh and Eighth Dynasties* of Manetho, whose accession Mr. Poole places about the time of Joseph's death. They were succeeded, about B.C. 1680, by the Shepherd Kings of the *Seventeenth Dynasty*, whom the copyists of Manetho confuse with the Fifteenth, and erroneously represent as consisting partly of Shepherds and partly of Thebans. The whole relations of these Shepherd Kings to Egypt concur with the monuments of preceding and later rulers to show how closely the Egyptian monarchy was concerned with the Semitic races of Western Asia.

But other most interesting relations, namely with Europe, now come into view. The land of GREECE, whose brilliant history seems to wait till we can emerge from the obscurer annals of the East, now begins to loom across the waters of the Mediterranean. Her earliest traditions point to Egypt and Phœnicia as the sources of her civilization. We are not about to recall Cecrops and Cadmus, Danaus and Ægyptus, from the limbo of mythology, to which recent scholarship has consigned them; and yet it is worth while to remember the distinction between what is mythical and what is traditional in the uncertain ages of a nation's history. The poetical tempera-

* The whole subject will demand some further notice in the next chapter, in connexion with the Egyptian and other traditions about the Exodus.

ment of the Greeks so inextricably mingled these two elements, that we have no choice but to refer both back to a period before the commencement of trustworthy history. But to affirm as certain the falsehood of these legends is to convert our want of knowledge into an ignorance more positive than that which was wont to accept them as historic facts. The influence of Egyptian civilization on Greece is shown in her extant works of art, almost as certainly as Phœnician influence is traced in the enduring forms of the alphabet she has transmitted to all Europe. The traditions of Egypt as well as Greece point to the times of the Shepherd Kings and the Eighteenth Dynasty as the period when this influence began; and it is reasonable to suppose that the expulsion of the Shepherds may have driven a wave of mingled Egyptian and Phœnician population to the shores of Greece. It is, to say the least, curious to find "Cecrops the Saite" as the traditional founder of the city of Athena, the goddess identified by the Greeks with the Egyptian Neith, who was worshipped at Saïs, a city which belonged to the Shepherds of the Fifteenth Dynasty. Cadmus, again, the traditional founder of Thebes, is sometimes called an Egyptian, sometimes a Phœnician, and both he and Danaus are represented as leaders of the Shepherds when they left Egypt, in the curious account of the exodus preserved by Diodorus.* That Egypt had begun to concern herself in the affairs of the Mediterranean long before the real history of Greece begins, is proved by the representation of a sea-fight with the Cretans and Carians about the end of the thirteenth century B.C. Nor can we believe that the notices in Herodotus of the intercourse of both Greeks and Trojans with Egypt at the time of the Trojan war are wholly fictitious, though they cannot be accepted as affording the slightest materials for history. On the other hand, when the Greek copyists of Manetho undertake to tell us that the deluge of Deucalion was in the time of Misphramuthosis (Thothmes II.), the fourth or fifth king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and that Armais was the Danaus who fled from his brother Ægyptus (Sethosis) and founded Argos, we can only suppose that they are inserting the legends of Hellas at those points in the Egyptian annals most consonant with their own theories of chronology.

The Shepherds were at last expelled by the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, who had succeeded to the power established at

* See the following chapter; and for a full account of these traditions, see Poole, *Horæ Ægyptiacæ*, pp. 185—187.

Thebes by those of the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth. Were we writing the history of Egypt for its own sake, rather than in relation to the whole world, we should but have reached the threshold of the subject, for it was under this great line of Theban kings that the land reached that climax of civilization, art, and conquest, which is recorded on its monuments. Except the pyramids and the tombs around them, those monuments—the vast temples, with their obelisks and sphinxes, the huge colossal statues, and the paintings of life on the tombs of Thebes—belong almost entirely to the period we are approaching. From this period, too, the Greeks derived those traditions of Egyptian prowess which they personified in the conqueror Sesostris. To preserve the continuity of the Egyptian history, and to prepare for its connexion with that of the Hebrew and Assyrian monarchies, we must follow its annals considerably below the epoch of the exodus.

The city of No, NA-AMUN, or AMUN-HI (the *abode of Ammon*), a title which the Greeks translated DIOSPOLIS (the *City of Jove*), had the same precedence in Upper, that Memphis had in Lower Egypt. Hence it was called *Ap* or *Apé* (the *head* or *capital*); which became, with the feminine article, Tapé, in the Memphian dialect Thapé; whence the Greek Thebæ, and our THEBES. The accidental coincidence was naturally improved by an assimilation of the legends of the Egyptian and Bœotian Thebes. The Egyptian city was fabled to have a hundred gates, each capable of sending forth an army complete with its chariots. Thebes stood about 420 miles above Heliopolis, and 125 below Elephantine, by the river. Its original site appears to have been on the right or eastern bank; but great buildings, including the necropolis, were erected in what was called the "Libyan suburb," on the western side; extending up to, and hewn into, the Libyan mountain. The ruins of the city and suburb cover a space of about two miles from north to south and four from east to west, in which the villages of Karnak and El-Uksor (Luqsor), on the east side, and El-Kurneh and Medinet-Abou on the west, seem lost. The names of these villages serve to describe the positions of the ruins, which for extent and grandeur are the most wonderful in the world. The great traveller, Belzoni, thus records his first impressions on finding himself amidst them:—"It appeared to me like entering a city of giants, who, after a long conflict, were all destroyed, leaving the ruins of their temples as the only proof of their former existence." In antiquity, Thebes must yield to Abydos, Her-

monthis, and other cities of Upper Egypt, which are mentioned on the altar of King Papi, in the Turin Museum, on which Thebes itself is not named. The First and Second Dynasties ruled, as we have seen, at This, the later Abydos, about 500 years before Thebes became the capital. Its rise to be the seat of the Eleventh Dynasty was about contemporary with the establishment of the ninth at Heracleopolis; and its earliest monuments are the tombs of the Enentefs of the Ninth Dynasty, and the vestiges of temples built by Sesertesen and Amenemha I., the first two Kings of the Twelfth Dynasty. Thebes seems to have succeeded to the smaller city of Hermonthis, as Abydos did to This.

Of the *Eleventh Dynasty* (B.C. 2200—2080) we have already spoken. It ends with Amenemha I., and the *Twelfth* begins with his son and co-regent, SESERTESEN (or Osirtasen) I., the first great Egyptian conqueror. In his name we trace the Sesostris of the Greeks. But the identification goes little beyond the name; for we should seek in vain for any Egyptian king whose personal history answers to the exploits related of Sesostris. Under such names as Sesostris and Semiramis the Greeks were accustomed to gather into one the stories told them of several kings and queens; just as the romance and ballad writers of the middle ages dealt with the names of Arthur and Charlemagne, Cœur-de-Lion and Robin Hood. Passing over Amenemha II., in whose reign we have seen that a tropical cycle began (B.C. 2005), and Sesertesen II., we come to Sesertesen III., who has perhaps the best claim to be the personal type of Sesostris, as Sethos and Rameses II., of the Nineteenth fabled Dynasty, most nearly answer to the greatest exploits of that monarch. The only example of the deification of a deceased Egyptian king in early times is in the worship which we see on the monuments paid to Sesertesen III. by his successors of the Eighteenth Dynasty; and this may explain Manetho's statement, that Sesostris was placed by the Egyptians next after Osiris, the youngest of the gods. The first Phœnix cycle commenced during his reign, B.C. 1986. In his successor, Amenemha III., we may probably trace the MŒRIS of the Greeks, as his prænomen bears some resemblance to that name, and he is said by Manetho to have built the labyrinth in the Arsinoite nome (the Faioum) for his tomb, and his name has been discovered on its ruins.* Another great work which bears his name is the lake Mœris in the same nome, the improvement of which, for the purpose of regulating

* Herodotus erroneously assigns it to the twelve kings who reigned before Psammetichus.

the inundation, was probably a work of the Twelfth Dynasty. The Greeks seem, however, to have used the name of Mœris almost as vaguely as Sesostris. Herodotus assigns a date to Mœris, nine hundred years before his own time, that is, about 1355 B.C. This is quite inconsistent with the time of Amenemha III., but it agrees very nearly with the era of Menophres (B.C. 1322), which is one of the fixed points of Egyptian chronology; so that Menophres would be a Mœris. There remain three kings and a queen of no importance. The dynasty lasted about 160 years. The conquest of Ethiopia is assigned to the kings of this dynasty, who built a fortress in that country at Samneh, as well as the city of Abydos, in place of This, in Upper Egypt. Among the fragments of their monuments in the British Museum, is a mutilated wooden statue of King An. The *Thirteenth*, which began about B.C. 1920, fills up the interval of 400 years to the accession of the Eighteenth. They were probably tributary to the Shepherd Kings, but extended their power into Ethiopia.*

The Thirteenth Dynasty was succeeded at Thebes by the *Eighteenth* (about B.C. 1525), and this by the *Nineteenth* (about B.C. 1340). Under these two dynasties Egypt reached her climax of power and splendour. The *Twentieth Dynasty* (about B.C. 1220) witnessed the decline of the Theban kingdom, though with a temporary revival under Rameses III. The names and numbers of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties are evidently confused by the copyists of Manetho; but the splendid monuments of these kings supply more accurate information. It is, in fact, on the temples and other great edifices that the political history of Egypt is inscribed, while the pictures in the tombs exhibit the common life of the Egyptians. They are arranged by Mr. Poole in three divisions:—first, nine sovereigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty; then five of an intrusive race, probably contemporary with some of the former; and finally, eight more, including the last of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the seven of the Nineteenth. We give the names of these kings as they are read on the monuments.

AAH-MES (Amos or Amosis), the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, seems to have expelled the Shepherds from the greater part of Egypt, and to have imposed tribute on Ethiopia. The quarries contain records of temples built by him both at Thebes

* The *Fourteenth Dynasty*, of 76 kings, is said by Manetho to have reigned at Xoïs, in the north of the Delta, for 184 or 484 years. This seems to have been a petty local kingdom, tributary first to the Memphites, and afterwards to the Shepherds, and ultimately swallowed up in the rule of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

and Memphis; and an inscription in the tomb of a chief mariner who served him proves that Egypt was now becoming a maritime power. In his reign, too, we first see on the monuments those chariots and horses which are so conspicuous in the military history of Egypt. They were doubtless introduced from Asia.* His successors extended the rule of Egypt over Ethiopia to the south, and as far as Mesopotamia to the north-east, and built the temple of Amen-ra (now known by the name of Karnak) and other great edifices at Thebes. Egypt now obtained the empire of Western Asia, formerly held by the Chaldæans. It has caused surprise that we have no record of the collisions into which these conquests would naturally have brought the Pharaohs with the Israelites, either in the Scripture history or on the monuments of Egypt, and this has been used as an argument for the later date of the exodus. But as the march of armies between Egypt and Assyria doubtless lay, as we know it to have lain later, along the maritime plain of Philistia and the valley of Cœle-Syria, we may well believe that the Egyptian conquerors left the hills and valleys of Palestine to be fought for by the Israelites and the old inhabitants. That, in fact, they made no conquests in the country, except in the maritime plain, is proved by the occurrence of Philistine names, and such names only, on their monuments. But the absence of any record does not exclude the possibility of their having passed through the country and exacted tribute. Of the four kings bearing the name of Thothmes, the third seems to have been the greatest monarch of the dynasty. He began his reign by shaking off the control of the queen Amen-nunt, whose power is attested by the obelisks she set up in front of the temple of Amen-ra, and who appears to have been a foreigner, perhaps one of the queens to whom the Greeks gave the name Semiramis. Manetho ascribes to Thothmes III. (Mephramuthosis) the expulsion of the Shepherd Kings from all Egypt except Avaris, and he seems to have carried his conquests as far as Nineveh. He erected many great works of art at Thebes, and his time is peculiarly rich in those tomb-paintings which reveal to us the private life of the Egyptians. Our Museum possesses the head and arm of his colossal statue in red granite, found at Karnak by Belzoni. In the reign of his grandson, Thothmes IV., the Shepherd Kings are said by Manetho to have finally left Egypt under a capitulation. Three others of these kings bore the name of Amenoph, from which the Memnon of the Greeks is undoubtedly derived, though,

* This is an incidental argument for the later date of the exodus.

as in the case of Sesostris, we should in vain attempt to trace in the legends of Memnon the history of either of the Egyptian Amenophs. The Greeks themselves recognised their Memnon more particularly in Amenoph III. (the Amenophis of Manetho), one of the latest kings of the dynasty. One of the two colossal statues of Amenoph III., seated in front of the great temple which he built in the western suburb of Thebes, was the celebrated "vocal Memnon." These statues are of breccia, 47 feet high, and 53 above the plain, with the pedestals. The one in question was broken in half in ancient times (perhaps by Cambyses), and repaired with several layers of sandstone. The British Museum possesses a very perfect and beautiful copy of the vocal Memnon, which was found near it, a colossal statue in black breccia, 9 ft. 6 in. high, besides also another smaller copy. In the Greek mythology, Memnon was the son of the Morning; and it was said that his statue, on the Libyan plain of Thebes, greeted the first beams of the rising sun by uttering a musical note as from a harp-string. The statue itself, which still occupies its throne, bearing on its back the name of Amenoph, with the title of "Phra (the Sun, equivalent to Pharaoh), lord of Truth," is inscribed with the attestations of persons who had heard the sound. The explanation of the mystery was reserved for this age of hard science. Sir Gardner Wilkinson found in the lap of the colossus a stone which, on being struck with a hammer, emitted a metallic sound, such that the peasants, whom he had placed to listen below, said, "You are striking brass;" a fact the more remarkable, as Strabo, who heard the sound, says it seemed to him like the effect of a slight blow. A priest might easily have been concealed in the position occupied by Wilkinson; and thus we find the same spirit of priestcraft 3000 years ago prompting to devices, which have their parallel in the blood of St. Januarius and the winking Madonnas of our own age.* The temple, in front of which these two colossi stood with other statues and obelisks leading up to it, is now a heap

* It is but fair to mention that so high an authority as Mr. Poole still prefers to seek an explanation in natural causes. Humboldt tells us of rocks from the crevices of which the heated air rushes with a sort of musical sound; and the author has observed the same thing in slightly porous earthenware. But even if this explanation were true of the stone of the statue, when really heated by the sun, it would not explain the sound *at the moment of sunrise*, before the stone had time to become hot. Mr. Poole's objection, that "such a deception could hardly have been carried on so long without detection,' is answered by the whole history of similar impostures, especially when we remember—what is the juggler's stronghold—the willingness of an admiring observer to be deceived.

of ruins, having probably been destroyed by Cambyses; and the two colossi alone remain standing. Behind them were found two other colossal heads of Amenoph III., now in the British Museum, which also possesses a third, more mutilated. In these the face is remarkable for lips much thicker than the ordinary Egyptian type, an indication which one is tempted to connect with the Ethiopian origin ascribed to Memnon by Homer; but the early Greeks seem to have applied the name of Ethiopia to Upper Egypt.* The temple of El Uksor (Luqsor), on the east of the Nile, was begun by Amenoph III. and enlarged by Rameses II., who shares with Amenoph the fame of the traditional Memnon. A tablet found at Samneh, recording the conquests of Amenoph in Ethiopia, is now in the British Museum.

Amenoph III. was succeeded by his son, Hor-em-heb, (the Orus or Horus of Manetho), of whom we know little beyond the record, at Silsilis (*Jebel-es-Selseleh*), of a successful expedition against some negro tribes. Among his works of art was an avenue of colossal crio-sphinxes † in front of the great temple at Karnak. One of the rams' heads may be seen in the British Museum, which also possesses two granite statues of King Horus. His reign marks the epoch of a curious episode in Egyptian history. Between him and Rameses I., who was undoubtedly his son and successor, the lists of Manetho give the names of five kings, who appear to be foreign intruders; and Eusebius says that, "in the reign of Amenophis, the Ethiopians, migrating from the river Indus, came and dwelt near to Egypt." The monuments of these rulers still exist, though greatly defaced, doubtless by the political and religious zeal of their successors, and show them to have been worshippers of the sun, and of no other symbol of the Deity. They were probably of the great eastern Cushite race, who were settled from a very early age in the country between Persia and India. They seem to have been allied to the royal family of Egypt, perhaps owing to the conquests of Amenoph III., whom Sir Gardner Wilkinson supposes to have been, in part at least, of their race, and to have introduced their form of worship. They seem to have been expelled by Horus after a rule of about 30 years.

We now approach the grandest period of Egyptian history, the rule of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and the reign of the great Rameses. The first king of that name was the last of the

* There is also still the question whether, in the original legend, Memnon, the son of the *morning*, may not have been one of the *eastern* or Asiatic Cushites.

† Figures with the body of a lion and the head of a ram.

Eighteenth Dynasty, and his reign was short and insignificant; but he is the proper head of the *Nineteenth Dynasty*, which begins (about B.C. 1340, Poole; 1324, Wilkinson), with his son Sethee I. (or Osiri), the Sethos of Manetho, and, in part, the Sesostris of the Greeks. His reign is marked by one of the finest monuments of Egyptian art, the grand "Hall of Columns" in the temple of Karnak, and by the most splendid tomb among those of the Theban kings. On the outside of the north wall of the former are depicted his exploits in war, the chief of them being the conquest of the Kheeta, or Hittites of the valley of the Orontes. Casts of coloured bas-reliefs of similar subjects, from the tombs of Sethos and other kings of this dynasty, are in the British Museum, which contains also a wooden statue of Sethos, found in his tomb. The Setheum, a small temple of this king to Amen-Ra, with a chapel to the founder's father, Rameses I., is the northernmost of the ruins at *El-Kurneh*, the western suburb of Thebes. The glories of the monarchy culminated in his son, Rameses II. the Great, the chief prototype of the Greek Sesostris, though it does not appear that his conquests extended so far as those of the Thothmeses and the Amenophs. He reigned sixty-six (or sixty-one) years, partly, it would seem, in conjunction with his father: his sixty-first year is mentioned on the monuments. The chief of his wars, depicted on his monuments, and related in a hieratic papyrus, was one against the Hittites.* We cannot stay to discuss the far wider conquests ascribed by Herodotus, Strabo, and others to Sesostris, as far as Scythia and Thrace to the north, and by naval expeditions on the Erythræan Sea to the south. The former exploits may refer to tribes near the Caucasus or in Asia Minor, and both seem to describe the widest range attained at any time by the Egyptian arms. A very interesting point in the story of Sesostris in Herodotus relates to the monumental tablets (*stelae*) he set up among the nations which he conquered. Such a monument is still seen in the face of the rock, on the old road from Sardis to Smyrna, the place named by Herodotus, and very nearly resembling his description. It is a figure wearing a tiara, or high cap, and carrying a bow and spear, with a few rude hieroglyphic marks in one corner of the slab, in which some have found the name of Rameses II. This reading, however, is by no means certain, the figure is far below the standard of art of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and there are even doubts as to its being Egyptian at all. In Syria, however, on the rocks above the mouth of the Lycus,

* The battering-ram and testudo appear in sieges on the monuments of Rameses II.

memorials of this sort are found bearing the name of Rameses II.; and Strabo mentions a tablet on the shore of the Red Sea recording the conquests of Sesostris over the Troglodytæ. Rameses showed both magnanimity and humour in his treatment of the conquered nations, if we may believe the story of Herodotus, that the tablets bore male or female emblems according to the resistance he had met with. The latter were set up in the part of Syria called Palestine, that is, among the Philistines, not the Jews, who are never mentioned on this king's monuments. Herodotus expressly states that Sesostris was king both of Egypt and Ethiopia, and we have abundant proof that the latter country was subject to the kings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. The historian's mention of numerous captives brought home by the conqueror, to be employed on public works, agrees exactly with the monuments of all the great kings of Egypt. The works performed by these captives for Sesostris, he says, were the canals which intersected the whole face of Egypt, and the transport of stones to build the temple of Hephaestus (the Egyptian Ptah). It is likely enough that Rameses II. improved the canals, which were for the most part the work of earlier kings, and it is now proved, by inscriptions beside the banks, that he was the original maker of the canal to unite the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The work was resumed by Neko, whose name it bears, but it appears never to have been finished.

Great remains of his vast buildings still exist, both in Upper and Lower Egypt. He adorned and enlarged the temple of Ptah at Memphis, the site of which is marked by a beautiful colossal statue of him in granite, but mutilated and fallen on its face.* Beyond the limits of Upper Egypt he left imperishable memorials in the rock-hewn temples of Abou-Simbel, above the second cataract, faced with his colossal statues, the largest in the world; besides other monuments in Nubia. But his greatest works were at Thebes itself. Besides adding to the temples of El-Karnak and El-Uksor, he erected a magnificent temple on the western side of the Nile, at the very edge of the desert. This is doubtless the edifice described by Diodorus Siculus as the tomb of Osymandyas. It has been called by modern writers the Memnonium, but now more properly the Rameseum. Its ruins, near the village of El-Kurneh, though much defaced, still bear the marks of that real beauty, as well as magnificence, which belongs to the best period of Egyptian

* Some idea may be formed of this colossus from the fist, now in the British Museum. Its length, from the wrist to the knuckle of the middle finger, is 32 inches, and its width, across the knuckles, 30½ inches.

art. For those who have only seen a few fragments exhibited in half-lighted rooms under a cloudy sky, or the well-meant imitation of a temple in a reduced plaster model, can form no idea of the impression made even by the ruins of these edifices, when seen in the midst of a vast plain, and with the deep shadows cast by a southern sun. Only in their proper place can be seen how gracefully the papyrus-stemmed shafts and lotus-leaved or Isis-headed capitals of the pillars blend with the masses they support, or how the whole style harmonizes with the genius of the people and their religion. Our space does not permit a description of an Egyptian temple, with its towering propylæa, its spacious colonnaded court, its first and second sanctuary supported by many pillars, and its various chambers, the whole approached by an avenue of obelisks and sphinxes; and the details would be scarcely intelligible without a plan.* But we must mention the sculptures on the walls, from which we learn the story of the family and reign of Rameses, and the astronomical ceiling in one of the chambers, which forms the most precious monument of Egyptian science. We learn too from Diodorus, that the temple contained a sacred library. In the centre of the great hall are the shattered remains of a colossal statue of Rameses himself, which, when complete, must have been no less than 60 feet high. It was a monolith, carved out of the red granite of Syene, and we might well wonder how it could have been shaped in the quarry, brought more than a hundred miles down the river, and drawn from the bank to its place, did we not see the whole process depicted on the monuments, and colossal statues lying still unfinished in the quarries. Nor should we withhold the tribute of just admiration from the skill and perseverance which enabled Belzoni, by his own resources, to transport from the Rameseum to England the colossal bust of Rameses II., which forms the choicest piece of Egyptian sculpture in our Museum.† The expression of the face differs from that of any others we have seen. The expression of calm dignity, with the lips curved into a quiet smile, well suits the greatest of the Egyptian kings. And yet it is far from impossible that this "mild-visaged

* For this, and for a popular but accurate account of Egyptian antiquities in general, Mr. Long's little work remains unrivalled, after all the Egyptian researches of the last thirty years. It formed originally two volumes of the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, under the title of *Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*. Lond. 1832. 2 vols. 12mo.

† The French expedition under Napoleon had abandoned the attempt after preparing to mutilate the bust for easier transport, as is shown by the hole bored in the shoulder for a charge of gunpowder.

despot" and mighty conqueror may have been the chief oppressor of the Israelites, and the Pharaoh from whom Moses fled into the wilderness, that is, if we were to adopt, after all, the later date of the Exodus. By the side of this bust may be seen the cast of another still larger, but less effective as a portrait, from the colossus at Memphis. Among several other statues of Rameses in the Museum is one in wood from his tomb. His most interesting memorial, however, in an historical point of view, is the "Tablet of Abydos," dedicated by him to the memory of his predecessors, whose names are inscribed upon it in order. This is also in the British Museum.

We learn from the wall of the Rameseum, that Rameses II. had twenty-three sons and three daughters. He was succeeded by his thirteenth son, Men-ptah or Ptah-men (the Amenophis or Amenophath of Manetho), in whose reign the Exodus is placed according to the Rabbinical date. We shall return to this point in the next chapter. The monuments prove that this was a time of intestine trouble. Siptah, one of the successors of Men-ptah, seems to have been a usurper, and the records of the remaining kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty are in a state of confusion which corresponds to the condition of the country in their time.

The *Twentieth Dynasty* was founded by Sethee II. (the Sethosis or Rameses of Manetho), son or grandson of Men-ptah, about B.C. 1220, or B.C. 1232 (Wilkinson). Its third king, RAMESES III.,* revived the glory of the Theban kingdom, by victories abroad and sumptuous edifices at home, scarcely inferior to those of Rameses II. Besides a magnificent tomb and a royal residence, he built the splendid temple of Medinet-Habou, in the western suburb of Thebes, on the walls of which are depicted his victories over the Philistines, and over the "Rebu" (or Libyans) and other nations. But far more interesting than all the rest is the picture of a great sea-fight against the "Khairetana of the Sea" and the "Tokkaree," whom Egyptologers identify with the Cretans and the Carians. Thus, about the beginning of the twelfth century B.C., the monuments of Egypt have another point of contact with the traditions of the Greeks, which make Crete a great maritime power under the rule of Minos. Rameses III. was succeeded by nine kings bearing the same name, the first four of whom were his sons. They have left no monuments but their tombs. The Theban kingdom seems now to have been broken

* He appears to be the Rhampsinitus, of whom Herodotus tells the curious story about a thief.

to pieces by family dissensions, of which the priests availed themselves to re-establish their power on the ruins of the monarchy. Rameses VIII., however, made conquests abroad, and added to the temple of Karnak, where his effigy appears with features so marked as to leave no doubt of its being a portrait.

The kings of the *Twenty-first Dynasty* (about B.C. 1085) seem to have taken advantage of the decline of the Theban power to revive the ancient kingdom of Lower Egypt, with a new capital, Tanis (Zoan), in the Delta, other cities of which afterwards became seats of empire. They ultimately extended their power over Upper Egypt, for three of their names are found at Thebes. These are Amun-se-pehor, Pionkh, and Pisham, apparently the same as Osochor, Psinaches, and Psuennes, whom Manetho names as the fifth, sixth, and seventh and last, kings of the dynasty. They bear the double title of "priests" and "commanders of the soldiers," proving that the priestly caste, which was always strongest at the old seats of the national worship in Lower Egypt, had at length wrested the sceptre from their Theban rivals. With all the proofs we possess that, at least from the time of the Shepherds, there was a strong Semitic element in the population of Lower Egypt, we are not surprised to find indications of these priest-kings strengthening themselves by matrimonial alliances with Assyrians, to whom the throne was consequently transferred; for Sheshonkh I., of the Twenty-second Dynasty, seems to have married a daughter of Pisham. The same leaning to Semitic alliances may be traced in the marriage of the daughter of one of the later kings of this dynasty to Solomon. A like connexion had been formed with the royal family of Edom, when Hadad, escaping from the slaughter of his house by David, fled to Pharaoh, King of Egypt, who gave him the sister of Tahpenes, the queen, in marriage.* How far successful war aided in the establishment of the Assyrian power in the Delta may perhaps be determined when we know more of the cuneiform inscriptions. Tiglath-pileser I. is said to have claimed the conquest of Egypt, about 1120 B.C. At all events, it is interesting to observe that we have now reached a point —the epoch of about a thousand years before the Christian era —at which the three great lines of Egyptian, Jewish, and Assyrian history, converge to a common focus. But instead of stopping here, to trace down the two other lines to the same point, it is better to cast a rapid glance at the remaining five centuries of

* 2 Samuel viii. 14; 1 Kings xi. 15—19; 1 Chronicles xviii. 11—13.

the history of the Pharaohs, till their overthrow by the Persians.

The *Twenty-second Dynasty* is placed by Manetho at Bubastis, which seems to show that their power arose at first independently of the Tanite kings; and Manetho's numbers require the Twentieth, Twenty-first, and Twenty-second Dynasties to overlap one another to some extent. Their accession is placed about 1009 or 1008 B.C. That they were of Assyrian or Babylonian race is considered to be proved by their names; and their hostile policy towards the Israelites is in accordance with that of the Assyrian kings. Their names have been discovered by M. Mariette on tablets (stelae) in the temple of Apis at Bubastis. The first king was Sheshonk I. He is the Shishak who sheltered Jeroboam when he fled from Solomon, and who made war upon Rehoboam, took Jerusalem, and pillaged the temple and the king's palace (B.C. 971). The extent of his power in Africa is shown by the mention of the "Lubims, Sukkiims, and Ethiopians" among his forces.* As this is the first case in which the Bible mentions a king of Egypt by his proper name†, so it is also the first in which undoubted mention is made of the Israelites on the Egyptian monuments. The record of the campaign is inscribed on the wall of the temple of Karnak, where, in the long list of Sheshonk's conquests, Champollion first read the name of "Yuda Melchi," that is, the "Kingdom of Judah." If Jeroboam had any share in instigating the expedition, he was fitly rewarded by the treachery of his ally, who appears to have taken several cities from the kingdom of Israel. The invasion of Judæa was a real conquest; Judah was placed under tribute, and the Jews remained the "servants" of Shishak.‡ Sir Gardner Wilkinson observes, that "though the conquests of Sheshonk are paraded in a longer list than those of the older Pharaohs, they were far less extensive, and we look in vain for the remoter names of Carchemish, Naharayn, or the Rot-ñ-o." The great interest of the record is as the first example of synchronous history. Did we but know what year of Sheshonk's reign corresponds to the fifth of Rehoboam, the synchronism would be complete. Manetho assigns him twenty-one years, and his twenty-first is mentioned on the monuments. No events of importance mark the reigns of the later kings of this dynasty, who bore the Assyrian names, several times recurring, of

* 2 Chronicles xii. 3—9.

† Can it be that the Egyptian names and titles were too uncouth for the Hebrew ear, as Napoleon could never manage the name of Tchichakoff, but called him the Admiral?

‡ 2 Chronicles xii. 8.

Osorkon, Sheshonk*, and Tiklat, Tiglath, or Takeloth. The last is the old name of the Tigris, the Hiddekel or Digla of Scripture†, and the Diglit of Pliny; and one of the kings who bore it is called on the monuments chief of the Mashoash, an Asiatic people named as enemies of the Egyptians under the Theban Pharaohs. "Zerah the Cushite," who was defeated by Asa, king of Judah, about 941 B.C., may be one of the later Osorkons. He cannot well have been a king of Ethiopia above Egypt, as we have not yet come to the Ethiopian rule in Egypt. Some suppose him to have been an Asiatic Ethiopian. May it be that these Assyrian kings were really, like the later kings of Babylon, of the old Chaldæan race?

The *Twenty-third Dynasty*, of Tanite kings, appears to have been a branch of the Twenty-second, for their names are equally Assyrian or Chaldæan, Nimrod occurring more than once. Their accession is placed by Wilkinson about B.C. 818, by Mr. Poole about B.C. 889,

The history of Egypt now becomes obscure, and her power appears to wane before the growth of the Assyrian empire. The very mildness of her rule over the Asiatic provinces conquered by the Theban kings was unfavourable to their permanent subjugation. Unlike the Assyrian kings, who transplanted the nations they subdued, the Pharaohs seem hardly to have interfered with their internal constitution, content with the fame and spoil of victory, and the payment of tribute. Their yoke was therefore more easily shaken off. The fruits of Sheshonk's victory over the weakened kingdom of Judah were lost by his successors; and the empire may be considered to have departed from Egypt, though the Ethiopians of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and the Egyptians of the Twenty-sixth made a noble stand against the Assyrians and Babylonians, only, however, to succumb before the power of Persia.

To his *Twenty-fourth Dynasty* Manetho assigns only a single king, Bocchoris, surnamed the Wise, a title which he secured by his legislation. His accession is placed by Mr. Poole in B.C. 793, by Sir G. Wilkinson in B.C. 734. He fixed his capital at Saïs. After a reign of six, or forty-four years, more probably the latter, he was dethroned by Sabaco, the Ethiopian, who is said to have burnt him alive, but this seems inconsistent with what we know of the conqueror's character.

The *Twenty-fifth Dynasty* is composed of three Ethiopian kings,

* The British Museum possesses a statue of Hapi, the Nile-god, dedicated by Sheshonk II.

† Genesis ii. 14; Daniel x. 4.

from Napata (*Mount Barkal*); Shebek I. (Sabaco), Shebek II. (Sebichus), and Tehrak or Tirhakah (Taracus), who reigned forty-four years, about B.C. 749—705 (Poole).* This was the second time that Egypt had yielded to a foreign invader, not reckoning the doubtful case of the eighteen Ethiopian kings who, Herodotus was told, were among the predecessors of Sesostris. We should understand the nature of the conquest more clearly were we better informed of the relations already existing between Egypt and Ethiopia. We have said that the latter country was generally a dependency of the former; and the monuments of the Egyptian kings attest their power over the country south of the first cataract, which was ruled by a viceroy, the Prince of Kesh, or Cush. It is not probable, however, that the dominion of Egypt reached further south than the junction of the Blue River (Astapus) with the Nile. Beyond that point lay the "island" and capital of Meroë, the seat of another great Cushite kingdom, with institutions very like those of Egypt. The worship of Amun was here maintained in all its purity; and the power of the priests was so supreme that they might at their pleasure bid the king cease to live, and he must obey. The complete social organization of the Ethiopians, whom the Greeks believed to be the justest of mankind, and their remote position, placed them beyond the reach of conquest, except from Egypt; nor is there any evidence that their own powerful kingdom was ever subjugated to the latter. The furthest point at which we find distinct evidence of Egyptian rule is at *Mount Barkal* (18° 25′ N. lat.), where the monuments bear the name of Amenoph III.† The frontier doubtless varied with the power of the two monarchies, but the region between the first and second cataract, called Dodekaschoenus, or Æthiopia Ægypti, now Lower Nubia, was always subject to Egypt. But, after the decline of the Theban kings, and during the weakness of their successors in the Delta, we can easily understand that the Ethiopians first absorbed this frontier province, and then entered Egypt, conquering first the Thebaid and then the rest of the land. We might, indeed, imagine that the "prince of Kesh" took advantage of the weakness of the kings of Tanis, to set up a power of his own in Ethiopia and Upper Egypt, but the ancient writers clearly regard the conquerors as really Ethiopians; and this is

* Their accession coincides very nearly with the traditional epoch of the foundation of Rome, B.C. 753.

† His name is inscribed on the two colossal lions of red granite from Mount Barkal, brought to England by Lord Prudhoe in 1832, and now in the British Museum.

confirmed by their names and by the statement that they came from Napata. Kindred however in race, customs, and worship, they respected the institutions of the Egyptians; and the chief effect of the conquest was to revive the national energy for a stand against the growing power of Assyria. There can be little doubt that Shebek II. is the So or Sewa, whose alliance with Hoshea, the last king of Israel (about B.C. 725) led to the destruction of that kingdom and the captivity of the Ten Tribes. Pursuing the same policy, with better fortune, his successor Tehrak (Tirhakah) marched to the support of Hezekiah, king of Judah, against Sennacherib, B.C. 710. The brief narrative of Scripture leaves us in doubt whether the armies of Egypt and Assyria met in a battle which would have been decisive of the empire of Western Asia. It seems that the encounter was prevented by the miraculous destruction of Sennacherib's army, which took place in the camp on the frontiers of Egypt, and not—as the hasty reader is apt to think—before Jerusalem. For Sennacherib had contented himself with sending a letter to Hezekiah, from his camp before Libnah, while he marched in person against Tirhakah.* We learn from Herodotus, that the annals of the priests contained a record of the miracle, transposed in time and altered in form, for the sake of glorifying their god Ptah and his priest Sethos.† This priest, said the legend,—became king shortly after the retirement of the Ethiopian dynasty, and alienated the warrior caste by neglect and injury. His soldiers, therefore, deserted him when "Sanacharib king of the Arabians‡ and Assyrians" marched his vast army into Egypt. Assured in a dream of aid from his god, Sethos collected a mob of artisans in place of an army, and marched to meet the invader at Pelusium. During the night, a multitude of field-mice devoured all the quivers and bow-strings of the Assyrians, and the thongs by which they held their shields. Next morning, the disarmed host fell an easy prey to the Egyptians. In the temple of Ptah at Memphis, Herodotus was shown a statue of Sethos holding a mouse. Doubtless, according to the general order of such legends, the story of the field-mice arose out of the emblem in the statue's hand, the signification of which was then, as now, unknown.§

* 2 Kings xix. 8—35, Isaiah xxxvii. 8—38.

† Herodotus, ii. 141.

‡ Mr. Rawlinson explains the prominence given to the Arabians by the large Arab element in the population of Mesopotamia. See Chapter ix.

§ Wilkinson thinks it may have been an emblem of fertility. It was used also by the Greeks, who worshipped Apollo *Smintheus* (from *σμίνθος, a mouse*).

Herodotus may very probably have mistaken the priest for a king; for this Sethos is not mentioned by Manetho, nor is there any room left for him in the consistent chronology which we obtain both from Scripture and the Egyptian monuments. There may be a confusion with Sethos, the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The names of many priests, which have come down to us on monuments and mummy cases, are the same as those of kings. The silence of the Egyptian priests to Herodotus about Tirhakah is easily explained by their jealousy of the Ethiopian conquerors; and their story that Sabaco, after reigning fifty years (the whole duration of the Dynasty), withdrew of his own accord rather than commit an act of cruel sacrilege against the Egyptian priests, to which he had been prompted in a dream, is an invention to glorify their order. Such instances are important tests of the value of the information supplied to Herodotus by the priests. Tirhakah's own monuments, in Egypt and Ethiopia, especially at *Jebel-Barkal*, the ancient Napata, attest his piety and his warlike prowess; and upon them we see Assyrian captives in their national dress. He would naturally avail himself of the catastrophe of Sennacherib to extend his dominion over Western Asia, and some Greek writers even carry him into Europe like Sesostris, and with equal improbability. Tirhakah reigned about twenty years (B.C. 723—704). The recent discovery, that Psammetichus married the daughter of an Ethiopian king, named Pionkhi, who reigned at Napata, helps to account for the retirement of the Ethiopians, by confirming the supposition that princes of the former dynasties, and other petty chieftains, exercised some power in the Delta during the foreign wars of Tirhakah. Thus we may account for Herodotus's story of the blind king Anysis* (not named by Manetho), who fled into the marshes from before Sabaco, but was

* The confusion in the order of the Egyptian kings named by Herodotus is easily accounted for. He had two distinct lists shown him, of the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt; and from these he selected what seemed to him the most interesting events, which he describes under the respective kings, without regard to the distinction between the two lines, or to the exact order of succession in each. The kings of each line named by him (besides the queen Nitocris), are

Thinites and Thebans.	*Memphites, Tanites, &c.*
1. Menes. (Dyn. I.)	1. Cheops. (Dyn. IV.)
2. Moeris. (Dyn. XII. ?)	2. Cephren. (Dyn. V.)
3. Sesostris. (Dyn. XII.—XIX.)	3. Mycerinus. (Dyn. IV.)
4. Pheron.	4. Asychis. (Uncertain.)
5. Rhampsinitus. (Dyn. XX.)	5. Anysis. (Dyn. XXIV. ?)

In the Memphian list he passes at once from the pyramid builders to those who were comparatively near his own time.

restored after his departure; as well as for his mention of the Dodecarchy, or rule of twelve kings in the Delta, before the accession of Psammetichus. The obscure names at the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty in Manetho may belong to some of these petty princes; he calls the first of them an Ethiopian. "It may be generally observed," says Sir Gardner Wilkinson, "that whenever the Egyptians represented a blank, or the rule of ignoble kings, we are at liberty to conclude that a foreign dynasty was established in the country; and if any Egyptian prince exercised authority during the reign of Tirhaka, it must have been in a very secluded part of the marsh lands of the Delta, as the monuments show his rule to have extended over all the principal places in Egypt. Moreover, the Apis-stelæ prove that Psammetichus I. was the sole and independent ruler of Egypt immediately after Tirhaka, without any intermediate king; and an Apis, born in the twenty-sixth year of Tirhaka, died in the twenty-first year of Psammetichus; the reign of Tirhaka having continued only ten months and four days after the birth of that bull." * He adds, however, the most important note:—"This does not positively prove that no kings intervened between Tirhaka and Psammetichus I., as the latter may have included their short reigns in his own; and Sir Henry Rawlinson has discovered the names of the twenty native rulers who were appointed by the Assyrian king, Esarhaddon, to govern Egypt at this time."† All this agrees with the rapidity with which the Assyrian monarchy under Esaradhdon retrieved the disaster of Sennacherib.‡

The *Twenty-sixth Dynasty*, of Saïte kings, begins virtually with PSAMATIK or Psammetichus I., whose accession is fixed, by the stelæ in the Museum at Florence, to B.C. 664, a date at which Egyptian chronology becomes at length certain and straightforward. This, too, is the epoch of Egyptian history from which Herodotus assures us that he begins to speak, no longer from the authority of the Egyptians only, but of others who agreed with them, and in part from what he had himself seen.§ Nevertheless his story of the accession of Psammetichus has quite a legendary character. This prince was the son of Neko (the Nechao I. of Manetho's Twenty-sixth Dynasty), who was put to death by

* Essay on Egyptian History, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Appendix to Book II. chapter viii. § 32; vol. ii. p. 319, 2nd edition.

† See *Athenæum*, August 18, 1860, p. 228.

‡ See below, chapter ix.

§ Herodotus, ii. 147.

Sabaco the Ethiopian, Psammetichus himself escaping to Syria. Returning to Saïs, after the withdrawal of the Ethiopians, he became one of the Twelve Kings,* who divided Egypt among them, and strengthened their confederacy by intermarriages and by meeting to sacrifice in the temple of Ptah at Memphis. An oracle had declared, that whichever of them should pour his libation to the god from a bronze cup would be the sole ruler of all Egypt. Now, on the last day of a great festival, when the high priest had brought out the golden goblets for the princes, there were found to be only eleven. Psammetichus, who happened to stand last, poured out his libation from his helmet, and so fulfilled the oracle.† By the jealousy of his colleagues, he was driven from his government into the marshes, and forbidden to hold intercourse with his countrymen. Enquiring again of the oracle of the goddess Buto (Latona), he was told, that "Vengeance should come from the *sea*, when *brazen men* should appear." The strange prediction was soon fulfilled by the landing of certain Carians and Ionians, pirates, driven to the shores of Egypt by stress of weather. News was brought to Psammetichus that *brazen men had come from the sea*, and were plundering the land. He at once engaged them in his service, and conquered his eleven competitors by their aid. The important fact embodied in this legend is the engagement of Greek mercenaries by Psammetichus to secure his title to the crown. Foreign auxiliaries had long been employed in the armies of Egypt, and Cretans (probably) appear among the forces of the Theban kings. We cannot believe that those engaged by Psammetichus were a wandering band, thrown by accident on the coast. The states of Greece, especially on the shores and islands of Asia Minor, were now at that period of transition when the tyrants were setting up their power on the weakness of contending factions. Numerous exiles were driven forth to seek subsistence on the sea, and were ready to accept foreign service. In such auxiliaries Psammetichus probably saw the means at once of securing the throne and of forming an army to protect the country against her rival of Assyria. Besides the Ionians and Carians mentioned by Herodotus, he engaged Phœnician sailors. His policy was at first successful, and his foreign mercenaries

* Probably governors of the twelve nomes of the Delta. The historian's incidental memorial of the Labyrinth, near lake Moeris, as their common monument, is a mistake. The ruins, which scarcely justify his excessive admiration, bear the names of Amenemha III., of the Twelfth Dynasty, and of Rameses II.

† If the story represents an actual occurrence, it was probably a trick concerted between Psammetichus and the priests, though Herodotus affirms the contrary.

enabled him to recover the glory of Egypt in war and to enter on the last brilliant period of her history.

His chief enterprise was the recovery of the Philistine city of Ashdod (Azotus), the key to the whole frontier, which had been taken by the Assyrians under Sargon, the father of Sennacherib, with its garrison of Egyptians and Ethiopians (Isaiah xx). If we are to believe Herodotus, the siege of Ashdod lasted for twenty-nine years, so much had the power of Egypt declined, while the Assyrians had acquired that skill in the attack and defence of fortresses, to which their monuments bear witness. At home the king cultivated the arts of peace, and the monuments of his reign show a revival of the skill and beauty displayed under the Nineteenth Dynasty. For the first time in Egyptian history foreigners were encouraged to trade with the country, and Psammetichus even caused his subjects to learn Greek. But his dependence on foreign mercenaries brought on the usual punishment of such a policy. He gave his Greek soldiers settlements apart from the Egyptians, which obtained the name of the Ionian and Carian "Camps," on the two banks of the Nile. Mention is also made of the "Camp of the Tyrians," but this may have been an older settlement. Thus the foreigners obtained, to a great extent, the command of the Nile. The favour shown to them alienated the native Egyptian soldiers, already disgusted by their detention in the frontier garrisons. They deserted in a body, marched up the valley to Elephantine, and, being joined by the garrison of that frontier city, crossed over into Ethiopia, to the number, probably exaggerated in Herodotus, of 240,000. Psammetichus went as far as Elephantine, in the vain hope of inducing them to return; and the memorial of his journey is still to be seen at Abou-Simbel. They were settled by the Ethiopian king to the south of Meroë, where they long formed a distinct community under the name of the "Deserters." Their departure left the independence of Egypt at the mercy of the foreign troops. Towards the close of this reign occurred the great invasion of Western Asia by the Scythians, of which we shall have to speak hereafter. They had advanced into Palestine on their way to Egypt, when Psammetichus prevailed on them to turn back.

After a reign of fifty-four years,* Psammetichus was succeeded by his son NEKO, the Nekao II. of Manetho and the Pharaoh-Necho of Scripture (B.C. 611). The recovery of Ashdod had opened the way to Asiatic conquests, to which the declining power of

* This number is given by Herodotus, and confirmed by the Apis-stelæ.

Assyria invited him. Neko's first object was the strengthening of his frontier by securing the city of Carchemish on the Euphrates. After an involuntary conflict with the Jews under Josiah, who was killed in battle at Megiddo,* he succeeded in his object, and left a powerful army at Carchemish. On his return he strengthened his party in Judæa by deposing Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, and setting up his brother Jehoiakim, on whom he imposed a large tribute. But this was Egypt's last successful expedition. The new Babylonian kingdom rose on the ruins of the Assyrian, and Nebuchadnezzar at once turned his attention to the western provinces. The Egyptian army at Carchemish was overpowered,† Jĕrusalem was taken, the king whom Neko had set up became tributary to Nebuchadnezzar, and, revolting three years afterwards, was taken prisoner during the siege, and put to death (B.C. 599). The entire prostration of Egypt is shown by Neko's inability to help Jehoiakim, and we are expressly told that "the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land: for the king of Babylon had taken, from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates, all that pertained to the king of Egypt."‡

Neko had, however, made good use of the period of his prosperity. He carried on his father's schemes of foreign commerce, and maintained fleets both in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Herodotus was informed that a fleet sent out by Neko from the Red Sea came home by the Mediterranean, having accomplished the circumnavigation of Africa. The voyage occupied three years, the sailors wintering on shore, and staying to sow and reap the harvest. Men of science and critics are never likely to agree as to the truth of this story in the absence of further confirmatory evidence. The historian's own reason for rejecting it,—that the sailors said they had had the sun on their right hand at noon, which it would be to persons sailing westward south of the tropics,—is a strong confirmatory argument. Major Rennell has shown how the set of the currents round the African coast would favour the voyage, while they opposed it when attempted by the Carthaginians in the opposite direction. These arguments must not be overrated; but, when they are resisted on the vague ground of general improbability, the question arises, whether the story is likely to have been invented if the enterprise had never

* For further particulars of this battle, and of the relations of Jewish politics to Egypt, see chapter viii.

† This was in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, B.C. 607 or 606; Jeremiah xlvi. 2.

‡ 2 Kings xxiv. 7

been achieved. Neko renewed the attempt of Rameses II. to effect a direct communication between the two seas by means of a canal. The work was left unfinished, and its track has remained for nearly twenty-five centuries to tempt the repetition of the effort, till at last the experiment is fairly under trial, whether modern engineering skill and commercial co-operation can achieve and maintain a work which was too great for the resources of the Pharaohs.

Neko reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded (B.C. 595) by Psammetichus II., the Psammis of Herodotus, who reigned six. Keeping within his own frontier, he was left unmolested by Nebuchadnezzar, and Egypt seems to have prospered under him. He enlarged the temples both at Thebes and in Lower Egypt, and erected a small temple on the frontier, opposite to Philae, probably on the occasion of his expedition into Ethiopia. The continued intercourse of Egypt with Greece is attested by Herodotus's curious story of an embassy from the Eleans, to consult the Egyptians on the wisdom of their rules for the Olympic Games.*

This king died, immediately after his return from Ethiopia, before he had time to prosecute the war with Babylon, which was renewed by his successor UAPHRA, the Vaphres or Apries of Manetho and Herodotus, and the Pharaoh-Hophra of Scripture (B.C. 589). After a brilliant opening, his reign of twenty-five years proved one series of disasters. He made a successful campaign into Palestine and Phœnicia, took Sidon, and gained naval victories over the Tyrians and the Cyprians. These successes elated both the Egyptian king and his partisans at Jerusalem; and in spite of the prophecies of Jeremiah against both, Zedekiah rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar. The advance of Pharaoh-Hophra forced the Chaldæans to raise the siege of Jerusalem. But the clouds were only lifted for a moment. The city fell, and the temple was razed to the ground. The asylum which Egypt offered to the fugitives was violated by the advance of Nebuchadnezzar, and there seems every reason to believe that he overran Egypt and even took Thebes itself. His victory might not have been so easy, but for new disasters which befell the king of Egypt from the opposite side. Greek colonies, of which we shall have again to speak, had been planted on the beautiful terraces of the peninsula that sweeps forwards into the Mediterranean, between the Great Syrtis and the Libyan Desert west of Egypt. The entire defeat of an army sent against Cyrene, the chief of these colonies, and consisting apparently of native Egyptian troops, caused the cry of

* Herodotus, ii. 160.

treachery to be raised against the king himself. Then was seen the fruit of the policy of the first Psammetichus. The Egyptian army mutinied. Amasis, sent to appease the revolt, was crowned king by the rebels. Another courtier, returning unsuccessful, was so cruelly outraged by Apries, that all the old Egyptian party abandoned him. His mercenaries failed him in the hour of need; he was defeated at Momemphis, brought back as a prisoner to Saïs, and put to death at the demand of the people.* Such is the story of Herodotus; but it is suspected by modern critics to have been an invention of the priests, to conceal the fact that Egypt was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, and Amasis set upon the throne as his vassal.

The weakness of Nebuchadnezzar's successors permitted Egypt to enjoy nearly half a century of prosperity under her new king, Amasis, or Aah-mes II. (B.C. 570—525).† He husbanded the internal resources of Egypt, encouraged commerce, and was so successful at sea as to add Cyprus to his dominions. Nabonidus was glad to accept his alliance against the growing power of Cyrus. If we may believe a story in the Cyropædia of Xenophon, which—romance as it is—may contain fragments of history among its incidents, Amasis performed his part in the league against Cyrus, by sending to the aid of Crœsus 120,000 Egyptians, who, after the bravest resistance, were received to an honourable capitulation, and settled in Larissa and Cyllene. The loss of this army would go far to account for the ease with which Egypt was overrun by Cambyses.

The monuments contain but slight records of Amasis. His chief works were doubtless in Lower Egypt, where the edifices even of later kings have perished more rapidly than the oldest temples of the Thebaid. Herodotus assigns to him the splendid propylæa of the temple of Neith at Saïs, as well as the colossal statues and immense andro-sphinxes of its avenue. He mentions, too, a shrine cut out of a single block of granite, of enormous size, from the quarries of Elephantine.‡ It took two thousand boatmen three years to transport the block to Saïs, and, after all this labour, an evil omen prevented its being set up. It

* His death literally fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah, xliv. 30.

† The name is identical with that of the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the Amosis of Manetho. Hence the king named in the text is often called Amasis II.

‡ Taking the cubit at 20 inches, it was 35 feet long, 23 feet 4 inches broad, and 13 feet 4 inches high, on the outside; and the excavated interior was 31 feet 3 inches by 20 feet by 8 feet 4 inches. A similar monolith of the same king has been found erect at Tel-et-mai, the ancient Thmuis or Leontopolis, the dimensions of which are

is more likely that the internal troubles, which the priests desired to conceal from Herodotus, prevented the erection of this monolith, as well as of the recumbent colossi which he saw at Memphis and Saïs. The great temple of Isis at Memphis was also the work of Amasis. His reign, or rather the whole time of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, has been called the *renaissance* of Egyptian art.

We have now, however, reached a point at which the story of Egypt has no longer to be painfully deciphered from the monuments, but is recorded from sources comparatively trustworthy, in the lively pages of the Greek historian, who even gives us details of the private life of Amasis. He divided his time between serious business in the morning, which he never neglected, and revelry and witty conversation with his guests in the evening; and when his friends told him he was risking the dignity of the crown, he answered with the old proverb of the bow always bent. Much as he honoured his country's gods in public, his personal relations to them resembled the alternate fear and contempt with which Louis XI. treated his saints. For having, in his disorderly youth, often been brought before the oracles that his thefts might be detected, he now honoured or despised the gods according to the knowledge they had shown in condemning or acquitting him. A like indication of scepticism is seen in his contemporary, Crœsus of Lydia, who tried the knowledge of the Greek oracles about trifles before he would risk his own fortune on their advice.

The internal prosperity of his reign is attested by the evidences of wealth and luxury in the monuments of private persons. The exaggeration of Herodotus in calling it the most prosperous reign that Egypt had ever known, may be accounted for by his fuller knowledge of this period. Never had the river been more bountiful, or the land more productive. The inhabited cities were not less than twenty thousand. The law against idleness, however, requiring every man to present himself once a year before the governor of his nome and show his means of livelihood, failing which he was to suffer death as a useless member, may have been

21 feet 9 inches by 13 feet by 11 feet externally, and 19 feet 3 inches by 8 feet by 8 feet 3 inches internally. Herodotus mentions one still larger at the temple of Buto, each wall of which was 40 cubits (66 feet 8 inches) square, besides its cornice, which projected 4 cubits (6 feet 8 inches), and was another single block. Supposing the thickness of the sides to be 6 feet, the weight of this block would be above 6738 tons, and its solid content 76,032 cubic feet. Models of such monolith shrines may be seen in the British Museum, supported by a kneeling figure, and containing the statue of the god.

much older, for we see such registration scenes on the monuments of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The similar law of Solon is said by Herodotus to have been borrowed from the Egyptians.

The growing intercourse between Egypt and Greece was one of the most important features of this reign. Though raised to the throne by the old Egyptian party, Amasis saw that it was too late to return to the rigid system of exclusion. He granted the Greeks the city of Naucratis, on the Canobic mouth of the Nile, as a residence, and this, like Canton to the Europeans in China, was long the only place where they were allowed to trade. He gave them land for temples, and, besides the "Hellenium," built conjointly by the Ionian, Dorian, and Æolian cities of Asia Minor, other states erected separate temples. Amasis even contributed largely to the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi, and enriched many of the Greek shrines with costly offerings. He made an alliance with Cyrene, and married Ladice, the daughter either of the king or of one of the chief nobles. His closest league, however, was with Samos; and, after all his splendours, his most enduring memorial is the beautiful story, told with all the simplicity of Herodotus, and adorned by the genius of Schiller.

Polycrates, having made himself the tyrant of Samos, had achieved the most brilliant successes both by sea and land. His unbounded good fortune roused the fear of his friend Amasis, who wrote to remind him of the jealousy of the gods, and advised him to cast away the most valued of his treasures:—

"So, would'st thou scape the coming ill—
Implore the dread Invisible
Thy sweets themselves to sour!
Well ends his life, believe me, never,
On whom, with hands thus full for ever,
The Gods their bounty shower.

"And if thy prayer the Gods can gain not,
This counsel of thy friend disdain not—
Invoke Adversity!
And what of all thy worldly gear
Thy deepest heart esteems most dear
Cast into yonder sea!"

For this offering Polycrates chose a gold and emerald signet-ring, the work of the greatest artist of Samos, and, having cast it into the sea, far from land, returned to indulge his sorrow. But within a week a fisherman brought to the palace a fish so large and beautiful, that he had kept it as a present for the king. When it was cut open, the signet-ring was found in its belly, and brought

to Polycrates by his servants with great joy. Accepting this token of the pleasure of the gods, Polycrates wrote to Amasis; but the Egyptian only saw in the return of the ring the refusal of the sacrifice to fortune. Perceiving that "it does not belong to man to save his fellow-man from the fate which is in store for him," he sent a herald to renounce the friendship of Polycrates, that, when the certain misfortune came, he might escape the pain of grieving for a friend.

"In horror turns the kingly guest—
'Then longer here I may not rest,
I'll have no friend in thee!
The Gods have marked thee for their prey,
To share thy doom I dare not stay!'
He spoke, and put to sea." *

Polycrates was at last put to a cruel death by the treachery of the Persian satrap Orœtes.

The legend is more than an ornament to relieve the gravity of history. By its mention of the correspondence between the princes, the naval successes of the Samian ruler, and the progress of the fine arts among the Asiatic Greeks, it forms a link in the chain of evidence that a new spirit had arisen to bring Egypt within the sphere of that energetic intercourse which now bound together all the shores of the Levant, and that she was contributing from the stores of her ancient civilization to that new outburst of intellectual and artistic activity which followed the Persian Wars.

Meanwhile her own course of empire and independence had been run, and the predicted time had come when "there should be no more a king over the land of Egypt." The Persian Cambyses had succeeded to the empire which his father Cyrus had extended from the table-land of Iran to the shores of the Ægean, his frontier towards Egypt being secured by the restoration of the Jews. The new king at once collected all the resources of his empire for the invasion of Egypt. Though Amasis had been on friendly terms with Cyrus, to whose aid he had once sent the best of the Egyptian eye-doctors, a ground of quarrel was soon found. Cambyses seems to have asked the daughter of Amasis, nominally in marriage, but really as a concubine, with the certainty of a refusal; and other pretexts were given by Egyptian traitors. Amasis died just at the commencement of the invasion (B.C. 525); his son Psammenitus was defeated at Pelusium, the eastern

* Schiller's ballad, *The Ring of Polycrates*, translated by Sir Bulwer Lytton. To suit the requirements of his art, the poet has turned the correspondence into a personal visit.

key of Egypt, and put to death with every insult, after a reign of only six months. With him ended the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

Besides the above kings, the monuments at Thebes give us the name of a PSAMMETICHUS III., who cannot be the Psammenitus of Herodotus, for his daughter was the queen of Amasis.*

The *Twenty-seventh* Dynasty of Manetho is composed of the Persian kings, from Cambyses to Darius II. Nothus (B.C. 525-414). The history of Egypt under their rule belongs to that of the Persian empire. It need only be said here that, after the first outrages perpetrated by Cambyses, in that madness which is often engendered by despotic power, the Persian kings pursued in Egypt their usual conciliatory policy. The personal visit of Darius Hystaspis, the great organizer of the empire, is commemorated in hieroglyphics on several monuments, and his name is found on Apis-stelæ, in the sepulchres of the sacred bulls: it appears too with the honorary titles of the old Egyptian kings. Nevertheless, a revolt broke out in the last year of his reign, but was suppressed in the second year of Xerxes, B.C. 484. It was in the reign of this king, and under the satrapy of his brother Achæmenes, about B.C. 460, that Egypt was visited by HERODOTUS OF HALICARNASSUS, who collected from the priests and from other sources that information which, embodied in the second book of his "Histories," has long combined with the allusions in the Pentateuch to keep alive that interest in Egypt, which we now possess more abundant means of gratifying. Had Herodotus been able himself to read the inscriptions on the monuments which he beheld in all their glory, his records would have possessed a tenfold value.

About the fifth year of Artaxerxes I. (B.C. 458) a more formidable revolt broke out under Inarus, the son of Psammetichus,† who was assisted by the Athenians. The defeat of an immense Persian army and fleet and the death of Achæmenes were avenged by a still greater armament, and Inarus fled with a body of Greeks to Byblus, in the marshes of the Delta. He was enticed from this stronghold by a promise of pardon, and crucified. The embers of the revolt were still, however, kept alive by Amyrtæus, who had escaped to the isle of Elbo. An Athenian fleet sent to his aid returned without attempting a landing (B.C. 449-448), and the Persian king endeavoured to conciliate the Egyptians by appointing as satraps Pausiris, the son of Amyrtaeus, and Thannyris, the son of Inarus.

* This we learn from her fine sarcophagus, now in the British Museum.

† His name is neither found in Manetho nor on the monuments.

The revolt broke out anew under Darius Nothus, in the tenth year of whose reign (B.C. 414) Amyrtaeus became the independent king of Egypt. His reign at Saïs lasted six years, and he forms, by himself, the *Twenty-eighth* (*Saite*) Dynasty of Manetho.

The history of the *Twenty-ninth* (*Mendesian*) and the *Thirtieth* (*Sebennyte*) *Dynasties* is beset with difficulties, which we must leave to the Egyptologers. They ruled with great prosperity, and left monuments which may vie in beauty and finish with those of the earlier dynasties. Their alliances with the Greeks, th internal disorders of Persia, and the dissensions among the satraps, left them for the most part unmolested. Achoris (the Hakori of the monuments, about B.C. 402) repulsed a Persian attack by the aid of Greek mercenaries, under the Athenian Chabrias. Nectanebo I. (the Nekht-nebf or Nekt-har-hebi of the monuments, about B.C. 387-369), whose name is preserved on some fine works of art, defended the land successfully against a still more formidable attack, though the Athenian auxiliaries went over to the Persians (B.C. 373). His successor, Tachos or Teos (about B.C. 361), dared to concert with the Athenians and Lacedæmonians an invasion of Asia. But the scheme was ruined by the dissatisfaction of Agesilaus at the subordinate command assigned to him; the needful taxes roused the discontent of the Egyptians; and when Tachos had marched as far as Phœnicia, his son Nectanebo was placed on the throne, and Tachos fled to Artaxerxes Mnemon. A civil war followed, in which Nectanebo II. succeeded, with the aid of Agesilaus, in defeating the partisans of the late king. The power of Nectanebo was so firmly established, that he not only held out against the Persians, but aided the Phœnicians to revolt, sending them a force of 4000 Greeks under Mentor the Rhodian. But when Artaxerxes Ochus advanced at the head of an immense army, Mentor deserted to him, Phœnicia and Cyprus were subdued, and Nectanebo prepared to resist a new invasion. Pelusium, garrisoned by 5000 Greeks, repelled the first assault, but Nectanebo lost heart and fled to Memphis. Pelusium then surrendered, and while Mentor was subduing the other fortresses, Nectanebo escaped by the river into Ethiopia (about B.C. 353). Thus ended the Thirtieth and last native Dynasty of the kings who had governed Egypt for perhaps twenty-four centuries; and for twenty-two centuries more she has been ruled by foreigners.

Egyptian art scarcely shows a symptom of decline under these latest independent dynasties, but rather an increase of grace and delicacy, due probably to Greek influence. Examples

may be seen in the intercolumnar slab of green basalt, sculptured in intaglio, of Nectanebo II., and the obelisks erected by Nectanebo I., in front of the temple of Thoth, now in the British Museum. The Museum is rich in antiquities of this period, brought chiefly from Cairo and Alexandria, but many of them had been previously transferred to those cities from places now unknown. Among them is the splendid sarcophagus of Nectanebo I., formerly called the sarcophagus of Alexander.

The restored Persian dominion, forming the *Thirty-first Dynasty* (Ochus, Arses, and Darius Codomannus), lasted less than twenty years. Ochus emulated the cruelties of Cambyses in his treatment of the conquered province; but he only survived his victory a few years. In B.C. 332 Egypt joyfully submitted to Alexander, who justly regarded it as the gem of his new diadem, and prepared to make Alexandria the commercial capital of the world. The story of his visit to Egypt we reserve for his own history. On his death Egypt fell to his general Ptolemy, the son of Lagus (B.C. 323), whose dynasty lasted for three centuries. The earlier Ptolemies ruled Egypt with equal sagacity and moderation, carrying out those schemes of Alexander which enriched their country with the commerce of the world, distributing impartial justice, and extending religious toleration to Greeks and Egyptians alike. While, under their munificent patronage, learning and science found a new seat at Alexandria, the temples of Egypt were restored and enlarged in the style and spirit of the Pharaohs. The wars, which were for the most part forced upon them by the ambition of the Seleucid kings of Syria, had little effect on Egypt itself, and the toleration of the Ptolemies, when they were masters of Judæa, forms a bright contrast to the fanatical violence of Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors. At length the nobler character of the race died out. Family dissensions tempted a recourse to the arbitration of Rome (B.C. 164). From that moment the end was certain, and it came after a long period of decline. But, before she yielded to her fate, Egypt had almost revenged herself on the masters of the world, the empire of which was well-nigh bartered by Julius, and was resigned by Antonius, for the charms of Cleopatra. The battle of Actium, and the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, left Egypt as the final prize of Octavian; and it became a Roman province in B.C. 30.

But its political absorption left its commercial and intellectual pre-eminence undiminished. Under the rule of Rome it enjoyed the commerce between the provinces of the West and the rich

lands of the furthest East. Its schools of philosophy and theology have left their impress on the thought and belief of Christendom. When conquered by the Arabs (A.D. 639), Egypt soon became the chief seat of their learning, and to this day it is the country where the character and manners of the race can be best seen. Reduced for a time to comparative insignificance by the Turkish conquest and the change of the route to India, it seems to have begun a new history with the present century. As the supposed key to the empire of the East, it roused the ambition of Napoleon and called forth the might of England. A more peaceful rivalry began when science once more made it the highway to India, with results to the country yet to be seen, but certain to be vast.

In the above outline of the history of Egypt, the interest of the subject, and the light thrown upon it by recent discoveries, have led us to treat it more exhaustively than would be generally consistent with the limits of our work. In the case of countries better known, and whose annals abound in a multitude of details, such a method would be impossible. But, where the facts are comparatively few, and the information only to be found in large, elaborate, and expensive works, we attempt to put before the reader, as nearly as possible, the compendious sum of existing knowledge. And even, as we have said before, where our knowledge is still imperfect or very doubtful, we prefer to state, with the necessary reserve, the opinions of the best authorities, if only as a convenient starting-point for further investigation, rather than to draw the erasing stile of ruthless scepticism over records which certainly contain much knowledge worth preserving, though clouded with much ignorance worth dispelling. Labour in this field may be often spent in vain, though only for a time; but we had rather lose a large part of our labour than be content to leave this chapter of our history

> "In cloud instead, and ever-during dark,"

and the reader, from such information as can be given,

> "Cut off; and, for the book of knowledge fair,
> Presented with a universal blank
> Of [Egypt's] works, to him expunged and razed,
> And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out."

NOTE.—Special acknowledgment is due of the use made, in the two preceding chapters, of Sir J. G. Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, of his Essays on Egyptian History and Antiquities, in the *Appendix* to Book II. of Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, and of Mr. Poole's *Horæ Ægypticæ* and article *Egypt* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HEBREW THEOCRACY AND MONARCHY. B.C. 1491 TO B.C. 508.

"Behold the measure of the promise fill'd;
See Salem built, the labour of a God!
Bright as the sun, the sacred city shines;
All kingdoms and all princes of the earth
Flock to that light; the glory of all lands
Flows into her; unbounded is her joy,
And endless her increase."—COWPER.

DESTINY OF THE HEBREW NATION—REVIEW OF THEIR HISTORY IN EGYPT—JOSEPH—THE ISRAELITES IN GOSHEN—THE OPPRESSION—MOSES: AS AN EGYPTIAN PRINCE—HIS FLIGHT—HIS DIVINE LEGATION—THE PLAGUES, THE PASSOVER, AND THE EXODUS—HEATHEN TRADITIONS OF THE EXODUS—MARCH TO SINAI—THE MOSAIC LAW—THE WILDERNESS—CONQUEST OF PERÆA—DEATH OF MOSES—CAMPAIGNS OF JOSHUA—DIVISION AND SETTLEMENT OF CANAAN—TIMES OF THE JUDGES—SERVITUDE TO THE PHILISTINES—SAMUEL, PROPHET AND JUDGE—THE KINGDOM—SAUL—DAVID—FULL CONQUEST OF THE LAND—JERUSALEM, THE CAPITAL AND SANCTUARY—SOLOMON—ISRAEL A GREAT MONARCHY—BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE—SOLOMON'S IDOLATRIES—FOREIGN ENEMIES AND INTERNAL FACTIONS—DIVISION OF THE TWO KINGDOMS—THEIR SEPARATE HISTORY—STEADY DECLENSION OF ISRAEL—FOREIGN ALLIANCES AND IDOLATRIES—THE PROPHETS—ELIJAH AND ELISHA—RELATIONS TO SYRIA, JUDAH, ASSYRIA, AND EGYPT—CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES—THEIR SUBSEQUENT FATE—KINGDOM OF JUDAH—IDOLATRIES AND REFORMS—ASA—JEHOSHAPHAT—THE HIGH PRIEST JEHOIADA—UZZIAH—IDOLATRIES OF AHAZ—THE PROPHETS, ESPECIALLY ISAIAH—WARS WITH ISRAEL AND SYRIA—HEZEKIAH—DESTRUCTION OF SENNACHERIB—JOSIAH—INVASION OF PHARAOH-NECHO—NEBUCHADNEZZAR—THE CAPTIVITY—CONDITION OF THE JEWS DURING THE CAPTIVITY.

THE picture, which we have endeavoured to fill up in the preceding chapter, of the primeval monarchy of Egypt, forms as yet only the background of the World's History. The chief interest of the story of our race remains with the people of Israel. The other nations have lapsed into idolatry, and have sunk beneath the power of oppressive rulers. They have failed, in the second probation of the world, to reach the highest standard of social life,—liberty regulated by laws in harmony with the will of God. So one family has been chosen out of all the rest, to form a nation which should reach that standard, or else prove by its failure the need of some more powerful principle than the purest laws. The moral aspect of this great experiment, in bringing man to the consciousness of his own weakness, and so reducing him to submission to divine grace, belongs to the province of religion. But it has a political aspect too; and the story of the chosen

people, as a nation, forms at this point the main stream of the history of the world.

We see them assembled, apart from all the other nations, in the recesses of Mount Sinai, to receive a LAW through the hands of a divinely-appointed legislator. And yet their separation is not a perfect isolation from the other peoples. In the presence of that "mixed multitude" who went with them out of Egypt, and in the extension of the chief provisions of the law to "the stranger within their gates," we see the general adaptation of the Law to the whole race of man. Meanwhile, however, it is fenced about with signs and sanctions, to bind it with peculiar force, in the first instance, on the people chosen to receive it. The perversion of what was peculiar to them into a selfish claim of exclusive privileges was one of the proofs of their unworthiness to fill their true position. Israel, called forth in the character of the son of God, was only the eldest of many brethren. The present favour and pure law of God were given to him in trust for all the rest, and his true mission was to diffuse knowledge and life over all the world.

For this the previous stages of the people's history were a preparation. Called out from the idolatry and tyranny of Chaldæa, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were, so to speak, just shown the future inheritance of Canaan, which their sons had just time to prove their unfitness to enjoy as yet, when they were subjected to a new course of discipline in Egypt. A period of prosperity, during which they enjoyed the favour of the king and occupied the richest district of the land, encouraged their rapid increase; nor did their numbers decline under hard bondage and cruelty. "The more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew."* While their sufferings trained them to endurance and steadfastness, they learnt from their oppressors the arts of civilization,—a possession more precious than the jewels of gold and silver they carried with them out of Egypt. Having gone down into that land a family, they came up out of it a nation.

We have now to trace briefly the stages of this progress. While in Canaan, the patriarchs led a nomad life. They dwelt in tents, and their wealth consisted in flocks and herds. They were dependent for corn upon the desultory agriculture of the Canaanites; and when that failed, their resource was in the abundance of Egypt. Twice in three generations were they driven to that resource; and, on the second occasion, Divine Providence had

* Exodus i. 12.

prepared the way, by Joseph's elevation, for their settlement in the land (B.C. 1706).*

The attempt to represent these events as a doubtful Hebrew tradition is refuted by internal evidence. Oriental history is familiar with the elevation of foreign slaves to the post of prime minister, and even to the throne itself; and all the attendant circumstances are thoroughly Egyptian. The names of Joseph's master and his father-in-law, Potiphar and Potipherah (*Pet-Phra, dedicated to the Sun*); his own, Zaphnath-Paaneah (*defender of life*);† and that of his wife, Asenath (*As-Neith*, daughter or servant of Neith), would never have been invented by a Jew. The office held by Potiphar, and the shamelessness of his wife,—the functions of Pharaoh's servants, and his mode of treating them,—the belief in dreams, and resort to professional magicians for their interpretation,—the importance assigned to the Nile, the many-eared corn, the cattle, and the reeds, in Pharaoh's dream,—the notice of the tenure of the land, and the exemption of the priests from taxation, —these and several other features of the narrative correspond altogether to what we know of Egypt. The image of Joseph, clothed in fine linen, decorated with a necklace of gold and the royal signet-ring, and mounted on a chariot of state, might be accurately depicted from existing monuments which represent the processions of kings and priests; while the shaving of his whole body before he went into Pharaoh's presence, is a custom of ceremonial cleanliness attested by Herodotus.

Nor must we, in vindicating the historic reality of Joseph's position in Egypt, forget his higher place in the history of the world. His elevation was earned by the noblest moral qualities,— steadfastness to principle, fidelity to duty, patience in adversity, filial affection, and brotherly forgiveness of the greatest wrongs. Even if we admit that his father's partiality and his prophetic dreams elated him too much, the youthful error was dearly paid for. If he learned in Egypt to profess the power of divination, and to swear by the life of Pharaoh, we must remember (what is too often forgotten in studying Scripture characters), that the best of men are not entirely free from the moral weaknesses of humanity. We need not discuss, in this case, the fairness of judging a man's character by his political conduct; for the charge brought against Joseph, of oppressive policy towards the Egyptian agriculturists, is

* This is Ussher's date. Mr. Poole places the event in B.C. 1867, under the Shepherd Kings, and Lepsius as late as B.C. 1500, under Amenoph III.

† We give the most probable interpretation, but the sense is not quite determined.

hardly borne out by a more accurate knowledge of the transaction. The question is complicated by the doubt respecting the dynasty then reigning; if the Shepherd Kings, this policy may have been a final step in the subjugation of the country. In any case, we have not sufficient information about the tenure of land in Egypt, to judge of the changes effected by Joseph. It would seem that the fifth of the whole produce, which Pharaoh took up by his advice in the seven years of plenty, was simply the double of the usual tithe or quit-rent; and when, during the famine, he had purchased from the people their rights in the land, he restored to them their possessions under the king, in consideration of their paying the same rent of one-fifth as a permanent impost, in acknowledgment of Pharaoh's ownership. At all events, his policy had saved the nation from destruction; while it answered that higher end in the preservation of the chosen family, which makes Joseph so signal an example of an overruling Providence, and which he himself described in those memorable words to his brethren:—"As for you, ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good, to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive."*

The land of Goshen, which was assigned by Pharaoh to the Israelites, lay on the eastern frontier of the Delta, along the easternmost or Pelusiac branch of the Nile. It forms the northern slope of the "Arabian mountain-chain," which borders the Nile-valley on the east, but turns off eastward, at the apex of the Delta, towards the Gulf of Suez. This position, between the alluvial flat of the Delta and the sands of the Desert, made it peculiarly fit for pasturing the flocks of the new settlers. Those who place the entrance of the Israelites under the Eighteenth Dynasty, regard the district as having been left vacant by the expulsion of the Shepherds, whose great fortress was at Avaris, the later Pelusium. If, however, this event took place under the Shepherd Kings themselves, we can understand their policy in placing a kindred pastoral race on the eastern frontier, where they were threatened by the power of the Assyrians or Chaldæans. The capital of the district was On (afterwards Heliopolis), the sacred city of the Sun, a place with which Joseph was specially connected by his marriage with the daughter of Potipherah, the priest of On.† It is an interesting

* Genesis l. 20.

† It was in the land of Goshen that Joseph met his father (Genesis xlvi. 28, 29). The LXX. places the meeting at "Heroönpolis, in the land of Ramesses," the place which seems to have been the starting-point of the Israelites at the exodus. The Coptic version puts, in place of Heroönpolis, the Pithom mentioned on the next page.

coincidence, that in the fabulous story of the exodus preserved by Josephus from Manetho, Moses is said to have been originally an Egyptian priest at Heliopolis. A further indication of the locality of Goshen is found in the Psalm which speaks of God as having done wonders—the miracles which preceded the exodus—"in the field of Zoan," the very ancient city otherwise called Tanis, on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.* In this land, too, the Israelites, during their servitude, built the cities of Pithom (the *City of Tum*, or *Atum*, a name for the sun), and Raamses, or Rameses, as store-cities for their oppressor.† Both these places appear to have been within the canton (nome) of Heliopolis, on the line of the canal of Rameses the Great. The name of the latter city has been adduced as a decisive proof that Rameses II. was the oppressor of the Israelites; Rameses I. being out of the question, owing to the shortness of his reign.‡ But it is unsafe to build such an argument on a name which, from its significance (the *Son of Ra*), may have been the title of many kings, and was in fact borne by the son of Amosis, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Neither would the occurrence of the name of Rameses II. on the ruins at *Abou Kesheyd* be decisive, even if Lepsius were certainly right in identifying those ruins with the city of Rameses. But this can hardly be the true site, both for other reasons, and because it is only eight miles from the ancient head of the Gulf of Suez, a distance inconsistent with the three days' march and the two halting-places of the Israelites at the exodus. The site of Rameses seems to have been much nearer to Heliopolis, and rather at the western than the eastern end of the valley called the *Wadi-t-Tumey-lat*, through which the route of the Israelites probably lay. It may perhaps correspond to the mound called *El-Abbaseeyeh*, about thirty miles from the ancient shore of the Gulf, and about the same from Heliopolis. If we could fix the exact site, we should know the starting-point of the Israelites on their exodus.

Meanwhile we must return to their condition in the land of Goshen. Separated from the Egyptians by their position and by their occupation as shepherds, they retained their own patriarchal constitution under the princes of their twelve tribes. The Scrip-

* Psalm lxxviii. 43. The advocates of the later date of the exodus appeal to the monuments of Rameses the Great at Tanis, in proof of its being a favourite royal residence under the Nineteenth Dynasty.

† Exodus i. 11; the LXX. adds, "and On, which is Heliopolis." They may have been employed in fortifying this city.

‡ Rameses I., the last king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and grandfather of Rameses II., reigned only one year, B.C. 1446 (Poole), or B.C. 1324 (Wilkinson).

ture history gives us incidental proofs of the influence retained by Joseph during his life, which must have helped to preserve the unity and harmony of the people.* From a family of seventy persons, they grew in 215 years† into a nation so numerous, that they were "more and mightier than the Egyptians," who became alarmed lest they should use their position on the frontier to unite with the enemies of Egypt.‡ The flight of Moses to the priest-prince of Midian seems to imply friendly relations between the Israelites and their Arab neighbours on the eastern frontier of the Delta. The cruel servitude and oppression which followed under the "new king which knew not Joseph," seems to have lasted somewhat more than the period of eighty years from the birth to the call of Moses.§ We have an interesting parallel to the Scriptural account of its severity, in the statement of Diodorus, that the Babylonian captives of Rameses II. rebelled in consequence of the like intolerable burthens. An inscription of the same king states that no native Egyptian was permitted to work on his buildings, and the monuments show us foreign captives thus employed. The law of conquest, especially as interpreted in the East, condemned that unhappy class to oppressive labour. But the position of the Israelites was very different. Their long and peaceful abode in the land assigned to them implies the possession of definite privileges, which were now violently withdrawn under the impulse of fear, that great incentive to tyranny. But when to this was added the attempt to stop their increase by the murder of their infants, the atrocious crime was justly punished by the miraculous death of the firstborn of the Egyptians.

* Genesis l. 15—26.

† See Genesis l. 23. It is no part of our plan to discuss questions of Biblica criticism and interpretation, such as whether these numbers are to be taken literally, and how the slightly different statements respecting them are to be reconciled. It is enough for our purpose that the increase was not impossible, especially taking polygamy into the account. It has been suggested that their numbers were swelled by other Semitic peoples, who were brought as captives into Egypt, and by many of the Egyptians themselves. That they intermarried with the Egyptians is seen by Joseph's own example, and mention is made of the mixed multitude who went up with them out of Egypt; but that multitude is evidently not included in the enumeration of the people (Exodus xii. 37, 38).

‡ Exodus i. 8, 9; Psalm cv. 24.

§ According to Ussher's system, Joseph was sold into Egypt B.C. 1729; he was thirty years old (Genesis xli. 46) when he stood before Pharoah, B.C. 1715; his death at 110 years old was in B.C. 1635. The birth of Moses was in B.C. 1571. The interval is sixty-four years; but, as the oppression did not begin till after the death of the whole generation who had lived with Joseph (Exodus i. 6), and perhaps not till after a further period of prosperity (v. 7), its beginning may be fixed near the end of that interval. It is reasonable also to allow as much time as possible for the previous increase of the people.

In the meantime, the king's sanguinary edict proved the first step in the series of providential events which prepared a deliverer for Israel in the person of the greatest man, next to the Divine Exemplar of humanity, that the world has ever seen. Moses, the son of Amram, of the tribe of Levi, hidden from his birth by the faith of his parents, was rescued by Pharaoh's daughter from the fate to which they were obliged at last to expose him, and was brought up at the Egyptian court as her adopted son. The statement of Stephen, that "he was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,"*—learning of which the priests held the key—is so far confirmed by the tradition handed down by Manetho, and copied by several ancient writers, that he was an Egyptian priest of Heliopolis. The same high authority adds, that "he was mighty in words and deeds," evidently while still at Pharaoh's court. We cannot, however, accept without confirmation the tradition preserved by Josephus of the victories of Moses over the Ethiopians who had invaded Egypt,—his pursuit of them to their own land, with circumstances too marvellous for sober history,—his capture of their capital, Saba, and his marriage to the daughter of the Ethiopian king.† According to this legend, it was the ungrateful jealousy of the Egyptians that caused his flight to Midian, a step which the authentic narrative of Scripture ascribes to his deliberate choice of the cause of his suffering brethren.‡

This choice, which the Apostle places among the brightest examples of faith in unseen realities, was, even from the mere worldly point of view, an act of the noblest self-renunciation. In the prime of life, and in the full flush of success, enjoying princely rank, and on a level with the priests in the knowledge that gave them power and wealth, Moses descended from this lofty position, and probably renounced the hope of one yet higher, to share the sufferings and degradation of a nation of oppressed slaves. That he had a prophetic knowledge of his mission to deliver the people, is clearly intimated by Stephen.§ When "it came into his heart to visit the children of Israel," we may suppose that he had little knowledge and no experience of their actual condition. His first burst of indignation at seeing the cruel beating of a Hebrew by an Egyptian taskmaster broke through all restraint. But while by slaying the oppressor he cast off for ever his connexion with the

* Acts vii. 22.

† An Ethiopian wife of Moses is mentioned in Numbers xii. 1.

‡ Exodus ii. 11, compared with Acts vii. 23, 24, and Hebrews xi. 24—26.

§ Acts vii. 25.

court, he found that the people were too dispirited by slavery to accept his aid and leadership; and, rejected by them and proscribed by Pharaoh, he fled to the land of Midian.

The Midianites were a tribe of Keturaïte Arabs, having their chief seats along the eastern side of the eastern or Ælanitic gulf of the Red Sea, and sometimes pasturing their flocks in the peninsula of Sinai. It seems to have been in the latter region that Moses found refuge with Jethro, or Raguel, a patriarchal prince and priest, whose daughter he married. To the forty years of learning and activity which he had spent in Egypt, were now added forty more of lonely meditation, as he fed his father-in-law's flocks amidst the grandest solitudes of nature. The idea naturally suggests itself that, with the maturity of thought acquired by such a mode of life, he received also the revelations which he recorded in the Book of Genesis. At length, in the most secret recess of the desert of Mount Sinai, at "Horeb, the mount of God" (doubtless an ancient sanctuary of the Arabian tribes), he was brought face to face with Jehovah, and received his commission to lead forth the Israelites to worship God on that very spot. We need not here enlarge on the strictly religious aspects of this great epoch in the history of the world.

Returning to Egypt, where a new king now reigned,* and joining himself with his brother Aaron, who was associated with him as the speaker and mediator, Moses first presented himself before the elders of the Israelites. Forty years of continued affliction had at last made them cry to God, whom they had almost forgotten amidst the idolatries of Egypt, and prepared them to welcome the deliverer they had before rejected. They believed the signs which proved that "Jehovah had visited His people," and bowed their heads and worshipped.†

The details of the contest that ensued with Pharaoh belong to Scripture history; nor can we properly discuss here the theological question it involves.‡ The first demand was moderate—that the people might go forth to keep a feast to Jehovah their God in the wilderness. On arriving there, it was clearly implied that they were to be at God's disposal; and Moses steadily rejected every offer short of their departure with their entire families and flocks. The claim of God was founded on that relation which is the key to the whole history of the Hebrew nation, "Israel is my son, even my firstborn;" and Pharaoh's obstinate resolution to keep in slavery the people who thus belonged to God, was met from the

* Exodus iv. 19. † Exodus iv. 29—31. ‡ Romans ix. 17, 18.

first by the threat, "I will slay thy son, even thy firstborn."* To this infliction the other plagues were but preparatory, giving the king and people—for they sided with him—the opportunity of yielding to milder chastisements. The nature of these was wonderfully adapted to the country, the habits, and the superstitions of the Egyptians, who saw not only the common plagues of their country miraculously aggravated, but its best blessings made the sources of disease and death; their property destroyed, their persons, their gods, and their sacred river polluted. The truly miraculous nature of the plagues was proved by the vain attempts of the magicians to imitate them beyond the point which mere trickery could reach, and the shepherd's staff of Moses became the wonder-working rod which was to govern and guide the people of Israel. At length came that blow which was the first threatened and the last struck; and while, amidst the darkness that might be felt, every Egyptian house resounded with the wail for the firstborn, from the palace of Pharaoh to the captive's dungeon,—while the priests howled for their sacred animals, as Jehovah

> "equalled with one stroke
> Both their firstborn and all their bleating gods,"—

the emancipated Israelites, fully equipped for their departure, and enriched by the fears of their neighbours, ate for the first time that great feast which took its name from the destroyer "passing over" their houses, marked by the blood of the sacrificial lamb, and which became the perpetual type of a still higher deliverance from death and bondage. "It is a night to be much observed" in the history of the world, as well as in the annals of the chosen race.†

The exodus took place in the night of (or, according to our reckoning, before) the fourteenth day of the lunar month nearest to the vernal equinox; and this month, Abib or Nisan, became thenceforth the first of the Hebrew ecclesiastical year. The civil year began about the autumnal equinox, with the month Tisri. The period of 430 years fixed in God's first announcement of the captivity to Abraham was now completed; and this period must be dated from the call of Abraham: the actual time of the

* Exodus iv. 22, 23. It was probably a very old principle of religion, that the firstborn and all firstfruits belonged especially to God, and must either be sacrificed or redeemed. The Passover gave a new sanction to this doctrine; and in it the Jews offered the lamb of redemption, before bringing to God the firstfruits of the year.

† Exodus xii. 42.

sojourn in Egypt, from the descent of Jacob to the Exodus, was 215 years.*

The Jewish Rabbinical tradition places the exodus in the year of the world 2447, that is, in B.C. 1314; but the rabbinical chronology is of little authority by itself.† This date, however, falls within the reign of Men-ptah or Ptah-men, the son of Rameses the Great (B. C. 1328—1309), according to the chronology of Bunsen, Lepsius, and their followers, who regard this king as the Pharaoh of the Exodus.‡ They rely mainly on the strange account about the exodus which Josephus gives from Manetho, with the strongest protest against its authenticity.§

The story is that King Menophis or Amenophis resolved to propitiate the gods by purging the land of all lepers and unclean persons. These, to the number of 80,000, among whom were some leprous priests, were banished to the quarries in the eastern hills; but the king afterwards gave them the city of Avaris (Pelusium), from which the Shepherds had been expelled. Here they chose for their leader an apostate priest of Heliopolis, whose name Osarseph was changed to Moses, and swore obedience to him. He gave them new laws, bidding them disregard the gods and sacrifice the sacred animals, and forbidding all intercourse with the other Egyptians. He fortified the city, and called in the aid of the expelled Shepherds, who had settled at Jerusalem, and who advanced to Avaris with an army of 200,000 men. The King of Egypt marched against them with 300,000 men, but returned to Memphis through fear of an ancient prophecy. He then fled to Ethiopia, whence he returned after an absence of thirteen years, drove the rebels out of Egypt, and pursued them to the frontier of Syria. The story is equally irreconcileable with the Scripture, and with the monuments of the nineteen years' reign of Men-ptah, which leave no space for his absence for thirteen years in Ethiopia.‖

* Genesis xv. 13; Exodus xii. 41; Acts vi. 7; Galatians iii. 17. For the proof of this position, against those who date the 430 years from the descent of Jacob into Egypt, see Clinton's Essay on Scripture Chronology, *Fasti Hellenici*, Vol. I., p. 283; and Mr. Poole's art. Chronology, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*. The Captivity itself had lasted 215 years (B.C. 1706—1491, Ussher).

† See note on Scripture Chronology, p. 10.

‡ A slight alteration is evidently required to bring the exodus to the last year of his reign. Sir J. G. Wilkinson, while adopting the opinion of Lepsius, places Ptah-men as late as B.C. 1245, which is far too low for the date of the exodus. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Appendix to Book II. c. viii., Vol. II. p. 372.

§ Joseph. *contra Apionem*, I. 26.

‖ It is even at variance with other notices of the exodus in the lists of Manetho, to which, however, we must not attach too great importance, as they may only

On the whole, then, it seems hopeless to fix the date of the exodus by Manetho's testimony, and least of all can we depend upon the story related by Josephus. It evidently confuses reminiscences of the expulsion of the Hyksos with the exodus of the Israelites; nor is it credible that the latter should have exercised the power ascribed to them in Egypt, without some record thereof in their own history. Weighing the story critically against the Mosaic record, apart from all higher authority, it is a manifest invention of the priests to conceal a great national disgrace, and to heap odium on a people whom they hated.

The fable by which the Egyptian priests chose to hand down the story of their great national disaster is related not only by Josephus, but by several Greek writers, in forms varied chiefly by the greater or lesser degree in which they were infected by the animosity of the Egyptians against the Jews. But, perverted as it is, the legend indicates some interesting points. That religious hatred was deeply concerned in the persecution, may be inferred from the uniform representation of the people as a mixed collection of polluted outcasts; and the special mention of lepers among them cannot but recall the sign of the leprous hand, one of the first by which the mission of Moses was attested. The employment of the leprous persons in the quarries, their choice of Moses for their leader and acceptance of new laws at his hands, and the failure of the Egyptians to prevent their departure, are so many dim reflections of the truth; and the great pestilence, which is said to have warned the Egyptians to expel them, may be connected with the plagues of Egypt, and especially with the slaughter of the firstborn. The mention of Jerusalem, though an anachronism which betrays the utter absence of historical accuracy, clearly shows to what nation the story was meant to apply. But the most curious points in the various forms of the legend are those which relate to Moses and his legislation. The character ascribed to him, of an apostate Egyptian priest, confirms the fact that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and various

express the opinions of the chronologers in whose copies alone the lists have come down to us. Thus Africanus names Amosis, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty (about B.C. 1525), as the Pharaoh under whom Moses left Egypt, which would agree with the date assigned to the exodus by Petavius, and come very near to that of Ussher. This may, however, refer to the flight into Midian, rather than to the exodus. Both the Greek and Armenian copies of Eusebius place the exodus under the ninth king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, namely Achencheres, who is either the son of, or the same as, Horus, the son of Amenophis III. Nay, in the very legend on which the German writers rely, the name given is Menophis, or Amenophis, though the context leaves little doubt that Men-ptah, the son of Rameses II., is the king intended.

forms of the tradition attest that he was "mighty in word and deed."

Thus Hecatæus of Abdera, who visited Egypt under Ptolemy I. and wrote an Egyptian history, mentions Moses as the most distinguished of the Jews, both in knowledge and bravery. The story of this writer, as preserved by Diodorus, is, that the worship of the gods having been neglected on account of the number of foreigners in Egypt, the Egyptians were warned by a pestilence to drive away the pollution. The most distinguished of the expelled foreigners followed Danaus and Cadmus into Greece; but the greater number were led by Moses into Judæa, which was then uninhabited. There he built Jerusalem and many other cities, divided the people into twelve tribes, appointed judges and priests, and erected a sanctuary, which contained no images of the gods; for Moses held that the Deity could not be fitly represented by any human form, being in truth nothing else than the heaven which surrounds and embraces the world. Having trained the people by warlike institutions, Moses conquered the surrounding nations and divided their lands among the Jews. He forbad foreign commerce, made education obligatory, and enacted laws for marriage and burial.* Such is the interesting though confused account given by an intelligent and apparently impartial Greek, who had access in Egypt to Jewish as well as Egyptian sources of information.

Diodorus, who has preserved this story, gives another version of it, according to which, when the temple was profaned by Antiochus Epiphanes, the picture of Moses was found in the Holy of Holies, as a man with a long beard, and with a book in his hand, mounted on an ass; and the legend stated that the Israelites in the wilderness were guided by an ass to a spring of water. The ass was the Egyptian symbol for the evil principle, Typhon, who was regarded as the god of the Hyksos, and of the kindred Syrian and Arabian tribes.

The great geographer Strabo, in the time of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, relates the story in a much more impartial spirit, recognising in Moses a great reformer of religion, and in his followers those who honoured the unity of the Godhead. He falls, however, into the common error of regarding the Jews as a colony of the Egyptians, mingled with Syrians and Phœnicians, a tradition which of itself bears witness to the exodus.

Tacitus has collected the accounts of various authors into a strange medley of the traditions respecting the Shepherd Kings, the

* Diod. i. 27, 46, 55.

exodus itself, and the story of Manetho; and, like most of the preceding writers, he views the Mosaic legislation as conceived in a spirit of hostility to mankind.* This misrepresentation, springing at first from envy at the privileges of the chosen people and dislike to their purer morality, was partly justified by their own arrogant exclusiveness.

It was long, however, before they thus abused their sense of privilege. The night of the exodus saw them

"Red from the scourge, and recent from the chain;"

though, in the first ardour of their new-found liberty, "there was not one feeble person among their tribes." We must leave to the special department of Scripture History the very interesting questions of the route they followed in their three days' march to the Red Sea, the point at which they crossed the Gulf of Suez, and the vindication of the miracle of their passage and the destruction of the Egyptians. On the whole, it seems most probable that, starting from Rameses, not far north-east of Heliopolis, they marched along the line of the ancient canal, through the *Wady-Tumeilat*, and not through the more southern *Wady-et-Teeh* (*Valley of the Pilgrimage*), which leads almost due east from the neighbourhood of Cairo to the Gulf of Suez. Their march was at first so directed that it might have brought them to the southern frontier of Palestine; but Moses was commanded not to lead them at once to a conflict with its warlike inhabitants; and a sudden turn to the south brought them into that trap, as it seemed to the pursuing Egyptians, whence they were delivered by the miracle to which they always looked back as the great epoch of their history;—the great proof that theirs was the true God.†

Neither does it fall within our plan to trace the details of their march to Mount Sinai, or to discuss the topography of that sacred spot. Their three months' progress through the wilderness showed how entirely God had taken them into his own hands, and how perversely they opposed their will to His from the very moment of their rescue;—a type of our race in its pilgrimage through the world,—a proof of the need for that law which they were called to receive, first from God himself, and then through Moses as the mediator. The spot chosen for the revelation, besides being one of the most remarkable in the world for its awful solitary grandeur,

* Tacit. *Hist.* V. 2—5.

† The route through the Wady-et-Teeh, besides exaggerating the difficulty of the passage of the Red Sea, altogether fails to account for the movement of *turning* to encamp beside the sea. Exodus xiv. 2.

seems to have been an ancient sanctuary of the Arab tribes, who had still worshipped there the God of their father Abraham. We leave to the words of Scripture itself the relation of God's descent upon the mount, a scene which struck Moses himself with terror.

The full exposition of the law does not of course belong to general history; but yet it forms, in its leading principles, a standard by which to estimate the character and the true progress of the whole race. It was given to one nation, not as adapted to them alone, but because mankind at large had become unworthy to receive it; and it was given to them in trust for all the rest. Its foundation was in the truth of God's self-existence as the One God, in His almighty power as the creator of the world, in His supreme authority over His creatures, and His paternal relation to mankind. In applying these general principles to the chosen people, Jehovah revealed himself as their only king, and raised them to the privileges of "a holy nation, a royal priesthood." While therefore it was treason in them to serve other gods, it was no less than usurpation against God for other nations and kings to claim authority over them. The leading commands and prohibitions reduced to a definite system of law those moral principles by which the lives of the patriarchs had been already governed, their great rule of life being found in the will of God. Those minuter regulations which were clearly not intended to be universal,* were designed in part to secure the purity of the people, in part to preserve and set forth, in the lasting and vivid form of institutions and symbols, those great religious truths which were at last to regenerate the world:—these were "the end of the law." The same symbolism ran through the divine worship, which was established in a form that appealed to the senses, and which was connected with the whole social organization. The Sanctuary, at first a moveable tent or "Tabernacle," the model of the later Temple, was the visible abode of the invisible God, who indicated his presence by the Shechinah, or cloud of glory; and, in place of the image of the deity, which was enshrined in heathen temples, the Book of the Law itself was deposited in the sacred ark, under the custody of the Priests, the descendants of Aaron, under whom the Levites acted as sacrificing priests, teachers, lawyers, and physicians. The holy festivals were to the people a constant bond of union with one another and with God; while the sacred and merciful institution of the Sabbath was extended, in the Sabbatic

* Of course we cannot attempt here to draw the line, the existence of which we recognise.

Year and Jubilee, in such a manner as to correct the inequalities of society, and to check the selfishness which makes such inequalities excessive. Every Israelite was holy to God, and equal in civil rights, and therefore none might be reduced to slavery:* the land was God's own possession, the use of which only was granted to the several tribes and families by lot, and it could not be permanently alienated. Hence the institution of the Jubilee in every fiftieth year, when bondsmen were set free, debts remitted, and property that had been sold restored to its former possessors. In the Sabbatic year, the spontaneous produce of the land, abundant in Palestine, was freely enjoyed by the poor. The civil government was administered by the Elders of the tribes, and by a new class of judges, in the name of Jehovah, who was himself the sole King, ever present in the camp, and deciding all doubtful cases by oracles given through the High Priest. The principles of the patriarchal constitution were still preserved in the power of the princes and elders of the tribes, who, besides having the internal government of their own tribes, seem to have formed the Council of Seventy to consult with Moses and Aaron. As at the head of the state the will of God was supreme, so at the other extremity the consent of the people was signified by the voice of the assembled congregation. The bonds of national life were the descent from a common ancestor and the covenant with God. Provision was made for the reception of strangers into the commonwealth, under certain restrictions; but all must observe the most essential laws. The people dwelt around the tabernacle, as a military host, arrayed under the banners of their several tribes, and ready to march in a prescribed order, to take possession of the land that had been promised to their fathers. The promise of long life in that land, and the threat of expatriation and captivity, were the great sanctions of the law: the chief summary penalty for disobedience was the being "cut off from the congregation" as a corrupted member.†

It was on the 20th day of the second month of the second year from the epoch of the exodus (early in May, B.C. 1490),‡ when, all these institutions having been arranged, and the Tabernacle

* Only foreigners, purchased or taken in war, could be made slaves, and laws were enacted for their merciful treatment.

† In this brief summary, all minute points and doubtful discussions are avoided; for instance, the question how far the external forms of the Mosaic institutions were imitated from Egyptian models.

‡ That is, from the first day of the month Abib, on the fifteenth day of which the exodus took place.

having been erected on the first day of the same year, the encampment before Sinai was broken up. The interval of a year had been enough to show how deeply the people were corrupted by the idolatry of Egypt; and now their conduct proved that those who had a perfect law were still the true types of an imperfect humanity.

Their exact route through the peninsula of Sinai is undetermined; nor can we be sure of the position of Kadesh, the place near the southern frontier of Palestine, at which they rebelled on hearing the report of the spies, and from whence they were turned back to complete the full term of forty years' wandering in the wilderness. The Forty Years' Wandering was no mere term of penal suffering, but a period of most needful discipline, religious and moral, military and political, interposed between the slavery of Egypt and the free national life of Palestine. Nor can we sufficiently admire the providence which furnished such a scene for this stage in their training as the secluded peninsula of Sinai, where the Israelites met with none but a few wandering Arab tribes,—such as the hostile Amalekites and the friendly Midianites,—of their relations to whom the narrative is almost silent.* We should miss one of the most salient features in the history of the world, did we not recognise, in this stage of the annals of the chosen people, a type of the progress both of the individual man and of the whole race, from the bondage and impotence of our fallen state, through the discipline of suffering and by the "law of liberty," to the inheritance of our final rest.

Towards the expiration of the forty years, we find them in the *Arabah*, the broad valley which runs northward from the eastern gulf of the Red Sea, along the foot of Mount Seir, and gives entrance to Palestine by the valley of the Dead Sea. Turned back thence by the jealousy of the kindred race of Edom, they marched round Mount Seir into the hilly country east of Jordan, afterwards called Peræa. This country was then occupied, after various changes of inhabitants, by two branches of the great tribe of the Amorites, whose chief seats, as we have already seen, at the times of Abraham and Jacob, were in the central highlands of Palestine. The southern part formed the kingdom of Sihon, and the northern, under the name of Bashan, the still more powerful kingdom of the giant Og. Both made war against the Israelites, to whom their overthrow gave possession of the whole land from the foot of Mount Hermon and the chain of Anti-libanus to the river Arnon,

* See Exodus xvii.; Deuteronomy xxv. 17; Exodus xviii.; Numbers x.

which runs into the Dead Sea. The hills south of this stream were held by the pastoral race of Moab, one of the two sons of Lot, round whose land the Israelites had marched in peace; and beyond them, towards the Great Desert, were the Beni-Ammi, the children of Lot's other son, Ammon. Both nations had been lately driven out by the Amorites from the land now conquered by Israel. They formed a confederacy with the Midianites against the invaders; and Balak, king of Moab, sought for a Divine sanction to the enterprise. Far to the East, at Pethor, in Mesopotamia, dwelt a famous prophet, Balaam the son of Beor, who had preserved the knowledge of the true God, and received oracles from Him, though practising at the same time the arts of magic, and "loving the wages of iniquity;" a type chosen by two sacred writers to describe the apostates of the last days. Few episodes of Scripture history are more picturesque, and none more morally significant, than that of the apostate prophet struggling with God and his own conscience to earn the gifts of Balak, and thrice compelled to bless the people whom he had come to curse. He revenged his disappointment by seducing them to practise the licentious rites of Baal-peor, but perished in the vengeance which Moses was commanded to take upon the Moabites.

During these events, Israel was encamped in the "plains of Moab,"—the terraces which descend from the hills to the deep valley of the Jordan, opposite to Jericho. Here Moses delivered to them those parting discourses which occupy the Book of Deuteronomy; and, having appointed Joshua as his successor, yielded up his life on the top of Mount Pisgah, after beholding the prospect of the land which he was not suffered to enter (B.C. 1451). With him ended the generation who had come up out of Egypt.

The only survivors of that generation, preserved as a special reward of their fidelity in bringing a good report of the land, were Caleb and Joshua. Under the command of the latter, a new and vigorous race, trained by the long experience of the Desert, advanced to the conquest of their promised inheritance. We need but glance at the miraculous passage of the Jordan and fall of Jericho, the repulse from Ai for Achan's sin, and the subsequent capture of that city, followed by the great defeat of the confederated kings of Southern Palestine in the pass of Beth-horon, when the sun and moon stood still at the command of Joshua, that the slaughter of the enemy might be complete. The campaign was finished by the capture and destruction of all the chief cities of the south, except Jerusalem. In the following year (B.C. 1450), a league of the

northern kings, who brought into the field a great force of war-chariots, was as signally overthrown at the "Waters of Merom," the small lake formed by the Upper Jordan. These two great victories decided the fate of the country; but its entire conquest occupied seven years; and even then there remained great cities and whole districts unsubdued (B.C. 1445).* This was natural in so rapid a conquest; and the resulting state of things was a divinely appointed trial of the people's steadfastness to their faith. And the very reason why some of the conquered tribes were permitted to remain suggests one answer to the moral difficulty raised by their general extermination. Races so depraved, that their very neighbourhood was a constant source of corruption, were clearly past any milder treatment. Nor can the historian, unless he be an unbeliever, record their destruction without a distinct recognition of the fact, that it was done at the command of God. The razed cities and slaughtered inhabitants were not the victims of military licence, but were solemnly devoted to Jehovah. The full rigour of the sentence seems to have been executed only in a few conspicuous examples, as those of Jericho and Ai. The cities were generally left in a habitable state when their defences were razed, and many of their inhabitants may have been spared. One people only, through a curious stratagem, obtained a treaty of peace; and these Gibeonites were reduced to perpetual servitude in the menial offices of the sanctuary.†

Meanwhile Israel had kept up the military organization of invaders in an enemy's country, their head-quarters being their original camp at Gilgal near Jericho. But now the Tabernacle was removed to Shiloh, in the central hill-country between Jordan and the Mediterranean, which was assigned to Ephraim, the tribe of Joshua himself. Seated in front of the sanctuary, with the High Priest Eleazar and the seventy elders, Joshua divided the land among the twelve tribes by lot, a form of decision which the Jews regarded as expressing the Divine will. The two tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half of the tribe of Manasseh, had already received their inheritance from Moses in the conquered land on the east of the Jordan, which was specially adapted for their numerous flocks; and their armed men, having fulfilled the condition of marching before their brethren till the conquest was achieved, were now dismissed in peace. A misunderstanding with reference to an altar erected by them on the banks of Jordan, as a memorial of their claim to a common share in the privileges of Israel, called

* For a list of these, see Joshua xiii.

† Joshua ix

forth a display of zeal which proved how steadfast all the people were as yet to their faith; and the affair bound more closely together the tribes divided by the stream of Jordan. It was from that eastern division, and especially from the rough highlands of Gilead, that some of Israel's greatest heroes sprang. Such were the judge Jephthah and the prophet Elijah.

There remained nine tribes and a half on the west of the Jordan. Levi, being devoted to the priesthood, received no separate inheritance, and was not reckoned among the twelve;* but the number was made up by the division of Joseph into the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. These two obtained the central district, composed of fertile hills and rich valleys; and far exceeding the lot of any other tribe, except Judah, which received the rough hill-country of the south. The future capital, Jerusalem, as yet in the hands of the Jebusites, lay on the northern border of Judah, but strictly within the territory of Benjamin. The latter tribe held a narrow strip of land between the hills of Ephraim and those of Judah, containing the most important passes from the valley of the Jordan to the great Philistine plain. It is unnecessary to describe the lots of the other tribes, which corresponded very strikingly to the prophetic blessing of Jacob;† and the geography of Palestine may be assumed to be familiar to our readers. The division included the land that still remained to be conquered; and some of the tribes in fact never obtained all their allotted possessions, such as Dan and Simeon in the maritime plain of Philistia, and Asher in the borders of Sidon. The old inhabitants held most tenaciously to the lowlands, where their military force, and particularly in the north their war-chariots, could act best; and there were times in the dark period following the death of Joshua when the Israelites were almost entirely driven back into the hills.

But the declension which brought upon them such weakness had not yet begun. In the pregnant simplicity of the sacred narrative we are told that "Jehovah gave unto Israel all the land which He sware to give unto their fathers; and they possessed it, and dwelt therein. And Jehovah gave them rest round about, according to all that He sware unto their fathers: and there stood not a man of all their enemies before them; Jehovah delivered all

* The Levites possessed forty-eight cities with their suburbs, six of which were made "cities of refuge" for involuntary homicides. For their maintenance they had the tithes of all produce, and portions of the sacrifices.

† Genesis xlix.

their enemies into their hand. There failed not aught of any good thing which Jehovah had spoken unto the house of Israel; all came to pass."* If this language seem too strong for the real facts, it should be remembered that it describes privileges put within their power, and only not actually enjoyed by their own fault; and that the possessions of the nation did reach, under David and Solomon, to the full bounds of the promised land, from the borders of Egypt to the Euphrates.

Unlike other nations, who have had to build up the edifice of material prosperity by slow and painful efforts, the Israelites entered into the fruits of a civilization long established, in a country highly favoured by climate, products, and position. Ancient Palestine† is not fairly described by the sarcasms of Gibbon. The rugged portions of its surface, like the more rugged banks of the Rhine, were converted, by a system of terrace cultivation, into luxuriant vineyards. Olives and other fruit-trees abounded; the valleys produced rich crops of corn; the hills furnished ample pasturage, and the woods harboured such swarms of wild bees that the honey was often dropping from the trees.‡ The "land flowing with milk and honey" is no poetic fiction, but an accurate description of a country abounding in the first necessaries of life—for such is honey in the absence of the sugarcane. The finest timber was obtained from the forests of Gilead and Bashan, and from the cedar groves of Lebanon, whose two giant chains crowned the whole land upon the north. The happy position of Palestine has often been noticed, in the very centre of the ancient world, and at the confluence of the great routes of traffic, both by land and sea; and at the height of her prosperity, under Solomon, she had ports both on the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. At the time of the conquest Canaan teemed with a population who had made full use of these natural advantages. The whole face of the country was covered with strong cities, each under its king; the fruits brought in by the spies bear witness to the richness even

* Joshua xxi. 43—45.

† We use the name which has been adopted in geography from the Greek writers; though none could well be less appropriate. Describing properly the country of the Philistines, the most constant enemies of the Hebrews, it was extended to the land of the latter in the full form of Syria-Palæstina, or more briefly Palæstina. In our version the word is twice used, in the narrower sense only: Exodus xv. 15; Isaiah xiv. 29, 31. The Biblical name of the country is Canaan, in the early period; and afterwards the separate parts are described by the names of the tribes, and by local designations, such as Gilead, Bashan, &c. When the land was divided into the two kingdoms, they were called by the names of Judah and Israel.

‡ 1 Samuel xiv. 26.

of its least fertile parts; and the goodly Babylonish garment, and other treasures found among the spoils of Jericho, indicate an active commerce with the East. Thus did the Israelites find themselves the masters of "great and goodly cities, which they builded not, and houses full of all good things, which they filled not, and wells digged, which they digged not, vineyards and olive-trees, which they planted not:"—*

> "It was a fearful joy, I ween,
> To trace the Heathens' toil,
> The limpid wells, the orchards green,
> Left ready for the spoil,
> The household stores untouch'd, the roses bright
> Wreath'd o'er the cottage walls in garlands of delight."†

Before the first tide of gratitude had had time to ebb, their aged leader twice convened the people to receive a final charge and warning. The second of these assemblies was held at Shechem, the old abode of Abraham and Jacob, and henceforth the chief city, till it was eclipsed by Jerusalem. Here the bones of Joseph, which had been brought out of Egypt at the Exodus, were committed to his fathers' burial-place. The covenant was solemnly renewed, and a stone of memorial was set up under an oak, perhaps in the very grove where Abraham had pitched his tent five hundred years before. One passage in Joshua's last address would seem to show that the idols of the Canaanites had already found worshippers among the people;‡ and his parting warnings are uttered in the same sadly prophetic spirit as those of Moses. Joshua died about B.C. 1426. The people remained faithful to Jehovah during the days of the elders who outlived him. He was not long survived by the high priest Eleazar, the son of Aaron, the epoch of whose death closes the first period of Israel's history as a nation (about B.C. 1420).

The time of the JUDGES, from the death of Joshua to the election of Saul,—a period of about 330 years,—fitly represents, by the intricacy of its history, the confusion of the commonwealth.§ It is not, however, difficult to apprehend those leading points which alone belong to general history. Much light is thrown on the beginning of the period by the later chapters of the Book of Judges, which are properly supplemental to the general mention of the people's

* Deuteronomy vi. 10, 11. † Keble: *Christian Year*. ‡ Joshua xxiv. 23.

§ B.C. 1427—1095. This is according to Ussher; but most modern chronologers adopt a much longer period. See the *Note on Scripture Chronology*, at the end of the Introduction.

declension at the beginning of the book.* Here we see great questions of public policy decided by the whole people assembled at the Sanctuary, and learning the will of God from the high priest. The Theocracy was in full force, administered by the high priest and the council of elders, in the spirit of such uncompromising zeal against a gross outrage, that the tribe of Benjamin was almost exterminated by the rest. We see too, in the companion story of Micah and the Danites, the beginnings of idolatry and brigandage. Meanwhile, noble deeds of daring were performed in driving out the heathen from various parts of the land, and in these the family of Caleb were conspicuous. But religious zeal soon faded before the seductions of idolatry, and the people, having lost the true source of their power, easily succumbed to the tyrants whose oppression was the punishment of their sin. Among the numerous gods of the heathen whom they served, the chief were Chemosh, the god of Moab, and Baal and Ashtaroth, the deities of Phœnicia:

> "For those the race of Israel oft forsook
> Their living Strength, and unfrequented left
> His righteous altar, bowing lowly down
> To bestial gods; for which their heads as low
> Bowed down in battle, sunk before the spear
> Of despicable foes."

This declension was aided by natural causes, so powerful that nothing short of the firmest adherence to the idea of religious unity could have arrested their working; and that bond failed. From the moment that the tribes took possession of their several lots, different in their physical characters and in their relations to the old inhabitants, they began to have separate interests and dangers. It became more and more difficult to assemble the whole congregation before the Tabernacle under their elders; in fact, the only such meeting of which we read was that in which the eleven tribes leagued together for the punishment of Benjamin. From this meeting at Shiloh under Phinehas, to the time when Samuel called the people together at Ramah and at Mizpeh, the national life seems to have fallen apart into that of the separate tribes. The only personal centre of the state, the high priest, was so insignificant that none is mentioned by name from Phinehas to Eli except in the genealogies. Disorders arose within the tribes themselves; and the

* Compare Judges ii. with chapters xvii—xxi. Besides the indication of time given by the mention of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, as high priest (xx. 28), the great crime of Gibeah is mentioned by Hosea (x. 9) as the beginning of Israel's wickedness.

chiefs of volunteer bands (often composed of outlaws and subsisting as freebooters), like Jephthah, usurped the authority of the elders, and succeeded in founding new houses of their own. These internal dissensions invited attacks from the predatory tribes on the southern and eastern borders, which were also peculiarly exposed through the want of any natural frontiers, while the warlike populations of the great maritime plain and of the inland valleys formed an ever-present danger in the heart of the state. The comparative exemption of Judah from these troubles is a fact that deserves notice. Strong in its numbers * and in the natural defences of its hill country, the tribe appears to have preserved that fidelity to religious patriotism, of which so bright an example had been set by Caleb; and it is to the fields of Bethlehem that we must look for that beautiful picture of peaceful patriarchal life, which occupies the second supplement to the Book of Judges.† Not but that this tribe had its conflicts. The presence of the Arab hordes on the south, and of the warlike Philistines on the west, formed a continual danger, and may account for the unblamed absence of Judah from the great struggles under Deborah and Gideon.

To correct these internal evils, and to oppose these invasions from without, the people had the mercy of Jehovah, renewed as often as they repented, and the noble daring of heroes raised up for their deliverance, to whom impartial history will not assign a lower rank than it gives to Leonidas and Tell. Amidst the disunion of the nation, these men, and sometimes women, led one or two tribes to the victory which was granted to their faith;‡ and their deeds form the only history of Israel for about three centuries.

The great oppressors of Israel were the kings of Mesopotamia, of Moab, and of Hazor, a great city on their northern frontier; the Midianites, Amalekites, Ammonites, and Philistines.§ Their

* After the Exodus, Judah was by far the most numerous tribe (Numbers i.). At the second numbering they had increased, while most of the tribes had diminished (Numbers xxvi.); and the disproportion seems to have gone on increasing.

† The Book of Ruth. The first supplement, as we have already pointed out, consists of Judges xvii.—xxi. The date of Ruth is uncertain, as its calculation depends upon the genealogies, in which some steps may perhaps be wanting. The most probable time seems to be about the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C., contemporary with the judgeship of Deborah and Barak in the north.

‡ See Hebrews xi. 32—34.

§ We hear of no hostilities with the Phœnicians, with whom the neighbouring tribes of Israel seem thus early to have formed the peaceful relations which were continued under David and Solomon.

great heroes were Othniel, the son of Caleb, Ehud, Deborah and Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson. These, besides delivering them in war, administered justice with a special authority, which was greatly needed amidst the confusion of ordinary government; and hence they received the name of JUDGES. Their office formed a sort of transition from the pure theocracy, on which the people had lost their hold, to a regular monarchy: it was designed to correct that state of things, in which "there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes."* It is a great error to suppose that their authority was universal, any more than the oppressions which they overthrew. Thus the servitude to the Moabites and the deliverance by Ehud affected only the south. Sisera overran the north, and was defeated by the tribes of Zebulon, Issachar, and Naphthali. The hordes of the Midianites and Amalekites broke into the centre, and Gideon led against them the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, Zebulon and Naphthali. The scene of Jephthah's resistance to the Ammonites was the country east of the Jordan; while, on the south-west border, the people were perpetually harassed by the Philistines, from the days of Shamgar to those of Samson. It is to this local character of the scenes of the history of the Judges, and to the probability that some of them were contemporaneous, that we must look for the solution of the chronological difficulties of the period. Above all the other Judges, before the holy Samuel, towers the princely figure of Gideon, who refused the offered crown of Israel, and whose son Abimelech for a short time set up at Shechem a kingdom which bears a curious resemblance to the Greek tyrannies.

After the terrible blows inflicted on the Midianites by Gideon and on the Ammonites by Jephthah, the northern and eastern tribes enjoyed comparative repose; and we read of several judges who were remarkable only for the dignities they conferred on their numerous offspring.† With the restoration of tranquillity, the high-priesthood emerges from its obscurity, in the person of Eli, but only to reveal that worst corruption of the theocratic commonwealth,—

> "When the priest
> Turns atheist, as did Eli's sons, who filled
> With lust and violence the house of God."

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* Judges xvii. 6.

† Such were Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon; the rule of each being limited to portions of the land. Judges x. 1—5; xii. 8—15.

The indulgent weakness of Eli and the profligacy of his sons were avenged by the Philistines, who, having long threatened the southern tribes, now reduced them and, as it would seem, the whole country to subjection (B.C. 1131). For forty years they were complete masters over Israel; and they were only finally subdued by David. The warlike Danites failed to support their champion Samson, whose ill-regulated strength forms a striking contrast to the moral power of Samuel. Even the men of Judah submitted. An attempt to cast off the yoke was crushed in two decisive battles at Eben-ezer, in the second of which the ark of God, rashly brought into the field as a charm for victory, was captured, Eli's two sons were slain, and the news was fatal to the old man himself. But the disasters and disgrace which the captive ark brought upon the Philistines, as well as on their national god, Dagon, forced them to confess themselves conquered by the God of Israel, and they restored the ark with every mark of honour.*

Meanwhile a new deliverer was preparing, in the person of the godly Samuel, to show that the victory was only to be gained by devotion, and to restore the glories of the Theocracy in its last days. The story of his birth and consecration, his training in the Sanctuary, his inspired warning to Eli, and his call to the prophetic office, is too well known to require repetition.

The order of Prophet had been instituted in the person of Moses, who promised that a succession of prophets should be raised up; and Deborah is a memorable example of the exercise of the office.† With Samuel begins the unbroken succession which was maintained by the "schools of the prophets," where men marked for the office by Divine inspiration were trained in sacred learning and in the accomplishment of song. Over such a school Samuel himself presided at his native city of Ramah, and there the people used to resort to him to seek for Divine direction in common affairs as well as great emergencies. Even during the life of Eli it was known that the prophetic words of Samuel were all fulfilled; and on Eli's death, Samuel succeeded him, not indeed as priest, but in the office of judge. The days of Moses and Joshua seemed to have dawned again on Israel. Having put away their idols, they were gathered at Mizpeh (the *Watch-Tower*), one of the heights of Benjamin to the north of Jerusalem, to keep a fast and renew the covenant. Samuel was in the act of

* To state the grounds for placing the capture of the ark and the death of Eli about B.C. 1111 would involve an elaborate chronological discussion.

† Compare Judges ii. 1.

sacrificing, when the Philistines marched out of their camp on the opposite hill, secure of an easy victory. But they were encountered by the prayer of Samuel and the thunders of God, and it only remained for Israel to pursue and smite their routed hosts. The place of this decisive battle, the very scene of the former disaster, received that expressive name, which neither cant nor scorn can rob of the sacred principle it suggests, that every monument of true success is a "Stone of Help" received from God. This victory broke the power of the Philistines; and the cities lost upon their borders, such as Ekron and Gath, were recovered, while the Amorites were awed into peace. Samuel administered justice in a regular circuit through the south and centre, his home being at Ramah.

It seemed as if the Theocracy was revived in at least a bright reflection of its glory; but that glory scarcely spread beyond the devotion of Samuel himself. His sons, appointed judges in his old age, proved venal and corrupt; and as discontent ate away the new spirit of religious patriotism, the Philistines became once more formidable. The intermittent anarchy of the last 300 years threatened to return. The people were too dispirited to seek the remedy in the renewal of their covenant with Jehovah, their true King. As their forefathers had asked for a visible God, so they demanded a visible governor. They saw the surrounding nations living in order and marching forth to victory under their kings; and, while sighing for order, they envied the means of conquest. They asked Samuel for a KING, to judge them like the other nations.* The case had been foreseen from the first; and the Law of Moses, even while condemning the desire for a king as treason to Jehovah, had laid down laws for the kingdom.† It was not till after a passionate expostulation, and a plain warning of their certain loss of liberty, that Samuel granted their request at the Divine command; and the self-willed character of the whole proceeding was illustrated in the man provided for their choice. Fair and noble in person above all his countrymen; brave in battle, and a zealous patriot; generous in his impulses, and of warm affections, but wanting in principle and vacillating in resolution; of a character so doubtful that his appearance among the prophets provoked a proverb of scorn; subject to a moody jealousy and to fits of rage, which the possession of power ripened into madness,—SAUL, the son of Kish, was the fit type of a choice "according to the will of man." The nature of his election was also marked by

* 1 Samuel viii. 5. † Deut. xvii. 14—20.

his not even belonging to the tribe on which Jacob's prophetic blessing had bestowed the sceptre. His elevation was a first experiment in royalty, doomed to failure from the beginning; and it was only when the people had been trampled down by his tyranny, and involved in his fatal defeat, that a lasting monarchy was set up according to the Divine will, in the person and family of David, who was in this sense "the man after God's own heart."

These transactions belong to the political, and not merely to the religious history of the world. Not that the example of Israel prescribes a certain form of government as of Divine authority, or even as in itself the best for any other nation. As no people can show a visible theocracy, so no monarchy can be accused, simply as such, of usurping the Divine prerogative. But still, the transaction does involve a moral lesson, which lies at the foundation of all sound policy, condemning the abandonment of principle on the plea of expediency, and pointing, by the example of Israel, the doom of every nation that seeks safety and power in a course known to be wrong.

In the Divine sanction of Saul's election, and the covenant which Samuel made between the king and people, on the basis of the Mosaic Law, we see God giving to both the opportunity to make the best of their new relation; and, for a time, all appeared to go well. While Saul's prompt energy delivered the men of Gilead from the king of Ammon, and silenced all cavils against himself, the revived tyranny of the Philistines was held in check by his vigilance. With a small select band, he encamped at Gibeah, in the hills of Benjamin, opposite to their fortified position, which was surprised by the daring of his son Jonathan; and in the panic that ensued, the Israelites gained a decisive victory. All the border tribes on the north, east, and south were defeated in succession,—the Syrians of Zobah, Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Amalek. The sparing of the last-named people and their king, with their flocks and herds, though not the first instance of Saul's arrogant self-will, was a decisive act of disobedience. In the very moment of his triumph, Samuel was sent to pronounce his deposition, and to anoint David as his successor. The prophet had already taken his farewell of the people, protesting the integrity of his government, upbraiding them for their rebellion, but promising blessings on them and their king if they remained faithful. He now retired home to indulge his sorrow over Saul's rejection. The remainder of Saul's reign was embittered by his jealousy and disgraced by his persecution of David, the details

of whose life—at his native Bethlehem, at the court of Saul, and in exile—we must leave to Scripture history.

Meanwhile the miraculous victory of David over Goliath had been followed up by him with repeated blows on the Philistines; but, when he was driven into exile, the enemy renewed their invasions, till at last the reign of Saul was ended by the terrible catastrophe of Gilboa, in which he and his noble son Jonathan perished together, lamented by David in one of the most beautiful of elegies (B.C. 1056). The tribe of Judah at once declared for David, who was made king at Hebron; but the other tribes adhered to the house of Saul, showing how early was the division which proved afterwards so fatal to the monarchy. A civil war ensued, disgraced by the treacherous murders of the noble Abner, and of Ishbosheth, Saul's feeble son; and seven-and-a-half years elapsed before David was made king by the consent of all the tribes, at the age of thirty years (B.C. 1048). He fixed his residence at Jerusalem, which he wrested from the Jebusites.

The character of David forms one of the most interesting studies in sacred history. Its religious features are perfectly reflected in the Psalms, which breathe a sincerity as deep as their devotion is exalted. Its moral aspect is faithfully recorded, with its deep blemishes, in the historical books founded on the writings of the prophets who exercised their ministry at his court. The plain exposure of his great fall, and of its fatal consequence, with his own outpourings of profound repentance, might have disarmed the scorn of any but those in whose eyes his piety is his greatest crime, and will ever be studied with trembling sympathy by men who know the treachery of their own nature. His lesser faults, such as his weakness as a parent—itself to a great extent the consequence of his polygamy—we see severely punished, as well as unsparingly exposed, in the history of his life. What remains is the character of the greatest hero of human history. Endowed with the highest natural gifts, the purest tastes, and the noblest courage, he received in the successive stages of his life the best training for his exalted destiny. The calm meditative life of a shepherd youth, varied by brave exploits against wild beasts and Arab robbers,—the humble position of the youngest son, slightly regarded by his goodly brothers, but preferred to them by Him who "seeth not as man seeth,"—the courtly experience, adorned with mutual affection, which he gained in soothing the malady of Saul, and the tender bond of love between him and Jonathan,—the triumph of his faith in the victory over

the Philistine,—his fidelity to his jealous master, his favour with the people, and his daring exploits in war,—the long and hard trial of adversity and exile, in contact with the wildest of his countrymen and the enemies of his country, without the loss of his piety and his magnanimity;—these are but some traits of the character which he brought with him to the throne.

We need not trace the details of the campaigns in which David at length subdued all the enemies who had troubled Israel for 400 years, and extended the boundaries of his kingdom to the limits named in the promise to Abraham—from the borders of Egypt to the Euphrates, and from the valley of Cœle-Syria to the eastern gulf of the Red Sea; severely chastising the Amalekites, and reducing to tribute the Philistines, the Moabites, the Edomites, and the Syrians of Zobah. The Syrian kingdom of Hamath (in the valley of the Orontes) was admitted to an alliance, and Hiram, king of Tyre, formed a close league with David.

The commercial resources of this ally, and his command of the cedar forests of Lebanon, aided David in preparing to execute his cherished purpose of establishing the sanctuary at his new capital of Jerusalem. Early in his reign, he removed the ark from Kirjath-jearim, where it had remained since its restoration by the Philistines, to his new city on Mount Zion (B.C. 1042);* but the provision for its permanent abode was long hindered, first by his wars, and then by his reverses. It was during his last war with the Ammonites (in B.C. 1035), that David, remaining at home to enjoy his regal state in his new-built palace, was enticed by the sight of Bathsheba into the adultery and murder, which have ever since, as the prophet Nathan warned him, "given great occasion to the enemy to blaspheme." Twelve years later (B.C. 1023), a series of discords and crimes in his own family found their climax in the revolt of Absalom and David's expulsion from Jerusalem; and his restoration was embittered by the death of his favourite son; nor were his last years ever free from troubles. The great plague, which followed on his numbering the people, was ended by the Divine indication of the site for the Temple, on the summit of Mount Moriah (B.C. 1017); and Solomon, David's youngest son (by Bathsheba), was proclaimed as his successor, and entrusted with the work of building the Temple, and with all the treasures collected for it by his father—the spoils of war and the offerings of the people. David's zeal had been animated by the prophet

* We again refer to the special works illustrative of Scripture and the Holy Land for an account of the topography of Jerusalem.

Nathan's declaration, that God would established a perpetual kingdom in his house; and now he celebrated, in the last and noblest of his inspired poems, the full scope of that prophecy, as pointing through the peaceful reign of Solomon to the kingdom of the Messiah.* And this is the true key to the place of David and his kingdom in the history of the world. As his troubled but successful reign, his faulty but noble life, closed with the settlement of a peaceful empire and the erection of God's temple in its chosen abode upon the earth, so shall all the wars, the calamities, the crimes and errors of mankind, end in the reign of the Prince of Peace and the gathering of all nations into His Church.

The revolt of Adonijah, his eldest surviving son, induced David, now on his deathbed, to cause SOLOMON to be proclaimed king; and all Israel repeated the oath of allegiance to him after his father's death (B.C. 1015). David had reigned forty years in all. Solomon now ruled over the most powerful empire of Western Asia. The crown of Egypt was disputed by rival dynasties, and Assyria was only growing into importance. The tributary state of Edom gave him the ports of Elath and Ezion-Geber on the Red Sea, and by his alliance with Hiram, king of Tyre, he had the command of those of Phœnicia. The combined navies of the two kings carried on regular commercial enterprises in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean (extending not improbably into the Atlantic), which brought to Solomon the treasures and luxuries both of the East and West. Holding in subjection the petty Syrian kingdoms on the north-eastern frontier, he maintained a caravan route to the Euphrates across the desert, where he built the city of Tadmor, famed in later ages under the name of Palmyra.† But the young king was still more distinguished by his simple-hearted devotion, his even-handed justice, his practical sagacity, and his unbounded love of learning. Ascending the throne at the age of eighteen, he made the deliberate choice of wisdom—the practical wisdom needed for his duties—rather than riches, victory, and length of days; and he was rewarded by the gift of all these. His celebrated judgment between the two mothers presents a vivid picture of that quick discernment which the Orientals hold in the highest value. His administration of justice in person, and his conversations with his courtiers and with foreign visitors, gave him daily opportunities to utter those wise sayings, the fame of which spread to all the

* Psalm lxxii.

† The two names have the same meaning, the City of Palms. The existing ruins are of the Roman period.

surrounding nations; while he embodied the choicest of them, for the use of all subsequent ages, in the Book of Proverbs.

Solomon's chief public care, from the moment of his accession, was to erect the Temple according to the designs furnished by his father. The friendship of Hiram supplied, in addition to the materials provided by David, cedars and other timber, which was cut in Lebanon by gangs of labourers whom Solomon furnished with food, and was brought round in floats by the Phœnician sailors. Tyre also supplied skilled artificers and the chief designer, a namesake of king Hiram. The building occupied seven years; and such was the respect paid to the sanctity of the spot, that during the whole time no sound of axe or hammer was heard, every block and beam being previously fitted for the place it was to occupy in the structure. This is not the place to describe the details of the wondrous edifice, in which all the external glories of the Jewish dispensation culminated;—"beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth!" In the total absence of plans, pictures, and even ruins, the minute description in the First Book of Kings is insufficient to throw much light on the state of architecture among the Jews. There seems to have been a general resemblance to the Egyptian temple; but even this is a matter of dispute. Its essential part was modelled upon the plan of the Tabernacle, having the outer court for the worshippers and their sacrifices; the first sanctuary, or Holy Place, for the priests in their daily ministrations; and the inmost chamber, or Holy of Holies, for the place of the Ark and the throne of Jehovah, into which the high priest alone might enter, and only once in the year: all typical of the spiritual worship of the true sanctuary. Its early profanation and ultimate destruction teach that there is a nobler and more lasting worship than that which the senses can offer, however external splendours may aid the imperfect efforts of a sensuous state. Meanwhile the magnificent offering of the piety of king and people was consecrated by the cloud of glory in which Jehovah took possession of His house; and the ceremony of its consecration was the grandest religious service probably that ever has been or will be performed upon the earth.*

But the same hands that reared this "holy and beautiful house of God" confronted it ere long with heathen sanctuaries, insult-

* Respecting the epoch which the building of the Temple forms in chronology, see the note on Scripture Chronology, p. 10. Ussher places its commencement in B.C. 1012, and its completion in B.C. 1005. The palace and other edifices of Solomon occupied thirteen years in building (B.C. 1005—992).

ing to Jehovah, and the disgrace both of king and people. Early in his reign, Solomon had married the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt;* and in his later days he formed a harem of princesses of the heathen nations that were his allies and tributaries. The result was the religious apostasy

> "Of that uxorious king, whose heart, though large,
> Beguiled by fair idolatresses, fell
> To idols foul."

It was the custom of the Eastern nations to choose the summits of hills as sanctuaries. Of such "high places" we have seen examples in Horeb, "the Mount of God," and in Nebo, on which Balaam tried his divination against Israel. Opposite to the eastern front of Mount Zion and Moriah rose a still loftier hill,† whose natural name now suggests far other associations than those which gained for it the title of the Mount of Offence. Solomon chose this eminence for the shrines of the false gods of his wives, and even worshipped them himself. For this apostasy his house was doomed to lose the fairest portion of the kingdom, and the sentence began to work in his later years. Hadad, a prince of Edom, who had been saved from the slaughter of the nation by David, and had married the new king of Egypt's daughter, returned to rouse his people to a rebellion. On the north-eastern frontier there appeared another enemy, Rezon, who, after the overthrow of the kingdom of Zobah by David, had collected a band and maintained himself at Damascus. This was the origin of the Syrian kingdom of Damascus, which became very powerful after the disruption of the Hebrew monarchy; and after being mixed up with the history of both kingdoms, sometimes as an enemy, sometimes as an ally, was at last extinguished by Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, shortly before the captivity of the Ten Tribes (B.C. 740).

But a more pressing danger arose within the kingdom itself. It had been declared to Solomon that, for his idolatries, God would rend the kingdom from his son, leaving him, however, one tribe for the sake of His covenant with David. The instrument of fulfilling this prophecy was JEROBOAM, the son of Nebat, whose services in the public works had been rewarded by Solomon

* This Pharaoh seems to have been the last king of the Twenty-first Dynasty. The change of dynasty will help to account for the alliance of his successor with Jeroboam, and his attack on Rehoboam. See chapter vii. pp. 125, 126.

† Jerusalem is 2200 feet above the sea-level, the Mount of Olives 2398 feet. Some topographers distinguish the Mount of Olives and the Mount of Offence, but both belong to the same range.

with an office that gave him great influence in the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. To this man the prophet Ahijah foretold his elevation by a significant act; and Solomon, hearing of the prediction, sought his life. Jeroboam, however, escaped to Egypt, and, like Hadad, obtained the protection of Shishak, till the death of Solomon. That event happened in B.C. 975, after a reign of forty years. Having tasted all the sweets of power, wealth, and knowledge, and having abused them by luxury and insatiable curiosity, Solomon has left us, in the Book of Ecclesiastes, his experience of a life thus drained to the dregs—that the world is "vanity of vanities," and that the fear of God is the whole life of man.

His government had been arbitrary, and his public works oppressive; and the old jealousy of the other tribes, headed by Ephraim, against Judah and the house of David, was ever ready to break out afresh. The petulant refusal of Solomon's son, Rehoboam, against the advice of his father's old counsellors, to mitigate the people's burthens, was seized as the opportunity for revolt. Jeroboam was proclaimed King of Israel, the tribe of Judah alone remaining faithful to Rehoboam. The subsequent accession of Benjamin to the southern kingdom, and the anti-religious policy which drove the Levites out of Israel, added to the strength of Judah, which had already a population much exceeding the proportion of its territory.* The two kingdoms, henceforth known as those of Israel and Judah, were divided by a geographical boundary passing along the southern border of Ephraim; but it was not long before the increased power of Judah enabled it to embrace a great portion of that tribe. The whole territory of Simeon, and of the Danites who had remained when the rest of the tribe migrated to the north, was included in Judah, which retained the dependencies of Philistia, Moab, and Edom, and with the latter the ports on the Red Sea. On the other hand, it was cut off from the far more important commerce of Phœnicia. But the great strength of Judah lay in the possession of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, and in the knowledge that God's covenant of the kingdom was made with the house of David. The secession of the northern tribes was a clear rebellion, which the policy of Jeroboam at once converted into a religious apostasy. To guard against the dangers that would follow from the annual resort of his subjects to Jerusalem at the great feasts, he imitated

* At the census of David, Judah numbered 500,000 fighting men, and the other tribes 800,000. The area of Israel was nearly four times that of Judah.

the device of Aaron in setting up the golden calf as a symbol of Jehovah's presence; with this difference that—

"The rebel king
Doubled that sin, in Bethel and in Dan,"

the northern and southern extremities of his dominions. For this new worship he made priests of the lowest of the people, while he robbed the old priests and Levites of their possessions, and so drove them into Judah. The succeeding kings of Israel all maintained the worship of the calves; they continually added fresh idolatries, till the marriage of Ahab with Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre, led to the public establishment of the worship of Baal and the suppression of the worship of Jehovah. This twofold curse of rebellion and apostasy clung to the kingdom of Israel, the history of which is marked by a succession of bloody revolutions and shortlived dynasties, whose kings vied with each other in profanity and tyranny. The dynasty of Jeroboam ended with the murder of his son Nadab in a military revolution (B.C. 953). That of the usurper Baasha expired in like manner with the murder of his son Elah by Zimri, who was himself killed after a seven days' reign (B.C. 929). Omri, the avenger of his master, and the father of Ahab (the Nero of Hebrew history), established a dynasty which numbered four kings, and lasted forty years. Its extinction forms an epoch of synchronism in the annals of the two kingdoms. One result of the fatal alliance of Jehoshaphat, the fourth king of Judah, with Ahab, was the marriage of his son Jehoram to Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, and the introduction of the worship of Baal into Judah; and the furious zeal of Jehu, the son of Nimshi, involved Ahaziah, the king of Judah (Jehoram's son), in the same fate with Jehoram, the son of Ahab, and his mother Jezebel (B.C. 884). The time of Ahab's dynasty is marked by the missions of Elijah and Elisha, the greatest of that series of prophets, who never ceased to testify against the idolatries of Israel, and to warn king and people of the fate that Moses had predicted. We must, however, leave the story of their ministry to the separate province of Scripture History.

During the first period of ninety years, the kingdom of Israel was greatly weakened by continual wars with Judah, and its borders were contracted by the growing power of SYRIA. That kingdom, which we have seen founded at Damascus by Rezon (before B.C. 975), was ruled by three more kings of his dynasty—Tabrimons (about B.C. 960), Benhadad I. (B.C. 941), and Benha-

dad II. (B.C. 910). The first Benhadad was bribed to attack Israel by Asa, the third king of Judah, when the latter was hard pressed by Baasha, and the Syrian king took several cities in the north. Benhadad II. attempted to conquer Israel, but was utterly defeated by Ahab in two campaigns (B.C. 901, 900), taken prisoner, and admitted to an alliance on terms dictated by the king of Israel. He still, however, held Ramoth in Gilead, and it was in the attempt to recover this city that Ahab and Jehoshaphat were defeated, and the former lost his life. To his reign belongs the beautiful episode of the cure of Naaman by Elisha. Renewing the war with Jehoram, he subjected Samaria to that terrible blockade and famine which was miraculously relieved according to the prophecy of Elisha (B.C. 892). He was at length murdered by his general Hazael (who had been anointed, with Jehu and Elisha, as one of the destined avengers of the idolatries of Israel), just before the deaths of Jehoram and Ahaziah (B.C. 885). Hazael ravaged the country east of Jordan with the utmost cruelty, while Jehu was engaged in destroying the house of Ahab; he became almost complete master of Israel during the reign of Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, and then invaded Judah and laid siege to Jerusalem, which the king Joash only induced him to spare by a large bribe (B.C. 840).

Meanwhile, though Jehu, after massacring all the house of Ahab and the worshippers of Baal, had so far declined from his first zeal as to worship the golden calves, the state of Israel was greatly improved. His son Jehoahaz (B.C. 856) followed in the same idolatry, but repented; and his son Joash (B.C. 839), listening to the reproofs of Elisha, was permitted to gain three great victories over the Syrians, and to recover the cities they had taken on the west of Jordan. The next king, Jeroboam II., the son of Joash (B.C. 825), recovered all the territory which the Syrians had taken, east of Jordan, from Hamath to the Dead Sea, and even took Damascus. These victories were gained over Benhadad III., who had succeeded Hazael about B.C. 839, after whom we have little certain knowledge of the history of Syria.

The kingdom of Israel had now recovered, under Jeroboam II., a power greater than it had ever before possessed. But the idolatry of the calves was still maintained, and the warnings of its doom came nearer and louder in the prophecies of Amos and Hosea. The dynasty of Jehu ended amidst political confusion, with the murder of his son Zechariah by Shallum, who was himself killed six months later by Menahem (B.C. 772).

The great Assyrian empire now appears in the sacred annals. Its history will be traced in the next chapter. The king Pul, having overrun Syria, invaded Israel, and received an enormous tribute from Menahem; but the conquest was not yet completed. Both Syria and Israel revived for a short time, the former under Rezin, and the latter under Pekah, who had murdered Pekahiah, the son of Menahem (B.C. 759). The combined attacks of these two kings on Judah (B.C. 742—741) reduced Ahaz to such extremities, that he applied for aid to the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser, who first put an end to the kingdom of Syria, and then carried captive into Media the tribes of Israel east of the Jordan, and a large part of the inhabitants of Galilee. Pekah was put to death by a conspiracy headed by Hoshea (B.C. 739), who became, after a period of anarchy, the nineteenth and last king of Israel, now contracted to the district round Samaria. His efforts at reform, in concert with Hezekiah, king of Judah, proved too late. For the third time, the Assyrians invaded Israel under Shalmaneser, and Hoshea submitted to become a tributary (B.C. 728); but three years later he rebelled, relying on the aid of So, king of Egypt (probably Sabaco II.). But his ally failed him; he was sent for by Shalmaneser and imprisoned; Samaria was taken after a three years' siege; the remnant of the Ten Tribes were carried into captivity beyond the Euphrates, and settled in the eastern provinces of the Assyrian empire (B.C. 721). The greater number of them probably lapsed into idolatry, and became confounded with the surrounding nations; but it is clear that many obeyed the invitation addressed by Cyrus to all his Hebrew subjects, and returned to Palestine with the restored people of Judah. The land, depopulated by their removal, was repeopled by settlers whom Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, transported from Babylon and the neighbouring cities (about B.C. 678). These strangers, plagued by the wild beasts that had multiplied while the country lay waste, conceived a superstitious fear of "the god of the land," and applied for instruction in his worship. Esarhaddon sent them a priest to teach them; and the result was a strange confusion of the worship of Jehovah with that of their own idols. These people, with some intermixture of Hebrews, partly left in the land and partly joining them afterwards, became the ancestors of the later Samaritans.

Nineteen kings had reigned over Israel for a period of 254 years, an average of almost thirteeen years and a half. In JUDAH the

same number of kings occupied a space of 389 years, or 135 years longer, giving an average of more than twenty years.* The value of the computation may be better seen by a comparison with our own country, over which thirty-five kings have reigned from the Conquest to the accession of Victoria, an average of just twenty-two years. These numbers at once show the superior stability of the kingdom of Judah, which remained all this time in the house of David, and was transmitted in the direct line from father to son with only two exceptions in the concluding years of confusion.† Ten of the nineteen kings died violent deaths or were deposed. Many of them were idolaters and corrupt in other respects; but their evil influence was for a long time counteracted by great reformers, who held fast to the first duty of a Hebrew monarch, allegiance to Jehovah as the supreme king; such as Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, with whom must be numbered the high priest Jehoiada. The faith of these reformers rested on God's covenant; their zeal was animated by the possession of the sanctuary of Jehovah; but the steady growth of corruption among the people proved too strong for all their efforts; nor had the best of them faith enough in "their Living Strength" to avoid the entanglement of foreign alliances.

The first king, Rehoboam (B.C. 975), after a vain attempt to reduce the Ten Tribes by force of arms, was himself subjected by Shishak, king of Egypt, who invaded Judah and plundered the temple and palaces of the riches gathered by Solomon (B.C. 972). This was not a mere incursion, but a real though temporary conquest.‡ It is ascribed by the sacred historian to the idolatry into which king and people had fallen, and of which they repented at the rebuke of the prophet Shemaiah. The distinct recognition of this alternation of Divine chastisements for sin, and Divine favours restored through the repentance of the people at the preaching of the prophets, is the only point of view from which the Jewish history can be properly understood. Nor was their position in this respect entirely unique. All nations are subject to the like discipline in the course of Divine Providence; and, though

* In this computation, the usurpation of Athaliah is included in the reign of Joash, just as we include the Commonwealth in the reign of Charles II. The want of perfect agreement between the separate years and the total is explained on the supposition of sons having been associated with their fathers in the kingdom.

† The following list of the last five kings shows these exceptions. (15) Josiah; (16) Jehoahaz, son of Josiah; (17) Jehoiakim, son of Josiah; (18) Jehoiachin, son of Jehoiakim; (19) Zedekiah, son of Josiah.

‡ See chapter vii. p. 125.

not explained in each case by the voice of a prophet, the great principles of God's moral government are revealed with equal clearness. It is not that the hand of God is absent from the affairs of the world, but that its working is far too much left out of the account by worldly statesmen and historians. In this, too, the history of the chosen people is an epitome of the history of the world.

The short and wicked reign of Abijah (B.C. 958) is only remarkable for a great victory gained over Jeroboam. His son, Asa (B.C. 955), after a vigorous reformation of the kingdom, shook off the yoke of Egypt and gained a great victory over "Zerah the Cushite."* Being hard pressed by Baasha, king of Israel, he formed an alliance with Benhadad I., whose invasion of the north not only relieved Judah, but enabled Asa to add permanently to the kingdom several cities of Ephraim.† Reproved by the prophet Hananiah for the Syrian alliance, he set the first example of the attempt to silence the prophets by persecution, and died under the displeasure of Jehovah. His son Jehoshaphat (B.C. 914) is one of the heroes of the Jewish monarchy, which now reached its acmé of political and moral greatness. He reformed the whole civil and religious order of the realm, kept the subject states to their allegiance, and attempted, though without success, to revive the maritime enterprises of Solomon in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. But all was perilled by his alliance with Ahab, which involved him in the defeat at Ramoth-Gilead, and brought on the far greater evils that resulted from the marriage of his son Jehoram to Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. Jehoram (B.C. 892) paid the penalty of his idolatries in the final revolt of Edom, which henceforth had its own king, and at last imposed one upon the Jews ;‡ and after other disasters, he perished by a loathsome disease. His son Ahaziah (B.C. 885—884) was slain by Jehu, with Jehoram and Jezebel; and of his numerous sons, the infant Joash alone escaped the massacre by Athaliah. The usurpation of that true daughter of Jezebel and her overthrow by the high priest Jehoiada has supplied a noble theme to the tragic poet.§ The early years of Joash (B.C. 878) were made illustrious by the reforms of Jehoiada, who restored the temple worship; but his death left the king under the influence of the

* It is uncertain what king is represented by this name, see chapter vii. p. 126.

† See p. 177.

‡ Herod the Great was an Idumæan by origin. The whole relations between Israel and Edom form a striking fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaac; Genesis xxvii. 40.

§ Racine's *Athalie.*

princes of Judah (the patriarchal rulers); and that persecution commenced, in which the prophet "Zachariah, the son of Barachiah, was slain between the altar and the temple." From this time forward we find the princes of Judah opposing the reforming kings and the prophets, by whom they are unsparingly denounced. In the latter part of the reign of Joash, Judah began to suffer from the invasion of the Syrians. This king, slain in his bed by two of his servants, was succeeded by Amaziah (B.C. 839), whose victories over the Edomites ended in his serving their gods, and whose rash war with Joash, king of Israel, led to the capture of Jerusalem and his own death. These disasters were repaired during the long reign of his successor, Uzziah, or Azariah (B.C. 810), who reorganised the army, renewed the fortifications of Jerusalem, and armed the walls with military engines. He conquered the Philistines and the border Arab tribes, received tribute from Ammon, and retook from Edom the port of Elath on the Red Sea. Amidst the records of wars, factions, and idolatries, it is refreshing to read of the care bestowed by this king on agriculture and the rearing of cattle. He was also a zealous reformer of religion; but, elated with prosperity, he tried to force his way into the Holy Place, to burn incense, when he was smitten with leprosy, that frightful disease, which cut off its victim from the sanctuary, and drove him into seclusion for the remainder of his life.

His son Jotham, first as regent and then as king (B.C. 758), carried on his father's reforms at home and victories abroad; but the next king, Ahaz (B.C. 742), plunged into a course of idolatry worse than that of Ahab. It was at the beginning of his reign that the confederacy of Pekah, king of Israel, and Rezin, king of Syria, against Judah, gave occasion to Isaiah's great prophecy of the kingdom of Immanuel.* In two campaigns the allies took the port of Elath, defeated Ahaz with immense slaughter, and carried off a multitude of captives to Damascus and Samaria. Then ensued a scene which proved that the ancient bond of brotherhood among the tribes was not yet completely dissolved. At the bidding of a prophet, the princes of Ephraim compelled the soldiers to release their Jewish prisoners, and supplied their necessities out of the spoils. From this conduct we are prepared to understand the response which the northern tribes afterwards made to the overtures of Hezekiah. Still, the confederates seem not to have abandoned their plan for the conquest of Judah,

* Isaiah vii.

which was at the same time invaded on the south and west by the Edomites and the Philistines. In this strait, Ahaz gathered all the remaining treasures of the temple and of the palaces of Jerusalem, as an offering to purchase the aid of Tiglath-Pileser, and thus brought about, as we have seen, the first captivity of a large part of Israel. The name of this king has a place in the history of science in connexion with the "sun-dial of Ahaz," an invention probably borrowed from the Chaldæans. In his reign, too, falls the epoch commonly assigned to the foundation of Rome (B.C. 753).

Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz (B.C. 724), pursued a course the direct opposite to his father's, carrying his zeal against idolatry so far as to break to pieces the brass serpent of Moses, which had long been an object of worship. The temple was purified, the courses of the priests restored, and the Passover celebrated for the first time since many ages. The king was supported and animated by the glowing words of Isaiah, the brightest of that galaxy of prophets who flourished during the last two centuries of the Jewish monarchy, both in Israel and in Judah.* The prophet's influence was directed to foreign policy as well as internal reform, his only course, in both cases, being the simple one of religious patriotism. Judah was now divided between Assyrian and Egyptian factions, and the king himself yielded to a temptation to court the rising power of Babylon; but the prophet distributes the "burthens" of future woe impartially among all the states that had been or were to be the enemies of Israel. Nor does he spare the princes of Judah, who seem generally to have leant to Egypt, and whose anti-religious policy was matched by their oppression of their poorer brethren. His writings lay bare the utter corruption and selfishness which had set at nought both the letter and spirit of the law, and which were too far gone for all the reforms of a Hezekiah or a Josiah. Supported by such a teacher, Hezekiah sought to recover the independence of Judah, as the land of Jehovah. He made successful war against the Philistines; but the great external events of his reign sprang from his relations with Assyria and Egypt. He began by refusing to pay to Shalmaneser the tribute which Tiglath-pileser had received from Ahaz. The events that followed are obscure, from a difficulty in reconciling the Hebrew, Egyptian, and Assyrian chronologies.†

* It does not come within the scope of our work to give an account of the prophets and their writings.

† See Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. i., p. 326.

Sennacherib prepared to punish the revolt, while the princes of Judah, against the warnings of Isaiah, sought aid from Egypt. The disunion implied in this policy may have been the cause of Hezekiah's purchasing the forbearance of Sennacherib with all the sacred treasures, after he had made preparations for resistance; and the Assyrian would be the more compliant as he was now engaged in a great war with Egypt. But, when he had taken Ashdod, the key of the military route to Egypt, he turned his arms against Judah, and it was from before Lachish that he sent the blasphemous summons by Rabshakeh, to which Isaiah replied by the prophecy of his destruction. At this crisis he was called away by the advance of Tirhakah, the great king of the Ethiopian dynasty, and it seems to have been in his camp near Pelusium that his army was swept down by the very miracle that Isaiah had predicted. The subsequent fate of Sennacherib belongs to the history of Assyria.* It is still a disputed point whether it was before or after this event that Hezekiah received the embassy from Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, to congratulate him on his miraculous recovery from sickness; when the pride with which he displayed his treasures provoked Isaiah's prophecy of the Babylonian captivity. The peaceful remainder of Hezekiah's reign was occupied in works of improvement at Jerusalem and the other chief cities of Judah.

The gross apostasy and bloody persecution of his son Manasseh (B.C. 697) were punished by his imprisonment at Babylon by Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib; and Manasseh's repentance was as signal as his guilt. His son Amon (B.C. 642), an idolater, was slain by his servants after a reign of only two years.

The last independent king of Judah, Josiah (B.C. 639) was the worthiest successor of his father David. Every reader of the Scriptures is familiar with his youthful piety, his hearty devotion to the work of religious reformation, in the course of which he fulfilled the old prophecy against the idolatrous altar of Jeroboam, his discovery of the book of the law, and the solemn fast and Passover which followed. These were but the last expiring glories of the kingdom, showing what it might have been if all its kings had been such as Josiah. One point in the position of Josiah deserves special notice. He was, in some sense, a king of Israel as well as Judah. The first deportation of the

* Compare chap. vii. p. 128; and chap. ix. The Assyrian chronology forbids our placing this event earlier than B.C. 700. To remove the apparent inconsistency with the date of Tirhakah, it has been suggested that he was still only "King of *Ethiopia*" (Isaiah xxxvii. 9), in alliance with the petty kings of Lower Egypt.

northern tribes had not been so complete as the final captivity of the people around Samaria; and the remnant had come to look to the king of Judah for encouragement and protection. We find them responding to the invitation which Hezekiah sent through all the tribes, with the consent of Hoshea, to keep the Passover at Jerusalem. After the extinction of the kingdom of Israel, and when Samaria was occupied only by a few scattered settlers, terrified, as we have seen, by the desolation of the country, the northern tribes naturally drew closer to Josiah, and may have hoped to see him revive the united monarchy. These circumstances help us to understand the very different relations of the Jews to the Galilæans and Samaritans after the return from the captivity.

Meanwhile, great revolutions were taking place in the kingdoms of Assyria and Egypt. After a temporary recovery, under Esarhaddon, the great Assyrian empire was fast falling before the revolt of the Medes and the Babylonians; while in Egypt the new dynasty, founded by Psammetichus, aimed at reviving the empire of the old Pharaohs. The expedition of Pharaoh Necho to the Euphrates has already been related.* The motive usually assigned for Josiah's opposition to Necho's march is fidelity to his relation as a tributary of Assyria; but we would rather ascribe it to the ardent patriotism which could not endure any invader in the Holy Land, and to a desire to protect the northern tribes. But it was too late: the doom of the monarchy was sealed. The march of Necho lay through the great plain of Esdraelon; and Josiah, heedless of his warnings to let him pass through peaceably, led forth all his force to meet him, ventured his person in the battle under a disguise, and was slain by the Egyptian archers in the valley of Megiddo. The prophet Jeremiah led the lamentations of the people over a fall which involved that of the kingdom (B.C. 608). The people proclaimed Shallum, one of Josiah's sons (not the eldest), as king, under the name of Jehoahaz; but the Egyptian conqueror, on his return from Carchemish, deposed him, and set up his brother Jehoiakim as a tributary vassal (B.C. 608).

While the new king began to play the tyrant under the protection of Egypt, the voice of Jeremiah was lifted up to predict the desolation of Judah and the Seventy Years' Captivity at Babylon; and the fulfilment of his word was rapidly accomplished. Nineveh was taken, and the Assyrian monarchy overthrown, by the united

* Chapter vii. p. 133.

forces of the Medes and Babylonians.* The empire of Babylon was founded by Nabopolassar; and his son Nebuchadnezzar turned back the tide of Egyptian invasion by a great victory over Necho at Carchemish. Then, having succeeded his father on the throne, he drove the Egyptians out of Palestine, and advanced upon Jerusalem. The city was taken and the temple plundered; the king was taken away as a prisoner, but restored to his throne on the condition of paying a large tribute. The choicest youths of the princely houses of Judah were carried off to Babylon as hostages, among whom were Daniel and his three companions (B.C. 605). From this epoch of the FIRST CAPTIVITY OF JUDAH we must reckon the Seventy Years of the Captivity, to the first year of Cyrus, in B.C. 536.

Judah was now nothing more than a dependency of Babylon, and Jehoiakim was the creature of Nebuchadnezzar. But the king and the princes of Judah still dreamed of independence by the help of Egypt, in spite of the warnings of Jeremiah. His revolt (in B.C. 603) subjected Judæa to the ravages of predatory bands from the surrounding nations, who carried off thousands of captives. A Chaldæan army laid siege to Jerusalem, and Jehoiakim was killed in a sally (B.C. 597). His son Jehoiachin † had only reigned for three months in the beleaguered city, when Nebuchadnezzar came to conduct the siege in person. Jerusalem soon surrendered; Jehoiachin was carried away to Babylon, with 10,000 captives, among whom were Ezekiel and Mordecai, and few but the poorer sort of people were left behind. Over this remnant Nebuchadnezzar set up as king, Zedekiah, the youngest son of Josiah (B.C. 597). But not even in this abject state could the Jews submit to the fate which their long course of apostasy had brought upon them. Jeremiah, who still remained at Jerusalem, became engaged in a constant conflict with the false prophets, who predicted a speedy return from the captivity, and his warnings were echoed back by Ezekiel from the banks of the river Chebar. The latter prophet gives a description of the idolatry and profligacy of the princes and priests of Judah, who remained at Jerusalem, which is confirmed by their savage persecution of the former. At length the first successes of Pharaoh-Hophra (Apries) encouraged Zedekiah to renew the Egyptian alliance and revolt against Nebuchadnezzar. The King of Babylon now resolved to crush these repeated rebellions in the ruins of Jerusalem.

* The history of these kingdoms is pursued in chapters ix. and x.

† Also called Jeconiah and Coniah.

On his forming the siege of the city, Jeremiah advised an immediate surrender; but the king and princes trusted to relief from Egypt. Pharaoh-Hophra did indeed advance; and when Nebuchadnezzar drew off his forces to meet him, the city exulted as if the war were ended. But the Egyptian king dared not meet the Chaldæan army; the siege was again formed; and soon Jerusalem was taken by storm, and the city, with its temple, were razed to the ground by Nebuzaradan, the general of Nebuchadnezzar.* Zedekiah, seized in the attempt to escape before the final capture, was brought before Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah in Hamath. His eyes were put out, after he had seen his sons killed, and he died in close captivity at Babylon. His nephew Jehoiachin was more fortunate. After a captivity of thirty-seven years he was released from prison by Evil-Merodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar (B.C. 561), and treated with royal honours till his death.

The whole Jewish nation were now carried away as captives to Babylon, except a miserable remnant of the very poorest people, who were left to cultivate the land. Gedaliah was appointed as their governor; and the prophet Jeremiah remained with him; the seat of government being the fortress of Mizpeh. But even this wretched fragment of the once favoured nation fell a prey to faction. Shemaiah, a member of the royal house, killed Gedaliah treacherously at a feast, and tried to carry off the remnant of the people into slavery to the Ammonites. His scheme was frustrated by Johanan, an officer of Gedaliah, who fled to Egypt with the greater number of the people, including Jeremiah and Baruch. The few who remained, numbering only 745, were carried away to Babylon by Nebuzaradan four years later; and the land was left to entire desolation, except for a few scattered settlers from the nomad tribes of the desert.

This very desolation, however, formed in one respect a favourable contrast to the condition of the former land of the Ten Tribes. Judæa was not re-peopled by heathen settlers, who might have disputed its possession with the people on their return, or have corrupted both their race and their religion by their intermixture. The land of Judah, marked out to the eye of man as the special object of Divine judgment, was in truth preserved by the care of God, with all the monuments of former idolatries swept from its surface, to be again the country of His people,

* Respecting the slightly different dates of this event, see the note on Scripture Chronology, p. 10. Ussher assigns it to B.C. 588; but the true date is now pretty well fixed at B.C. 586. From the dates of months and days given in the Scripture narrative, and still observed as fasts by the Jews, we know that it took place about July or August.

when they were purified by the discipline of captivity from their proneness to those idolatries. "The land kept her sabbaths," in compensation for the sabbatic years of which it had been deprived by the cupidity of its owners; and it was restored to them, renovated by its rest, as they were renovated by the ordeal of their captivity.

For all we know of the history of the captives proves that the interval was such an ordeal. Like the forty years' wandering in the wilderness, it effectually separated the old generation, who had shared in the corruptions of the dying monarchy, from the new one which began a fresh life with their return. The restored nation had many faults, so many and great as again to involve their rejection; but they never relapsed into idolatry. Of their condition during the Captivity we have little information; but the elevation of Daniel and his comrades at the court of Babylon, and the impression made upon Nebuchadnezzar by the decisive proofs of Jehovah's power, must have secured for the Jews a high degree of consideration. Jeremiah's command for them to build houses and buy lands implies their possession, not only of personal liberty, but also of civil rights. Their later history proves that they preserved the records of their genealogies; and there are clear indications of some kind of internal government under their patriarchal princes. Some mention is made of a sort of head, called the Prince of the Captivity, but the existence of such an officer is by no means certain. At all events, an organization was maintained, which made it not difficult to gather together such of them as were willing to obey the edict of Cyrus for their return to their own country (B.C. 536). The fact, that their obedience to that edict was voluntary, was of itself a means of separation between the pious Jews, who had preserved their faith in the promises of their restoration, from those who had lapsed into the idolatries of the provinces in which they were settled; and it seems probable that nearly all the remnant of the Ten Tribes who had not thus apostatized, joined with the people of Judah in their return to Palestine. As to the rest, their fate, as well as the ultimate destiny of their brethren, scattered abroad after the last destruction of Jerusalem, does not belong to the historian to discuss.

We have now to look back upon the history of those great monarchies which succeeded each other on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, from before the migration of Abraham till the full establishment of the Persian Empire.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CHALDÆAN, ASSYRIAN, AND BABYLONIAN EMPIRES.

"The Eastern front was glorious to behold,
With diamond flaming and barbaric gold;
There Ninus shone, who spread the Assyrian fame,
And the great founder of the Persian name.
The sage Chaldæans robed in white appeared
And Brachmans deep in desert woods revered."

POPE—*Temple of Fame.*

EMPIRES ON THE EUPHRATES AND TIGRIS — DESCRIPTION OF MESOPOTAMIA — THE GREAT PLAIN OF CHALDÆA — ITS BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT — ITS PHYSICAL CHARACTER — INUNDATIONS AND CANALS — CLIMATE — NATURAL PRODUCTS — ANIMALS — MINERALS — BRICK-MAKING — BIBLICAL HISTORY OF CHALDÆA — BABEL — NIMROD — THE CHALDÆAN RACE — THEIR CUSHITE ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE — MEANINGS OF THE CHALDÆAN NAME — FOR A TRIBE, A NATION, AND A CASTE — TRACES OF A STILL EARLIER TURANIAN POPULATION — THE DYNASTIES OF BEROSUS — ASTRONOMICAL RECORDS CONTEMPORARY WITH THE BEGINNING OF THE MONARCHY — ITS EPOCH — DYNASTY OF NIMROD — TWO DIVISIONS OF CHALDÆA, EACH WITH ITS TETRAPOLIS — CITIES SACRED TO THE HEAVENLY BODIES — THE CHALDÆAN TEMPLE-TOWERS — THEIR DESIGN, FORM, MATERIALS, AND RUINS — CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS — STAGES IN THE INVENTION OF WRITING — INTERPRETATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS — HISTORY OF THE EARLIER CHALDÆAN DYNASTY — NIMROD, THE FOUNDER — URUKH, THE BUILDER, THE FIRST KING NAMED ON THE INSCRIPTIONS — LATER CHALDÆAN DYNASTY — CHEDORLAOMER, THE CONQUEROR — SEMITIC MIGRATIONS, ABRAHAM AND THE PHŒNICIANS — THE "FOUR NATIONS" OF CHALDÆA — CHECK TO CHALDÆAN CONQUESTS — OVERTHROW OF THE MONARCHY BY THE ARABS — GROWTH OF SEMITIC INFLUENCE — THE CHALDÆAN CASTE AND LEARNING SURVIVE — CHALDÆAN ART AND SCIENCE — ARCHITECTURE, TEMPLES, HOUSES, AND TOMBS — POTTERY — IMPLEMENTS — METAL-WORK — TEXTILE FABRICS — ARITHMETIC AND ASTRONOMY — WEIGHTS AND MEASURES — THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE — GREEK TRADITIONS — THE UPPER DYNASTY — TIGLATH-PILESER I. — SARDANAPALUS — SHALMANESER I. — THE BLACK OBELISK — PUL — SEMIRAMIS — THE LOWER DYNASTY — TIGLATH-PILESER II. — SHALMANESER II. — SARGON — CONQUEST OF MEDIA — SENNACHERIB — ESARHADDON — BABYLON SUBJECT TO ASSYRIA — THE SARDANAPALUS OF THE GREEKS — FALL OF NINEVEH — LATER BABYLONIAN EMPIRE — NABONASSAR AND SEMIRAMIS — MERODACH-BALADAN — ESARHADDON — NABOPOLASSAR — WARS WITH LYDIA AND EGYPT — NEBUCHADNEZZAR — EVIL-MERODACH AND HIS SUCCESSORS — NABONADIUS — LEAGUE AGAINST PERSIA — BELSHAZZAR — FALL OF BABYLON — ITS LATER HISTORY.

ALMOST at every step in the preceding narrative, we have had to refer to the great empires established from the earliest times in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. Of the six great eastern monarchies—for that of David and Solomon must not be excluded from the reckoning—four ruled successively in this valley,—the Chaldæan, Assyrian, Babylonian, and Medo-Persian. In the absence of a trustworthy chronology, it cannot be positively decided whether the Euphrates or the Nile was the earlier seat of civilization and royal power. We have given the precedence to Egypt, as having the earliest historic records. The order of the Scripture narrative, and proximity to the primitive

abode of our race, concur in claiming an antiquity little, if any, lower for the most ancient Babylonian, otherwise called the Chaldæan monarchy.

Two mountain ranges, diverging from the Armenian highlands, shut in the region of which we have now to speak. One chain, or rather system of parallel chains, runs south and south-east past the head of the Persian Gulf, forming the mountains of *Kurdistan* and *Luristan*, while the ridges of Amanus and Lebanon extend like another wall on the west. A less marked boundary is formed on the south by the table-land of the Arabian peninsula. The region enclosed within these limits lies just in the centre of that great desert zone which we have described as extending from the western coast of Africa almost to the north-eastern shores of Asia, and at the very point where that zone passes from a general elevation little above that of the ocean, into a high table-land. The highlands on the north and east, watered by many streams, afford abundant pastures, but the sandy wastes of Arabia are prolonged upwards from the south, over the great Syrian Desert, which would extend to the very foot of the highlands, but for the fertilizing streams of the Euphrates and the Tigris.

These two great rivers take their rise in Armenia, on opposite sides of Mount Niphates, and unite near the head of the Persian Gulf, which receives their waters, after the Euphrates has flowed about 1,780 miles, and the Tigris 1,146. But their earlier courses are quite divergent. The Tigris, having its sources on the south of Niphates, flows at first towards the east,* parallel to that chain, in the valley between it and Mount Masius, whence emerging it pursues its course to the south-east, with but few bendings, along the feet of the mountains of Kurdistan. The Euphrates, rising on the north side of Niphates, also flows parallel to its chain, but westward, as if seeking an outlet in the Mediterranean; but, after a circuitous sweep through the mountains, it finally enters, at the parallel of 36° N. lat., on the south-eastern course which brings it to a confluence with the Tigris. This part of its stream lies for a long distance through the Arabian Desert, and for 800 miles below the confluence of the Khabour it does not receive a single tributary. Its waters dwindle, passing off either to be lost in the desert, or to swell the volume of the Tigris, already enriched by numerous great tributaries from the eastern mountains. Much of this borrowed water afterwards flows back into the Euphrates by

* It is undoubtedly the Hiddekel of Paradise, "which goeth eastwards towards Assyria." Genesis ii. 14.

the Shat-el-Hie, and at Kornah the two rivers unite in the Shat-el-Arab.

These two great rivers have always given a name to the country through which they flow—the Aram-Naharaïm (Highland of the two rivers) of the Semitic tongues, the Mesopotamia of the Greeks, and the Al-Jezireh (the Island) of the modern Arabs. But these names require a more exact definition, especially in their relation to those of Chaldæa, Babylonia, and Assyria. There is a clearly-marked physical division of the district watered by the rivers into two regions. The northern part, descending from the mountains, is a steppe or undulating plain, of the secondary geological formation, bounded by a line drawn diagonally across the 34th parallel of latitude, nearly through Hit on the Euphrates and Tekrit on the Tigris. The subsidence to the dead level of the tertiary alluvium is here as distinct and sudden as that from the slightly elevated chalk district of Cambridgeshire to the level of the fens. And this is the historical as well as the natural division between Upper and Lower Mesopotamia. The former country corresponds very nearly to Assyria in the wider sense; but the original land of Asshur lay along the upper course of the Tigris, while the western part, encircled by the great bend of the Euphrates, was the land of Padan-Aram, that is, the High Plain. The whole forms a slightly elevated plain, about 300 miles in breadth, subdivided by the limestone range of the Sinjar hills, above 36° N. latitude, between which and Mount Masius it is well watered; but below this range it is nearly desert, except in winter. In ancient times, however, a system of artificial irrigation enabled it to support its numerous inhabitants.

This country was the seat of the great Assyrian Empire. But another monarchy, the Old Babylonian, or Chaldæan,* was established much earlier in the southern alluvial plain. It was bounded on the north by the natural division, already described, between the alluvial and upper plains; on the west and south by the Arabian Desert, whose tertiary sands and gravel reach generally within twenty or thirty miles of the Euphrates, but sometimes cross it, and by the head of the Persian Gulf; and on the east by the Tigris, which divides it from the rich plain and foot-hills of Elam or Susiana. On this side, and on the north, it had powerful and formidable neighbours; on the west the desert was only peopled by a few scattered tribes of Bedouins, who might, however, as we shall see, prove no less

* The reason for this appellation will be given presently.

dangerous. The waters of the Persian Gulf, sheltered by land on each side, opened up the commerce of the whole Indian Ocean, which the navigable courses of the great rivers carried up to the very feet of the northern mountains. It must be remembered that the sea anciently penetrated much deeper than its present limits. Chaldæa, like Egypt, lying in the rainless part of the great desert zone, is "the gift of its rivers," whose alluvial deposits are said to advance the coast line one mile in from thirty to seventy years. It is subject to inundations, though less regular and important than that of the Nile, and the waters require more careful distribution. The neglect of the proper works at the present day allows the flood of the Euphrates, which is the greater of the two, to escape for the most part westward into the desert, where it only forms pestilential swamps. The sands of the desert are constantly gaining on the cultivable land between the rivers. In ancient times a great canal was cut from Hit to the Persian Gulf along the edge of the desert, regulating the inundation, and fitting a wide tract on the right bank of the river for cultivation. A smaller canal (the Pallacopas of Arrian) branched off south of Sepharvaim, to supply the great artificial lake near Borsippa, from which the gardens of Babylon were irrigated. The whole district between the two rivers was intersected by canals, the chief of which were three that drew off the water of the Euphrates into the Tigris, above Babylon. The inundation of the Tigris is briefer and more regular.

At present the plain extends about 400 miles along the rivers, and about 100 miles in width. In the earliest age of history the Persian Gulf probably reached 120 or 130 miles further inland; and a corresponding deduction must be made from the size of the country, the ancient area of which is calculated at about 23,000 square miles—about equal to ancient Greece with its islands, to Denmark, or to the similarly formed country of Holland. This vast level plain was destitute of all striking natural features, except that unbroken horizon which is the one charm of flat countries. Such a surface is well fitted for the display of those gigantic piles of architecture by which the race of Ham delighted to supply the lack of nature's works, and which still diversify the plain with the mounds that hide their ruins. The only other interruptions to the view are a few sand-hills, and the embankments along the rivers and canals; and the surface of the ground is merely varied by the different colours of the cultivated fields near the rivers and canals, and of the arid tracts beyond their reach.

The summer, which sets in about May, is intensely hot; and the moisture of the climate makes the heat most oppressive. The winter is mild, with rarely a touch of frost. All ancient writers celebrate the unsurpassed fertility of Chaldæa; and modern travellers still attest the natural capacities of the region. This is the only country in which wheat is known to be indigenous. Other cereals are plentiful, and groves of the magnificent date-palm rise like islands amidst the seas of corn, and fringe the banks of the rivers. The vine and other fruits abound. The enormous reeds of the rivers and marshes were used, as the monuments show, for houses and for boats. The animals of Mesopotamia are made familiar to us by the Hebrew prophets, and by the hunting scenes in which the monuments exhibit the kings as constantly engaged. The desolation of the country has of course greatly multiplied the noble lion, with the lesser wild beasts and birds of prey. Nearly every mound that marks the site of a ruined city verifies the prophetic descriptions of the desolation of Babylon. Domestic animals abound; and, in the decline of agriculture, the flocks and herds are the chief wealth of the people, who have fallen back into the nomad state. The rivers teem with fish, and the monuments constantly represent great gardens with fish-ponds. Under the Persian Empire one-third of the whole royal revenue was drawn from Babylonia.

As a tertiary country, Lower Mesopotamia is almost destitute of rocks and minerals; and yet no people built on a vaster scale. Choice stones, as marbles, agate, and alabaster, were obtained in small pieces to ornament the temples. Limestone was brought down the rivers from Upper Mesopotamia, but in no great quantities. Its want was supplied by bricks, for which the alluvial soil furnished the best materials. The fierce sun hardened them enough for ordinary use, and the kiln made them as durable as granite. Various kinds of cement were furnished by the calcareous stones of the Arabian Desert, by the slimy mud of the soil, and especially by the bitumen which is the chief mineral product of the land. The neighbourhood of Hit has always been famed for its springs of bitumen, naphtha, and petroleum. These were probably the materials with which the Babel builders wrought.

Such was the country of which we have the earliest records in the Book of Genesis. The two leading facts are the erection of the city and citadel of Babel, as a great centre of union, by a people who journeyed eastward, apparently from the primeval seats of the human race; and the establishment, in the same regions, by the

Cushite conqueror Nimrod, of a kingdom, whose first seat was the tetrapolis of Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh. The Biblical account, which makes Nimrod a son of Cush, and consequently the ruling race, at least in his kingdom, a Cushite and therefore Hamite people, is confirmed by the best records of history and by modern discovery. This is the race to which the most recent historians apply the name of Chaldæan.

Till lately, indeed, the general opinion has identified the Chaldæans with the Semitic race.* The affinity between the later Babylonian and the Hebrew tongues is often considered as decisive of the question; but there is ample evidence that the Babylonian language had passed through a great change since the time of the early Chaldæan monarchy. The same evidence disposes of the opinion, handed down from Herodotus, that the Babylonians were, from the first, of the same stock as the Assyrians, who were Semitic. The native historian, Berosus, in whose fragments we have remnants of records of unknown antiquity, clearly distinguishes the Babylonians from the Assyrians; and in this he is followed by several classical writers. The traditions preserved by the Greek poets, from Homer downwards, concerning an eastern as well as a western nation of Ethiopians, and particularly those regarding Memnon, can only be explained by the diffusion of the Cushite race over the South of Asia as well as Africa. There are Armenian traditions to the same effect; and the memory of the Cushite occupation seems to be preserved by certain geographical names. But the question may now be viewed as decided by cuneiform inscriptions lately discovered in Lower Mesopotamia, the language of which is clearly Hamitic, akin to that of the Gallas of Ethiopia.

The name Chaldæan, applied to this Cushite race, is itself of obscure origin. The Hebrew name, so translated in our version of the Bible (following the LXX), is a different word of doubtful etymology—Chasdim; but it seems clearly equivalent to the native Kaldi. The name is used in three different senses. First, as a tribe, we read of the Chaldæan robbers, who, like the Sabæans, fell upon Job's cattle. As a nation, they are the people who had their capital at Babylon, in the land of Shinar.† But, besides these two ethnic senses, the Chaldæans at the court of Nebuchadnezzar were a priestly caste, who are classed with the astrologers and

* The language called Chaldee is undoubtedly Semitic; but its appellation seems to be a misnomer. It belongs rather to the Western than the Eastern Aramæan dialect, and is, in fact, less nearly related to the Hebrew than is the Babylonian of the time of the Captivity.

† This, the original Scriptural name of Babylonia, is also the only one used for the country in the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions.

magicians, had a learning and language of their own, and formed a sort of colleges. Those who acquired their learning, and were admitted into their body, were called Chaldæans, quite irrespective of their race; and thus Daniel became the master of the Chaldæans. That such a body would retain the ancient language, as a sacred tongue, after it had been supplanted in common use by the later Semitic dialect, is in accordance with probability and analogy; and this view seems to explain the various uses of the name. Originally one of the Cushite tribes who settled in Lower Mesopotamia, the Kaldi, Kaldai, or Chaldæans, gave their name to the Cushite monarchy, whose people made great advances in art and science. Then, as the nation became Semitized, chiefly by Assyrian influence, their old learning, wrapped up in the old language, became the property of a class, who enjoyed high influence with the people, and favour at the court—the more so as the Babylonian kings, from Nabopolassar, seem to have been of the Chaldæan race. Lastly, nothing could be more natural than that the Jewish writers should apply the name of this high class, which was also the name of the old monarchy, to the existing people, though the "Chaldæan" subjects of Nebuchadnezzar were a different race from the ancient people. Under the later Babylonian kings, and probably under their Assyrian predecessors, the language of learning and religion seems to have been the old Chaldæan, while that of civil proceedings was Semitic. The question still remains—whence the Chaldæans of Babylonia originally came.

There is a native historian, Berosus, who occupies a place similar to that of Manetho in Egyptian history. He was a priest of Belus at Babylon in the reign of Antiochus II. (B.C. 261—246). From the archives in the temple of the god, he compiled in Greek a "History of Babylon or Chaldæa," of which, like the work of Manetho, only some fragments are preserved by Josephus, Eusebius, and other chronographers and fathers. The authenticity of his statements is open to objections similar to those urged against Manetho. His early history is entirely mythical; but, as we come down to periods for which other evidence exists, we find it to a great extent confirmatory of Berosus. This is especially the case with the cuneiform inscriptions.

In his mythical history, Berosus goes back to the Creation, peopling the slime of Chaos with creatures whose monstrous forms were borrowed from the pictures on the walls of the Babylonian temples. The Chaos is destroyed by Bel, the great deity who occupies the same place as Jove in the Greek mythology, the god of light and air. He created the sun, the moon, and the five

planets, and ordered the gods to people the earth. To these succeeded a savage race, till Oannes, a being with the upper part of a man and the lower part of a fish, coming up out of the Indian Sea, revealed to them the principles of law and science, and taught them to build cities and temples.* The state thus established was governed by seven rulers for twelve sars (43,200 years), during which period six more "Fish-Men" came up from the sea, and taught the learning which was embodied in the Seven Sacred Books. Three more rulers fill up the antediluvian cycle of 432,000 years.†

The god Bel, who was himself the last of these ten antediluvian rulers, warned Xisuthrus of the destruction of all living beings by a deluge, the story of which most strikingly resembles that of the Noachic Flood. On coming out of the ark, Xisuthrus dug up the Seven Sacred Books which he had buried at Sepharvaim (Sippara, the City of the Sun), repeopled the land, and fixed the capital again at Babylon, where eighty-six demigods reigned for 34,080 years, a period intended, as we shall see presently, to make up with the following dynasties, a complete cycle of ten *sars*, or 36,000 years. These eighty-six demigods form the First Dynasty of Berosus, who expressly calls them *Chaldæans*.

Thus far the account is unmistakeably mythical; but, as we had occasion to observe in the case of Egypt, a mythical period does not necessarily exclude the element of true tradition; only it is impossible to separate the two.

After this first mythical dynasty of eighty-six kings, Berosus assigns 224 years to a dynasty of eight Median kings, who conquered Babylon, and expelled the earlier Chaldæan dynasty. Granting that this tradition represents some historical fact, it by no means follows that these Medians were of the Aryan race familiar to us by that name, but only that they were the earliest known inhabitants of the country afterwards called Media. Now, there is a vast mass of evidence pointing to an early population of Western Asia by a race kindred, in many respects, to that which we now call Turanian. Such a race certainly possessed the high-

* This Fish-Man appears again in the Dagon of the Philistines, with whom is associated a goddess, Derceto. Besides the constant appearance of the image in the Babylonian sculptures, the name of Dagon has been discovered on the monuments; and tradition made Semiramis the daughter of Derceto.

† In the Babylonian system of notation the numbers 6 and 10 were employed alternately. Time was measured ordinarily by the *soss*, the *ner*, and the *sar*—the *soss* being ($10 \times 6 =$) 60 years, the *ner* ($60 \times 10 =$) 600 years, and the *sar* ($600 \times 6 =$) 3600 years. The next term in this series would evidently be ($3600 \times 10 =$) 36,000 years, and the term following ($36,000 \times 6 =$) 216,000. Berosus' antediluvian cycle consists of 432,000, or two such periods.

lands of Elam, between Lower Mesopotamia and the tableland of Iran, the ancient Media; and its traces have been found in Chaldæa itself, on the monuments whose records have been recently deciphered. There was, too, an universal tradition of an occupation of Western Asia by the Scythians, that is, the Turanian race.* This tradition, as we have argued in a former chapter, seems to point to a period when the demarcations between races and languages were hardly yet established. The same consideration may help to explain the fact that we find Aryan as well as Turanian forms in the earliest Chaldæan inscriptions. We do not, however, exclude the probability that there was also a positive intermixture of the Turanian and Aryan races as foreign elements in the population of Chaldæa.

The general conclusion from the whole evidence seems to be, that the Median dynasty of Berosus were a Turanian or mixed Scytho-Aryan race, whose religion was an elemental worship, and that these were succeeded by a native Chaldæan or Cushite race, who practised the worship of the heavenly bodies. Their religion, combined with the facilities afforded by their climate and their level horizon, led them from the earliest times to the study of astronomy, in which they made great progress. When Alexander the Great took possession of Babylon, Callisthenes was able to send to Aristotle a series of astronomical observations taken by the Chaldæans for an unbroken period of 1903 years. These observations would therefore date from B.C. 2234 (331 + 1903), as the epoch of the Third (or Chaldæan) Dynasty of Berosus. Other indications point to the same date, the adoption of which gives a remarkable consistency to the whole chronological scheme of Berosus. That scheme has been lately examined by Dr. Gutschmidt, whose conclusions, adopted by Professor Rawlinson, are as follows:—

BABYLONIAN CHRONOLOGY, ACCORDING TO GUTSCHMIDT.†

DYNASTIES OF BEROSUS.				YEARS.	B. C. BEGIN.	B. C. END.
Historical. Mythic.	I.	86	Chaldæans	34,080		
	II.	8	Medes [Magians] ...	224	2458	2234
	III.	11	[Chaldæans]	[258]	2234	1976
	IV.	49	Chaldæans	458	1976	1518
	V.	9	Arabians	245	1518	1273
	VI.	45	[Assyrians]	526	1273	747
	VII.	[8	Assyrians]	[122]	747	625
	VIII.	6	Chaldæans	87	625	538
			Total	36,000		

* Respecting the character of the Turanian race and language, see Chapter iv., p. 55.

† The names and numbers in brackets are conjectural. The arguments for the

"If the numbers," says Professor Rawlinson, "are taken in the way assigned, and then added to the years of the first or purely mythical dynasty, the sum produced is *exactly* 36,000 years—the next term to the *sar* in the Babylonian system of cycles. It is impossible that this should be the result of chance. The later Babylonians clearly contrived their mythical number so that, when added to those which they viewed as historical, the sum-total should be a perfect cyclical period. The date, B.C. 2234, for the accession of the third dynasty, may thus be regarded as certainly that which Berosus intended to assign, and as most probably correct." Now, it is very remarkable that this date of B.C. 2234 falls, according to the received chronology, within the lifetime of Peleg (B.C. 2247—2008), "in whose days the earth was divided," and to whose age we may refer the building of Babel, and very probably, therefore, the establishment of Nimrod's kingdom, which would thus correspond with the third dynasty of Berosus. It hardly needs to be explained, that these views are offered as a fair statement of the results made probable by recent investigations, not as positively ascertained facts.

With this Third Dynasty, then, the annals of Berosus seem first to assume somewhat of the complexion of history; and the appellation "Chaldæan" brings us back to the question of whence they came, and how they acquired rule over the country. Thus much seems clear, that they were an intrusive race, whose power, like all the great empires of the East, was acquired by conquest. But did they enter the land of Shinar from the North or from the South? In favour of the former view we have their own tradition, that they were of old a mountain race, and the existence of Chaldæans among the mountains north of Armenia in historic times. On the other hand, while the classical writers regard those mountains as the original seat of the race, they restrict the name of Chaldæa to a region on the lower course of the Euphrates:—we have just seen that, in the oldest Babylonian legends, civilization is made to enter by way of the sea:—and we shall find presently that the cities near the Persian Gulf bear marks of antiquity higher than Babylon itself. This view agrees with the Scriptural derivation of Nimrod, the founder of the empire, from the race of Cush; while the classical historians followed a tradition which made Babylon from the first a dependency of Assyria. It seems almost equally difficult to deny that the original seats of the Chaldæan race were in the

scheme will be found in Gutschmidt's paper in the *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. viii., pp. 252, foll., and Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. chap. 8.

southern highlands of Armenia, and that the earliest source of Chaldæan empire and civilization in Babylonia was from the South. May not a solution be found in the hypothesis that a branch of the Chaldæans took part in the original southward migration of the Hamitic race and settled in the south of Babylonia, whence they afterwards made that reflex movement which led to the establishment of Nimrod's empire at Babylon?

Little is known of the history of Nimrod's monarchy, beyond the fact that its cities formed a tetrapolis—an arrangement which recurs both in the next dynasty, and in the early Assyrian kingdom.* The four cities mentioned in the Scripture narrative, as founded by the dynasty of Nimrod, are Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh.† But the information derived from the monuments points to a subdivision of the country into Upper and Lower Chaldæa; the former extending from Hit on the Euphrates to below Babylon, and the latter from Niffer to the Persian Gulf. Each of these divisions had a tetrapolis; the southern consisting of Ur, Huruk, Nipur, and Larsa or Larancha—the Ur, Erech, Calneh, and Ellasar of Scripture; and the northern of Babel, Borsippa, Cutha, and Sippara (the Sepharvaim of Scripture, the dual form indicating its position on the two sides of the river). Borsippa is the only one of these capitals not named in Scripture, which gives us several names of less important towns. As they are all mentioned, however, chiefly in connexion with the later Assyrian and Babylonian empires, we cannot be sure that they are all as early as the Chaldæan age.

With the exception of Babylon, the capital of the whole land, the precedence in point of antiquity must be given to the southern tetrapolis, to which indeed belong two out of the four cities built by Nimrod. These two, Erech and Calneh, the Huruk and Nipur of the cuneiform inscriptions, have been identified almost certainly with the ruins at Warka and Niffer.‡ The site of Accad has not been identified; but the inscriptions give reason to believe that we have in this word the name of the primeval people who first occupied the country. "Akkadian colonies"—says Sir H. Rawlinson, on the authority of inscriptions of Sargon—"were transported into the wilds of Armenia by the Assyrian Kings of the Lower Empire, and strengthened the Hamitic element in that quarter." §

* Genesis x. 11, 12. † Genesis x. 10.

‡ These, and the other ruins referred to, are described by Professor Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. c. 1.

§ Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay vi., vol. i. pp. 655, 656.

Of the two remaining cities of the southern tetrapolis, Ellasar —the Larsa or Larancha of the inscriptions, and the Larissa or Larachon of the Greeks—is probably represented by the ruins at Senkereh, on the left bank of the Euphrates, between Mugheir and Warka. It appears in the earliest history as the capital of Arioch, the ally of Chedorlaomer. Ur or Hur was the chief of the four, besides its interest as the birthplace of Abraham. Its remains are seen at Mugheir (*Mother of Bitumen*, a name derived from the vast quantity of bituminous cement found in its ruins), a little below 31° N. lat. It was the lowest of all the great cities near the Euphrates, and appears to have been originally a seaport, for its ships are mentioned in the inscriptions with those of Ethiopia. Like its three sisters, it was a great seat of that form of idolatry which marks the Chaldæan period; the moon being specially worshipped at Ur, the sun at Ellasar, and Jupiter and Venus (Bel and Beltis) at Calneh and Erech—as we learn from the ruined temples at Mugheir, Senkereh, Niffer, and Warka.* Under the later empires, Ur remained in the south, like Borsippa in the north, the great seat of the learning of the Chaldæans.

Of the northern tetrapolis, passing over Babylon for the present, the ruins of Borsippa, or rather of the great temple of Bel-Merodach—all that is left of the city,—have been discovered in the mound of Birs-Nimrud, a little south of Babylon; those of Cutha at Ibrahim, north-east of Babylon, and between the two rivers; and those of Sippara or Sepharvaim at Sura on the Euphrates, about twenty miles above Babylon. The sites of several lesser cities have been identified with much probability.

The chief edifices, whose ruins are buried in the mounds that mark the sites of these cities, appear to have been temples; for in Chaldæa, as elsewhere, whatever rude provision was made for ordinary dwellings, architecture, as an art, was created by religion. The great Chaldæan towers, of which that of Babel was the type, were temples. Though it seems certain that the Tower of Babel itself was destroyed, and that the great Temple of Belus at Babylon was a later erection, the latter was no doubt modelled

* Bel was also symbolised both by the Sun and Saturn, the planet throned in the seventh heaven, and whose orbit comprehended all the rest; Beltis (or Mylitta) both by the Moon and Venus. Mars represented Nergal, the God of War; and Mercury, Nebo, the interpreter of the divine will. The goddess Beltis or Mylitta was also regarded as the material principle embodied in the earth, water, and darkness, as Bel was in the heaven, air, and light. In this character, her grove at Babylon became the scene of rites as licentious as those of the Phœnician Astarte. Such is the degradation to which the sublime conceptions of Sabæism have always tended.

on the former. The type of such structures can still be partly traced in the remains of Birs-Nimrud at Borsippa, and, in a less developed form, in those at Mugheir and Warka. The former, which was rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar, shows the completest plan of these edifices; the others, which are referred to the very beginning of the Chaldæan monarchy (about B.C. 2234), giving only the first germ. The ground-plan is an exact square, with the *angles* (not the faces) to the four cardinal points, an arrangement at once raising the presumption of an astronomical purpose; nor can there be any doubt that the buildings were used as observatories. From this base the building rises in successive stages, each smaller than the one below, thus presenting an analogy to the pyramidal form used by the Egyptians, the more interesting from the discovery that the Pyramids themselves were built in stages.* At Birs-Nimrud, however, the pyramid is oblique; in other words, the centres of the stages are not exactly over one another, but removed towards the south-west, so that the south-west face had the steepest and the north-east, or back of the tower, the gentlest ascent. The complete number of stories at Borsippa was seven, corresponding to the sun and moon, and the five planets, their faces being distinguished by colours, as follows: the basement, black; the next stage, orange; the third, red; the fourth, golden (?); the fifth, yellow; the sixth, blue; the seventh, silver (?).† The highest stage supported the shrine or chapel containing the sacred ark. These stages are of burnt brick, the basement resting on a platform of crude brick raised a few feet above the alluvial soil. Their areas diminish from a square of 272 feet at the base, to one of 20 feet at the summit. The heights are unequal, the three lower stories rising 26 feet each, and the four upper 15 feet, which seems also to have been the height of the chapel on the summit. The total height of the Birs-Nimrud is about 153 feet, and this is the loftiest known; the Babil, or Temple of Belus at Babylon, being about 140 feet high, that at Warka 100, and that at Mugheir only 50. They were thus much lower than the Great Pyramid, which was originally 480 feet high. These numbers will serve to correct both our childish errors respecting the Tower of Babel, and the exaggerations of ancient writers about the Temple of Belus at Babylon.

* See chap. vii. p. 97.

† The colours marked as doubtful can scarcely be made out in the ruins. The whole series seems well chosen to represent the planets in their supposed order, namely, *beginning from the summit*, — the Moon (silver), Mercury (blue), Venus (yellow), the Sun (gold), Mars (red), Jupiter (orange), Saturn, the malignant, (black).

It is supposed that the upper stories contained sleeping chambers for the priests in summer; the air at that elevation being cooler and freer from the insects that infest the plain. The earlier temples had a smaller number of stages. At Mugheir and Warka only two are now visible, and there seem never to have been more than three or four. The Babil shows no more than one; but it is stated by ancient writers to have had the form of a pyramid. The earliest form seems to have had three stories, the topmost being formed by the shrine; but in some cases, as the Babil, this may have been placed only on a truncated pyramid. The material of these stories is invariably brick, or a brick casing about an earthen mound, the alluvial plain being quite destitute of stone. In the temple at Warka the bricks are merely sun-dried: in that at Mugheir the walls of sun-dried bricks are faced by burnt bricks of a small size and inferior quality. The cement used in the former is mud, with reeds for binding—in the latter bitumen, without reeds. These edifices are thus of ruder and apparently more primitive construction than that adopted by the Babel builders, who burnt their bricks thoroughly. Nor need this excite surprise, since such an edifice as Babel would scarcely be attempted till some skill had been acquired by earlier experiments. The fact that the most ancient of these buildings are found nearest the Persian Gulf, coupled with the precedence of the maritime city of Ur, strongly favours the view, that the first Cushite settlers occupied the district near the sea. The materials and form of these temple-towers have determined the peculiar shape assumed by their ruins. The upper and outer portions, falling over the rest, and becoming disintegrated by the atmosphere, have formed a rude mound of earth, under which a large part of the original structure has lain hidden and protected, awaiting the researches which, in our own day, have opened a new page of the oldest period of history.

These ruins have a part of their own story inscribed upon them in characters which prove the vast antiquity of the art of writing among the Chaldæans. In this case, as in others, the race of Ham led the way in the arts most needful for common life. We can hardly hope to decide the question, whether writing was invented in Egypt and Chaldæa independently, or whether, as seems more likely, it was already common to the different Hamitic races before their separation. At all events, the earliest forms found in Chaldæa point unquestionably, like the hieroglyphics of Egypt, to a pictorial origin. The first rude attempts to commu-

nicate the idea of an object by its likeness were made more definite by giving that likeness a conventional form,—such as a square for the ground-plan of a house, five lines joined perpendicularly to another for the hand, and many similar examples. If these forms were only meant to convey the idea of the thing itself, they would form a symbolical representation of objects; but by conveying also the idea of the *names* of those objects, they come to represent *words*, and thus the first step is taken in the art of writing. When the same object has different names, its pictorial sign acquires the phonetic value of each of those names; and as the words, for which signs are thus provided, may enter as syllables into the formation of other words, their signs receive a syllabic, and no longer only a separate value. For example, if our own written language were in the hieroglyphic state, the pictorial signs for a *bee* and a *hind* might form that for the word *behind;* a *moon* and a *key* that for *monkey:* and the same signs would enter into the representation of all other words containing any of the same syllables. But even where the characters stand for less simple words, they may become syllabic by a process of abbreviation, the sign being taken for only the initial syllable or portion of the word. Thus the sign for *lion* might stand for the syllable *li*, as in fact that for Asshur represents, in cuneiform writing, the syllable *as*, with many other such examples. The final step to alphabetical writing is then taken almost imperceptibly; for nothing is more certain than that alphabetic characters were once syllabic, as their very names still indicate.

The first stage in this process is seen in the Egyptian hieroglyphics; the second in the hieratic characters derived from them, and often placed beside them in the same inscriptions. What the hieratic writing is to the hieroglyphic, the like is the cuneiform to a system of pictorial representation which seems to have become almost obsolete at the time of the earliest Chaldæan inscriptions. But some traces of it still remain in very early writings, and in those fixed determinative signs which give a particular significance to the word that follows them, as an eight-rayed star for the name of a god. In this second stage the Chaldæan characters are remarkable for consisting entirely of straight lines, without curves. These lines are, in the earliest inscriptions, of uniform thickness, being in fact scratches made by the point of a graving tool; and this form is preserved in the numerous engraved gems that have been discovered. The plastic nature of their building materials, however, suggested the mode

of forming each line by the pressure of the lower part of the graving-tool, or style, leaving the peculiar wedge-shaped mark (▼) which has given to the character the name of *cuneiform*. Such are the simple lines, like the "straight-strokes" and "pot-hooks" of our school-days (only that the Chaldæan writing knows no pothooks), which, combined in various positions, perpendicular, horizontal, and oblique, were used at first in rude imitation of the pictorial symbols, and afterwards modified and simplified into syllabic and alphabetic characters. The relation of these forms to the Egyptian, and to those old Semitic or "Phœnician" characters from which all the European alphabets are derived, is too wide a question to be discussed here. Thus much we may affirm,—that alphabetic writing had at least one of its original sources among the Chaldæans.

Nor can we enter upon the history and principles of the recent discoveries in deciphering these records. The objection, that we have no instance of the recovery of a lost language in an unknown character, fortified by the case of the undeciphered Etruscan inscriptions, seems not unanswerable. For while, on the one hand, we know enough of the principles of pictorial writing to have some clue to the *things* for which the characters are meant, some at least of the *names* of those things are furnished us by languages akin to those of the countries where we find these inscriptions; and thus we can approach the problem from two different sides. But this would avail little without some more definite key, such as the Rosetta stone supplies for the Egyptian hieroglyphics; and this is partly furnished by the bilingual and trilingual inscriptions, especially that of Darius Hystaspis at Behistun, in spite of the drawback that each of the versions is in the cuneiform character. This field of research is encumbered with difficulties far greater than in the parallel case of the hieroglyphics. The distinct preservation of the pictorial stage in Egypt gives a far plainer clue to the meaning of the characters; and in the second stage, as the Egyptians were one race, with a common language, each of the hieratic characters has but one phonetic value, while the cuneiform signs represent the many different names which the same object bore among the mixed population of Chaldæa. Still, it may be fairly said that the two cases are so far alike in principle, that the critic who regards cuneiform interpretation as delusive, should consistently deny the power of deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphics. In both cases a special aid is afforded by the occurrence of proper

names; and in both the results obtained go far to vindicate the method.

The facility with which the cuneiform characters were impressed on the plastic clay, as compared with the process of engraving on the granite and sandstone of Egypt, on the one hand, and the nature of the material (so much more durable than the perishable papyri) on the other, has preserved for us a vast body of Chaldæan, Assyrian, and Babylonian literature. The cuneiform inscriptions are partly on bricks and partly on tablets. The bricks seem to bear none but royal inscriptions, commemorating the kings who built the edifices to which they belonged. The tablets are real *books*, and the whole body of them forms a vast library. The mass of writing on some of them is immense, the characters being as fine and the lines as close as those of an ordinary octavo page. The means taken to secure the writing from injury are equally curious and effectual. After the inscribed clay had been burnt to a terra-cotta far more durable than most sorts of stone, it was coated with another layer, on which the inscription was repeated, and the whole was again fired, so that the interior writing might be brought to light long after the exterior was effaced. Besides the inscriptions, many of these tablets bear the impression of seals, stamped by a cylindrical roller run across or round them, so that the device is repeated several times. The writing of the inscriptions is from right to left. This brief and general account of the cuneiform inscriptions, which applies alike to the old Chaldæan, the Assyrian, and the later Babylonian, will prepare us to appreciate the light they throw on the history of these kingdoms.

These records are, however, silent respecting the first period of the Chaldæan monarchy, that identified with the name of Nimrod. To the statements of Scripture concerning him, we can only add the fact of his deification by the name of Bel-Nipru, or Bel-Nimrod, which is interpreted "the god of the chase," an exact equivalent to the "mighty hunter before Jehovah."* His traditional fame in those regions is only equalled by that of Solomon and Alexander; and these old traditions are still cherished by the Arabs, who attach his name to the chief heaps of ruins that stand on the Chaldæan plain. Nor is his renown confined to the earth, if at least it was in his honour, as tradition says, that the constellation of Orion

* Rawlinson derives Nipru from the root *napar*—to *pursue*, or *cause to flee*. The name is also seen in that of the city of Nipur (now *Niffer*), the Biblical Calneh, which was probably the chief seat of the worship of Nimrod.

received from the Chaldees the name handed down by the Arab astronomers, of "the giant."

The first Chaldæan monarchy lasted, according to the scheme set forth above, a little more than two centuries and a half (B.C. 2234—1976). Berosus does not name any of the eleven kings whom he assigns to this dynasty, but Ovid * alludes to a certain Orchamus as the seventh in succession from Belus. A point of mythical genealogy in a poet of the Augustan age could have no historical value, unless we could trace it to some historical source. But recent researches have brought to light a name which bears a curious resemblance to this Orchamus. URUKH, or Urkham, has inscribed his name, with the title of "King of Ur and Kingi-Accad," on the basement story of all those Chaldæan buildings whose rude workmanship and sun-dried bricks, with the absence of lime-mortar, prove them to be the most ancient of all; for instance, at Mugheir (Ur), Warka (Erech), Niffer (Nipur or Calneh), and Senkereh (Ellasar). He may, therefore, be safely regarded as the earliest of the kings whose names occur on the monuments. "It is evident," says Professor Rawlinson,† "from the size and number of these works, that their erecter had the command of a vast amount of naked human strength, and did not scruple to employ that strength in constructions . . . . designed to extend his own fame and to perpetuate his glory. We may gather from this that he was either an oppressor of his people, like some of the Pyramid Kings in Egypt, or else a conqueror, who thus employed the numerous captives carried off in his expeditions." His buildings appear to have been temples to all the chief Chaldæan deities. Their construction, though rude, exhibits considerable mechanical skill; and a careful system of drainage is employed. The inscriptions of this king are all of the second stage, in which the lines bear some rough likeness to the older pictorial symbols. The engraving of his signet cylinder is much less rude than the inscriptions.‡

Urukh must almost certainly be ascribed to the third dynasty of Berosus, which we have seen reason to identify with the Cushite monarchy of Nimrod.§ The close of this dynasty, according to

* *Metam.* iv. 212, 213.

† *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. pp. 199, 200.

‡ This point is rather doubtful, from the fact that the cylinder itself is lost, and we have only the engraving of it in the *Travels* of Sir R. K. Porter, who once possessed it. It is copied in Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 118.

§ Later inscriptions bear another name, which it is proposed to read as Ilgi, the son of Urukh, who finished some of his father's buildings at Ur, and, in particular, the temple of the moon-goddess.

the above scheme (B.C. 1976), synchronises with the early life of Abraham, whose birth falls, according to the common chronology, in B.C. 1996. About fifty years later, we read of the great expedition against the land of Canaan, 1200 miles distant, by *Chedorlaomer*, whose name seems to be Hamitic, while his title, "King of Elam," points to a conquest of the Chaldæan plain by the Elymæan mountaineers. The monuments are said to bear traces of some such revolution; and this must therefore be the fourth or Chaldæan dynasty of Berosus, who assigns to it forty-nine kings in a period exceeding 450 years (B.C. 1976—1518), a period very nearly contemporary with the 430 years from the call of Abraham to the Exodus in B.C. 1491.

In fact, this period was marked near the beginning, as well as at its end, by what may be truly called an exodus of the chosen race. The Scripture narrative, regarding this movement in its relation to the Divine purposes and promise, ascribes it to God's call of Abraham; but that call may have been given by events connected with the political movements of the country. The Elamitic conquerors, like the new king in Egypt who knew not Joseph, may have begun to oppress the race of Shem, who preserved the worship of the true God. At all events, the migration of the family of Terah was not the only great movement of the Semitic race up the valley of the Euphrates. The Phœnicians pursued the same course about the same period; and while the family of Terah remained at Charran, they pressed on past the ranges of Lebanon to the strip of coast in the Mediterranean, which became so famous under their name. Their great city of Sidon was already built when Abraham lived in Canaan.

Chedorlaomer's movement in the same direction, when he reduced the five cities of the plain to tributaries, may have originated in the desire to reconquer the fugitive Semites. This monarch is the greatest of the Elamitic dynasty, and perhaps its founder. His name, which the LXX give in the form Chodollogomor, is now explained as Kudur-lagamer, *the Servant of Lagamer*, a Susianian deity.* The most interesting point in his

* Sir H. Rawlinson formerly identified him with Kudur-mabuk, whose name appears on inscriptions at Ur, with the title Apda Martu, which was interpreted *Ravager of the West*. Sir Henry now doubts this interpretation, and places Kudur-mabuk considerably later than Chedorlaomer. Some Egyptologers have supposed a connection between the expedition of Chedorlaomer and the invasion of the Shepherd Kings, the latter being driven out by the former. If the comparative chronology can be depended on, the so-called "Assyrian" dynasty of the Shepherds (the Sixteenth) would be Chaldæans, propably the branch that reigned at Nineveh.

second expedition, the story of which we have already told, is his alliance with the three kings—Tidal, king of nations; Amraphel, king of Shinar; and Arioch, king of Ellasar. In this quadruple alliance recent inquirers find a record of the four races which, from the earliest known period, composed the mixed population of Chaldæa. The "nations" led by Tidal were the Turanian or Scythian nomad tribes, by whom the country was first peopled: the Semites who remained in the country seem to have already established themselves under Amraphel at Babylon, afterwards the capital of their race, though in subjection to Chedorlaomer: the name of Arioch seems to mark him as the head of the Aryan population: while the Hamite race is represented by Chedorlaomer himself. All this agrees with the name of *Kiprath-arbat* (four nations or tongues) which is given, in the cuneiform inscriptions, to the subjects of this dynasty. And this mixture lasted under the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Medo-Persian empires, only that the Hamite race are merged in the later Semitic development. The Medo-Persian kings found it necessary to publish their edicts in the three chief forms of language,—their own, which is Aryan, the Assyrian, which is Semitic, and the Scythic or Turanian.*

The repulse of the confederate kings by Abraham seems to have put an end to Chaldæan conquests beyond the Euphrates. The notices of the family of Nahor, in the history of Isaac and Jacob, show Upper Mesopotamia apparently in a state of patriarchal independence. But the eastern part of that region, along the valley of the Tigris, or Assyria Proper, was evidently subject to the Chaldæan monarchy; for an inscription records the building of a temple at Kileh-Shergat by Shamas-Vul, the son of Ismi-Dagon, about B.C. 1850; and this Shamas-Vul appears to have been a viceroy of Assyria, since another son of Ismi-Dagon reigned in Chaldæa Proper. The names of fifteen or sixteen kings have been discovered on the monuments; and this is supposed to be nearer to the true number of the dynasty than the forty-nine ascribed to Berosus, whose numbers may easily have been corrupted. The records indicate a gradual removal of the seat of government up the valley from the original capital at Ur, till it becomes fixed at Babylon—a movement which would extend the arts and civilization of the Chaldæans to the northern parts of

* By a curious coincidence, the valley having fallen again under the dominion of a Turanian race, public documents are issued in Turkish, which is Turanian; Persian, which is Aryan; and Arabic, which is Semitic.

Mesopotamia. The whole region of Upper and Lower Mesopotamia seems to have been ultimately included in the empire.

The final overthrow of this great Cushite kingdom appears to have been effected by the Arabs of the desert. The western frontier might have seemed sufficiently protected from invasion by the vast waste ocean of sand. But it has always been the characteristic of the Arab tribes to multiply and flourish in those abodes so congenial to their wild nature, almost unseen by their civilized neighbours, on whom they have poured down their collected force when the torrent of invasion was least looked for. In the plain of Mesopotamia they have always been intruding, like the sands of their own deserts. It is not unlikely that they formed a considerable element of the population from very early times. Under the Assyrian Empire there were at least thirty of their tribes between the two great rivers, and they even extended into Media. At the present day they have overrun the whole country; but, like their own sands again, these early Arabs left no other monuments of their power than the destruction of the civilization that flourished before. It was not till long afterwards that they learned, from the nations they conquered, the arts and science for which they were famous in the middle ages. No records are preserved of their conquest of Chaldæa, beyond the mention by Berosus of an Arabian dynasty (his fifth) of nine kings, for a period of 245 years (B.C. 1518—1273). They interpose as a great historic blank between the fall of the Chaldæan Empire and the rise of the Assyrian.

Such a wave of Semite population could not pass over the land without giving a vast impulse to that tendency which the Hamite race has always shown to develope itself into the Semitic type, a development which must have been greatly aided by the influence of Assyria, now released from the Chaldæan yoke. When, therefore, this latter power grew into an empire, we are not surprised to find it bearing a Semitic character. But the old Chaldæan stock survived; and even retained the best part of its ancient power, the supremacy in letters, art, and science. Their architecture and writing were adopted by the Assyrians. Their men of learning retained the power of the priesthood, and formed an honoured and powerful caste, which may be traced even down to the time of the Parthian dominion. The common people, however, seem to have been merged in the Semitic population, as they certainly adopted a Semitic form of language. We shall soon have to relate the revolution by which the Chaldæan dynasty of Nabopolassar founded a new empire at Babylon after the lapse

of nearly nine centuries (B.C. 625), and the prowess of Nebuchadnezzar achieved the conquests vainly attempted by Chedorlaomer.

It remains to notice those arts of civilization which found one of their two earliest homes on the plains of Chaldæa. Professor Rawlinson has well observed, that "for the last three thousand years the world has been mainly indebted for its advancement to the Semitic and Indo-European races; but it was otherwise in the first ages. Egypt and Babylon—Mizraim and Nimrod, both descendants of Ham—led the way, and acted as the pioneers of mankind in the various untrodden fields of art, literature, and science. Alphabetic writing, astronomy, history, chronology, architecture, plastic art, sculpture, navigation, agriculture, textile industry, seem all of them to have had their origin in one or other of these two countries."* Of the architecture and writing of the Chaldæans we have already spoken. Further details respecting the manufacture of their bricks and the construction of their edifices will be found in the works descriptive of the recent discoveries. Their massive temples seem to have been almost destitute of external ornament; the interiors were decorated with small pieces of choice stones, as agate, alabaster, and marble, and with plates of gold, fixed to the walls by metal nails. Of their domestic architecture we have but scanty remains. The structures on which, next to their temples, they bestowed most pains, were their tombs, which are collected in great numbers about the principal cities. This fact, coupled with the paucity of tombs found in Assyria and Upper Babylonia, suggests the belief that, down to the latest age of those empires, the dead were brought from all parts of Mesopotamia for interment in the sacred soil of Chaldæa. Some of the cemeteries, however, as at Mugheir (Ur), bear the marks of one age, and that probably the most ancient. These old tombs are of three kinds. The first is a vault of sun-dried bricks laid in mud, constructed in the form of a false arch, like some of the Egyptian buildings and the Scythian tombs. From the tops of the side walls, which slope a little outwards, courses of brick are laid so as to project inwards till they almost meet at the summit, which is closed by a single brick. These seem to have been family tombs; for they generally contain three or four skeletons, with drinking vessels and articles of ornament. The next form is a clay coffin, in the shape of a dish-cover, at the bottom of which the skeleton is seen, lying on a mat. Never more than two skeletons are found together, and these are

* *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 75.

male and female, doubtless husband and wife. The third sort of coffin is composed of two bell-shaped jars, placed mouth to mouth, with holes at the smaller ends. The coffins are laid in rows, and often in several layers, not beneath the surface of the oozy plain, but under artificial mounds, which are provided with an elaborate system of drainage. The drinking-vessels, ornamental vases, and lamps found in the tombs give us numerous examples of the skill to which the Chaldæans attained in pottery. Tools and weapons are also found, which mark, here as elsewhere, the distinction between a "stone" and a "bronze or iron" age. Almost from the earliest times we find traces of the art of working metal into small articles for use and ornament, as nails, bolts, rings, chains, bracelets, earrings, and fishhooks. The only metals so employed are gold, copper, tin, lead, and iron: the absence of silver deserves notice: a bronze of copper and tin is also used. Of textile fabrics we must not expect to find many remains; but the delicately striped and fringed dresses seen on the most ancient signet cylinders confirm the fame of those "goodly Babylonish garments," which had been imported into Palestine, and which Achan coveted, in the time of Joshua. Linen is said to have been found adhering to some of the skeletons; and their heads rest on a sort of tasseled cushion.*

There is reason to believe that an extensive commerce was carried on from the ports of the Persian Gulf, along the course of the Euphrates, and by caravans across the Syrian Desert, and that the Phœnicians obtained ivory and other Indian products by way of Babylon.

It is, however, by their cultivation of arithmetic and astronomy, and the application of these sciences to the uses of common life, that the Chaldæans have left the most permanent impress upon all succeeding ages. To say nothing of the probability that they devised the system of mapping out and naming the stars, which was already known to Job, it is to their astronomical records that we owe the existence of any approach to a trustworthy chronology of those remote ages; while all the systems of weights and measures used throughout the civilized world, down to the present time, are based more or less upon that which they invented.† Their inscriptions, which contain some very curious arith-

* For further details on all these points, see Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. ch. v., from which the above account is abridged.

† For a full account of this system, and its relations to those of other nations, the reader is referred to *Böckh's Metrologische Untersuchungen*, to the review of that work

metical tables, perpetuate their simple and natural form of decimal notation, in which, as in the Roman, new signs are used for 10, 50, 100, and 1000. But they also used the sexagesimal scale, which unites the advantages of the decimal and duodecimal; and, as we have already had occasion to mention, their denominations of numerical quantity advance by multiples of 10 and 6 alternately.

Astronomical science seems to have been the chief portion of the learning which was handed down by the Chaldæan priests as an hereditary possession. Like the Egyptians, they enjoyed a clear sky and an unbounded horizon; and they seem to have cultivated astronomy independently, and even more successfully than the kindred race. There is reason to believe that they mapped out the Zodiac, invented the nomenclature which we still use for the seven days of the week,* divided the day into equinoctial hours, as distinguished from the hours of variable length which depend on sunrise and sunset, and measured time by the water-clock. Ptolemy has preserved notices of the great accuracy of their observations, especially in the calculation of a lunar eclipse in B.C. 721. Connected with their astronomy and star-worship, they had an elaborate system of judicial astrology.

But all these matters, however interesting, belong rather to a scientific discussion of their antiquities than to a strictly historical work. The reader who desires to master the whole subject must peruse those recent works to which we have throughout acknowledged our obligations, and which have lifted the corner of that veil which we may hope to see more completely withdrawn from this most ancient scene in the history of the world, when the vast mass of existing inscriptions shall have been deciphered.

by Mr. Grote, in the *Classical Museum*, vol. i., and to the articles on Weights and Measures, in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, 2nd edition.

* This nomenclature was based on the idea that each hour of the day was governed by a planet, and each day by the governor of its first hour; and from this one the day received its name. In the Solar System, commonly called the "Ptolemaic," the planets are placed round the earth (as a centre), in the following order, *reckoning inwards*:—(1) Saturn, (2) Jupiter, (3) Mars, (4) The Sun, (5) Venus, (6) Mercury, (7) The Moon. The Chaldæan week seems to have begun with *Saturday*, its first hour and first day being sacred to *Saturn*, the star whose sphere embraced all the rest, the symbol of the god Bel; but it makes no difference where we begin. Then, reckoning in the above order, the 25th hour falls to the *Sun*, and this is the first hour of *Sunday*; the first of the next day, *Monday*, falls to the *Moon*; of *Tuesday* to *Mars*; of *Wednesday* to *Mercury*; of *Thursday* to *Jupiter*; and of *Friday* to *Venus*. The matter is fully discussed by Archdeacon Hare, in the *Philological Museum*, vol. i.

We have now to turn our eyes to the great ASSYRIAN MONARCHY, which we find established on the ruins of the Old Babylonian Empire, at the close of the period of 245 years (B.C. 1518—1273), which Berosus assigns to his Fifth Dynasty of Arabians.

Its original seat was on the upper course of the Tigris, where the district about Nineveh, in the angle between the Tigris and its confluent, the Great Zab, preserved the ancient name in the dialectic form, Aturia. With the growing power of the kingdom, the name of Assyria was extended to the whole of Upper Mesopotamia, between Mounts Masius and Zagros, on the north and east, the Euphrates on the west, and the natural line which divides it from the alluvial level on the south. This region has a much more varied surface and a cooler climate than the Chaldæan plain. The greater part of it consists of undulating pastures, diversified by woodlands, and watered by the numerous confluents of the Tigris; but the valleys furnish arable soil almost as rich as the Chaldæan plain itself; and the natural products of the two regions are not very different. On the north and east, the country assumes an Alpine character.

The Book of Genesis contains the record of the primeval foundation of this kingdom at NINEVEH.* Though the text is obscure on one point, it clearly derives the kingdom of Asshur from that of Nimrod; and all our information tends to the same result, namely that, though the Assyrian people were Semitic, the dynasty was Chaldæan. The traditions preserved by the Greeks make Ninus the son of Belus, and Semiramis the daughter of Derceto, and represent the Babylonian religion as established in Assyria; while the local tradition of the present day, with its usual strange fidelity to hidden facts, connects the name of Nimrod with the ancient remains of Assyria as well as of Babylonia. We have seen that the newly discovered records represent Assyria as a vice-royalty under the Chaldæan empire; and the subjugation of the latter by the Arabs (about B.C. 1273) would give the former the fairest opportunity of rising to an independent state. It is not till much later still that we have trustworthy accounts of Assyrian history, and we need only glance at the mythical legends with which the Greek writers fill up the interval.

These legends represent the rapid rise of a great conquering power, under a mighty king, and a mightier queen, who derive their lineage from the gods, and whose degenerate successors grow

* Gen. ix. 11 : comp. p. 45.

feebler and feebler till the last of them perishes by a fate worthy of the catastrophe of a Greek tragedy. NINUS, son of Belus, is the "hero eponymus" of the Empire.* The warrior queen, SEMIRAMIS, daughter of the goddess Derceto, is one of those impersonations of masculine energy in a female form, in which the Oriental imagination delighted;† while the last of her descendants, SARDANAPALUS, is a man whose effeminate character completes the contrast between the close of the dynasty and its commencement, but who yet knows how to die with courage worthy of a king. The acts ascribed to these sovereigns may be related in a few words. Ninus, having revolted from the King of Babylon, whom he takes prisoner and puts to death, overruns Armenia, Asia Minor, and the shores of the Euxine as far as the Tanais, subdues the Medes and Persians, and makes war upon the Bactrians. Semiramis, the wife of one of the chief nobles, coming to the camp before Bactra, takes the city by a bold stroke. Her courage wins the love of Ninus, and she becomes his queen. On his death (according to one account, by her own hand) she succeeds to the throne, and undertakes the conquest of India with one of those armies which Oriental imagination numbered by millions; but she is utterly defeated by the Indian king, Stabobrates.‡ To these two sovereigns the Greek tradition ascribed nearly all the great works on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. Ninus built Nineveh, on a scale so vast that it might surpass any city that should ever be erected; and the great pyramid outside its walls formed his tomb. To Semiramis were ascribed the edifices of Babylon, the canals, the dykes along the rivers, and most of the other great works in Babylonia as well as Assyria. Her personal character seems to be the ideal of a female demigod according to the Oriental standard, to which history exhibits an occasional approach. Founded on the characteristics which we see in Derceto, Astarte, and Dido, she exhibits also some of the qualities of Catherine of Russia. The stories of her amours are doubtless connected with a well known aspect of Oriental mythology; and, in later times, many of the mounds which covered ruined cities were called the graves of the lovers of Semiramis.

Ninyas,§ the feeble son of Ninus and Semiramis, is the head of

* His name is evidently derived from that of Nineveh. It does not occur in Scripture or in the native records; for it has no connection with Nimrod.

† Semiramis (from *Shem* and *Ram*) signifies *the exalted name*.

‡ This name is said to be the Sanskrit *Stavarapatis*, that is, *Lord of the Terra Firma*.

§ This name is simply a patronymic from Ninus.

a degenerate race, of whom nothing worth notice is recorded till we come to the end of the monarchy and the death of Sardanapalus. This last king of Assyria, says the legend, abandoned all care for his falling empire, and, shutting himself up in his palace with his women, passed his time in effeminate luxury. But when Arbaces, the satrap of Media, and Belesis, the chief of the Chaldæan priests of Babylon, marched against him in leagued rebellion, he suddenly took the field, and, after performing prodigies of valour, was defeated, and besieged in Nineveh for two years. When further resistance became impossible, Sardanapalus collected all his treasures, with his wives and concubines, on a vast funeral pile, and then ascending it and setting it on fire with his own hand, he perished in the conflagration of his palace. The date assigned to this catastrophe (about B.C. 876) is full two centuries and a half before the fall of Nineveh, nor did the latter event take place under a Sardanapalus. If the story has any historical foundation, it represents a confusion of two very different and distant revolutions. But in truth its complexion is wholly mythical, the character and fate of Sardanapalus representing those of the androgynous deity Sandon, as plainly as Semiramis corresponds to the goddess Derceto.

The kernel of historic fact enveloped in this legend is the early foundation of an independent Assyrian kingdom, at or near Nineveh, during the period of the Arab domination in Babylonia, and the spread of its rule, first over the latter country, and afterwards over the adjacent regions; the subsequent decline of the empire, though by no means with so rapid and steady a degeneracy, and its final overthrow by the Medes and Babylonians.

Light has been thrown upon the chaos of these traditions, and the hope of historic certainty held forth, as in the case of the early Babylonian empire, by recent discoveries in cuneiform literature. From these, compared with the fragments of Berosus, the notices in Scripture history, and the scattered indications of the classical writers, we learn to distinguish two great periods in the history of Assyria, divided by the first temporary establishment of Babylonian independence. This epoch is that known in chronology as the *Era of Nabonassar*, B.C. 747. It separates the Assyrian kingdom into the Upper and Lower Dynasties, corresponding respectively to the Sixth and Seventh Dynasties of Berosus.* The former, reckoning from the establishment of their power over

* See the Table at p. 196.

all Mesopotamia by the overthrow of the Arab dynasty in Chaldæa, ruled for more than 500 years * (B.C. 1273—747); the latter for about 120 years only (B.C. 747—625). †

The annals of the Upper Dynasty, however curious as an antiquarian problem awaiting a fuller solution, have little to do with the general course of history. It was, as we have already seen, at *Kileh-Shergat* (the ancient Asshur), about 60 miles south of Nineveh, that Shamas-iva, the son of the Babylonian king Ismi-Dagon, erected a temple. Hence it has been inferred that this city was the capital under the Chaldæan viceroys; and that it remained so under the earliest independent kings of Assyria seems probable from the appearance of their names on bricks and fragments of pottery found among the ruins. These mere names, Bel-lush, Pudil, Iva-lush, and Shalma-bar or Shalma-rish, represent all our knowledge of the Assyrian kingdom during the thirteenth century B.C.; and it is admitted that even the names are rendered very doubtful by certain peculiarities of the cuneiform writing.

A second series of six kings are supposed to belong to the succeeding century and a half (about B.C. 1200—1050). Five of their names are found on the famous Kileh-Shergat cylinder, "the earliest document of a purely historical character which has as yet been recovered by the researches pursued in Mesopotamia." ‡ Here we meet, for the first time, with the afterwards famous name of TIGLATH-PILESER (the Tiger Lord of Asshur),§ who celebrates the deeds of his four predecessors. The first of these, to whom he ascribes the earliest organization of the empire, seems to have NIN for the essential part of his name, so that in him we may probably trace the historic prototype of Ninus. The two succeeding kings are named as prosperous rulers over Assyria; but there is no mention of any foreign conquests till the reign of Tiglath-Pileser's father, "the powerful king, the subduer of foreign countries, he who reduced all the lands of the Magian world." A more definite account is given of the conquests of Tiglath-Pileser I. himself, during his first five years. On the north and east he extended his power over the highlands of Armenia and Media; on the

* Herodotus (i. 95) gives the period as 520 years; Berosus, more exactly, as 526. The longer chronology of Ctesias is quite untrustworthy.

† This date seems now to be established for the destruction of Nineveh, instead of the formerly received epoch of B.C. 606.

‡ Rawlinson, Essay vii. to Book i. of Heredotus, § 7.

§ *Tiglath* or *Diglath*, the Assyrian for *tiger*, is used both as a royal title, and as the name of the river Tigris. The letters *l* and *r* are the most easily interchangeable of all.

north-west he pushed his conquests as far as Cappadocia; and on the west and south-west he appears to have subdued the Aramæan tribes of Upper Mesopotamia, and those along the course of the Euphrates down to the confines of Babylonia.* But the latter state, under its king Merodach-adan-akhi, was still so powerful as not only to resist the arms of Tiglath-Pileser, but even to make a successful invasion of Assyria. We learn this interesting fact from a monument set up by Sennacherib, which also seems to fix the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I. to the end of the twelfth century, B.C.† His son, Asshur-bani-pal I., whose name occurs in an inscription in the British Museum, closes the series of the six kings under whom Assyria seems to have become an empire.

After a brief gap, the monuments supply us with continuous information to the end of the dynasty, a period of just three hundred years, during which eight kings handed down the sceptre from father to son in an unbroken line (B.C. 1050).‡ They appear to have reigned still at Kileh-Shergat, till the fifth of them transferred the capital to Calah, another city of the original Assyrian tetrapolis.§ In the name of this king, ASSHUR-DANI-PAL, we recognise the SARDANAPALUS of the Greeks; but, as we have seen in the case of Sesostris, the historic prototype has no necessary identity with the traditional personage to whom he has furnished a name. The true Sardanapalus was the mightiest conqueror of the Upper Dynasty; and, instead of falling a victim to the power of the King of Babylon, it was he who first added Babylonia to the Assyrian Empire.‖ On the opposite side, his conquests were pushed—to use the words of his own monuments—"to Lebanon and the Great Sea," and the kings of all the chief Phœnician cities paid him tribute. Among these, as Professor Rawlinson thinks, was Eth-baal, the father of Jezebel.

Sardanapalus is the first known of the Assyrian kings who left behind them those great works of architecture which, lately disinterred from their mounds of shapeless ruin, have restored the monarchy to its true place in the history of the world. For while these palaces confirm by their magnitude the traditional splendour

* Respecting the claim of conquests in Egypt by Tiglath-Pileser, and the still earlier establishment there of Assyrian dynasties (the Twenty-second and Twenty-third), see chap. vii. pp. 125, 126.

† Professor Rawlinson assigns his accession to B.C. 1113.

‡ Such is the apparent testimony of the monuments; but the average length of the reigns is too great to be accepted without confirmation.

§ Its ruins are at *Nimrud*, forty miles to the north of Kileh-Shergat.

‖ We shall soon see, however, that the conquest was not yet permanently effected.

of the Assyrian kings, the scenes pourtrayed in sculpture on the walls exhibit a vivid picture of their life in war and peace. The life, we mean, of the kings, not that of the people, who only appear as fighting the battles of the monarchs, swelling the pomp of their processions, or serving as beasts of burthen in the transport of their colossal monuments. Those invaluable records of private life, which are preserved for us in the wall-paintings of the Egyptian tombs, are wanting here; for, as we might have expected, the scenes pourtrayed on these palace walls are all for the glorification of the king. We see him clothed with the symbolic attributes and wielding the thunderbolts of the gods whose names he bore; leading forth his armies to war, crossing great rivers, storming cities by the aid of the embankment, the testudo, the boring spear, and the battering ram; returning in triumph with hosts of captives, some of whom are dragged along by rings which pierce the lip, others are impaled in long rows, and others flayed alive. Elsewhere he appears in the chase, piercing the lion in a close encounter, or pursuing the swift wild-ass; and again we behold him superintending the transport, by multitudes of captives, of those colossal statues, half man and half bull or lion, which have now been placed in our own museums by the energy and tact with which modern travellers have used free labour.

In the Assyrian, as in the Egyptian sculptures, the king is distinguished from the common herd by his colossal stature, the fit emblem of his place in those Asiatic despotisms, to which popular rights and liberties were unknown. As in the case of the Egyptian monuments, we must be content to refer the reader for details to the works of Assyrian antiquaries, especially of Mr. Layard, and to the rich collection of Assyrian sculptures which the British Museum owes chiefly to him.* A great number of these sculptures were found in the north-west palace of Nimrud, which was erected by Sardanapalus, and is only surpassed by the palace of Sennacherib at Koyunjik.† This king was also the builder of temples both at Calah and Nineveh.

The interest of these works of architecture is surpassed, at least for the student of history, by a monument of Shalmanubar (or

* This is written for English readers; but an equally emphatic mention is due to the labours of M. Botta and the collection of Assyrian antiquities in the Louvre.

† For a full description of these palaces, with restorations, the reader is referred to the works of Mr. Layard and Professor Rawlinson. The plan, stated generally, comprised a vast central unroofed hall (suited to the public open-air life of the Orientals) surrounded by many chambers, some magnificent, others very small and dark.

Shalmaneser), the son of Sardanapalus, which was brought by Mr. Layard from Nimrud, and deposited in the British Museum. It is an obelisk in black basalt, about seven feet high and two feet wide at the base, sculptured with a few bas-reliefs, and an inscription containing 210 lines of fine clear writing.* It records a long series of victories achieved during thirty-one years of this king's reign, and presents us incidentally with a picture of the political state of Western Asia at the beginning of the ninth century B.C., the period marked in Israel by the reign and fall of Ahab and his dynasty.

On the coast of the Mediterranean, the Phœnicians pay tribute to Assyria. The power of Syria is at its height, upheld by a great league between the kings of Hamath (in Cœle-Syria) and Damascus,† and the confederacy of the Khatti or Hittites, who are so often seen at war with the kings of Egypt; and the monument confirms all that we read in Scripture about the war-chariots of these nations. Northern Syria and Upper Mesopotamia are occupied by various tribes, all subject to the Assyrians, whose power extends to the Tuplai (Tibareni) in Cappadocia. On the south, the "Accad" and "Kaldai" of Babylonia, and the Tsukhi (Shuhites?) higher up the Euphrates, own the same subjection. Beyond the mountain tribes of Zagros, a large part of Media has been subdued;‡ and the appearance of the two-humped Bactrian camel on the bas-reliefs has been thought to confirm the legend of the conquest of Bactria by Ninus and Semiramis. It may be, however, that the animal then ranged further westward. The chief interest of the record, however, consists in its mention of the earliest relations between Assyria and the Holy Land. The Black Obelisk King made several campaigns against the Syrian confederacy already mentioned. In his fourteenth year he defeated Benhadad II. in three great battles; and in his eighteenth year he followed Hazael into Antilibanus and routed him with great slaughter, and soon afterwards the Syrian king appears as his tributary. But the inscription, moreover, mentions the tribute of gold and silver brought to the conqueror by "Yahua, the son of Khumri," a name in which no one can fail

* A translation has been published by Dr. Hincks in the *Dublin University Magazine* for October, 1853.

† The name of *Ben-hadad* has been distinctly made out, but in the form *Ben-idri*, which corresponds to the Υἱὸς Ἀδερ of the LXX. The same interchange of *d* and *r* is seen in the name Hadadezer or Hadarezer (2 Sam. viii. 3—12, compared with 1 Chron. xviii. 3—10).

‡ Whether the Persians are mentioned is doubtful. The numerous tribes of the

to recognise "Jehu, the son of Omri." * The subsequent devastation of Israel by Hazael may have been an act of revenge for this submission. It was under Shalmanubar that Nineveh recovered the position of a royal city, though the king resided chiefly at Calah, where he built that which is known as the central palace of Nimrud.

The end of Shalmanubar's reign is calculated as having occurred about B.C. 850. In the interval of more than a century to the supposed date of the end of the dynasty (B.C. 747), we have the names of only two kings. Shamas-iva, the second son of Shalmanubar, earned the succession by putting down a great rebellion of his elder brother Sardanapalus. He recorded on an obelisk the campaigns of his first four years, the most important of which was against the king of Babylon, whose mixed army of Chaldæans, Elamites, and Syrians, was utterly defeated by Shamas-iva.

The obscure annals of Iva-lush III. derive a peculiar interest from their supposed connexion with the Jewish history, on the one hand, and, on the other, with the legends of Semiramis. He continued that course of conquest to the west, which had now become the chief enterprise of the Assyrian kings. The mention, on one of his monuments, of the *Khumri*,† in connexion with the people of Phœnicia, Damascus, and Idumæa, as his tributaries, suggests his identification with PUL,‡ who received tribute from Menahem, king of Israel, about B.C. 770. Another inscription gives us the name of Semiramis, who thus emerges from the region of mythology as the wife of Iva-lush, and apparently his associate in the government. This discovery confirms the date assigned by Herodotus to Semiramis, and it is not inconsistent with his making Semiramis a Babylonian princess. For we have now reached a point at which the history of Babylonia becomes closely connected with that of Assyria, as will be seen presently, when we come to speak of the later Babylonian kingdom. It will suffice for the present to say that the probable connexion between the end of the Upper Assyrian Dynasty and the rise of a new power at Babylon

Bartsu or *Partsu*, in the mountains south-east of Armenia, might perhaps be the Parthians, but they are clearly the Persians in the inscriptions of Sennacherib.

* The erroneous patronymic is explained by Dr. Hincks as referring to Jehu's being king of Samaria, the city of Omri. Professor Rawlinson supposes that Jehu represented himself as belonging to Omri's dynasty, a sort of claim very common with usurpers.

† This is interpreted, as before, to mean the people of Samaria.

‡ The form in the LXX is Phaloch or Phalos; and the Belochus of Eusebius seems to be the same.

under Nabonassar has caused the former event to be placed at the "Era of Nabonassar" (B.C. 747).*

The Lower Assyrian Dynasty begins with TIGLATH-PILESER II. Of the manner of his accession we have no trustworthy accounts; but the absence of all reference to his ancestors in his inscriptions is thought to imply that he was an usurper, and not of royal birth. We possess tablets inscribed with his annals for seventeen years, in a very fragmentary state. Besides campaigns in Upper Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Media, he carried on two wars of much historical importance. The first of these, to which we shall recur presently, was against Babylon; the other against Syria and Israel. In the preceding chapter we saw how Ahaz, king of Judah, pressed by the confederacy of Rezin and Pekah, obtained the aid of Tiglath-Pileser, who slew Rezin and destroyed the Syrian kingdom of Damascus, and afterwards carried the eastern and some of the northern Israelites into captivity. The Assyrian king's monuments record the expedition as made in the eighth year of his reign (B.C. 740).

This first captivity of Israel was soon followed by their last war with SHALMANESER, whose name has not been found on the monuments. The capture of Samaria, which the Scripture narrative appears to ascribe (though not positively) to Shalmaneser, is claimed by his successor SARGON, or Sargina, the father of Sennacherib, as an exploit of the first year of his reign. It seems probable that Sargon was an usurper, who took advantage of Shalmaneser's absence at the siege of Samaria to seize the throne. As he appears systematically to have erased Shalmaneser's name from the monuments, he is not unlikely to have claimed a conquest which the latter may have been effecting at the very moment of his own usurpation. At all events, the inscription serves to fix the accession of Sargon to B.C. 721. He reigned nineteen years; and his extant annals extend over fifteen. They are derived chiefly from the splendid palace which he built, as he himself tells us, near Nineveh, and the ruins of which at Khorsabad have supplied the museum of the Louvre with its choicest remains of Assyrian antiquity.†

These monuments show Sargon to have been one of the greatest

* The difficulties as to the chronology are discussed by Professor Rawlinson (*Herod.* Essay vii. to Book i.). The date is at all events correct within twenty years.

† *Khorsabad* is fifteen miles N. by E. of *Koyunjik*, the site of the true Nineveh. Sargon gave the place his own name, which it retained down to the Arab conquest, in the form of *Dur Sargina*.

of Assyrian conquerors. Immediately after the capture of Samaria, he marched in person against Babylon, and perhaps set Merodach-Baladan on the throne. At a later period we find him making war with the Chaldæans, and driving Merodach-Baladan into banishment. On the south-west, his defeat of the Philistines in a great battle at Raphia, and his capture of their five cities, laid open the frontier of Egypt, whose king paid tribute to Sargon * (B.C. 715). Later in his reign he took Ashdod † and Tyre, and received tribute from the Greeks of Cyprus, where a statue of Sargon, set up at Idalium, proves that he made an expedition into the island, either in person or by his generals. He continued the wars of his predecessors in the mountainous regions of the north-west and north; while, on the east, the conquest of Media, so often attempted before, supplied him with a territory in which to plant the captives from Samaria. The closer intercourse of Assyria with Egypt at this period is marked by a decidedly Egyptian influence on the architecture, pottery, glass-making, and other arts of Assyria.‡

The reign of SENNACHERIB, the son of Sargon (B.C. 702—680), is at once the most interesting, in an historical point of view, of all in the Assyrian annals, and that at which the empire reached the highest pitch of prosperity. Besides all that we read of him in Scripture, and the brief notices of the ancient historians, we possess his own annals for the first eight years of his reign.§ He restored Nineveh to its position as the royal residence; rebuilt the city and its palaces by the labour of hosts of captives, and with materials contributed by all the subject kings and states; and added a palace exceeding in size and magnificence all that had been erected by former kings. It was amidst the ruins of this edifice at *Koyunjik* that Mr. Layard made the most important of his discoveries; and in the sculptures that lined its walls we see the life of Assyria when it was most flourishing.

A second palace built by Sennacherib is buried beneath the mound, by the name of which tradition bears her witness to

* This king, who is simply called *Pharaoh* in the inscription, was either Sabaco I. or Sabaco II. of the twenty-fifth or Ethiopian dynasty. The cartouche of one of the Sabacos, evidently the impression of a ring, has been found at Koyunjik, side by side with the seal of an Assyrian king, probably in ratification of a treaty.

† Compare Isaiah xx.

‡ The earliest known specimen of transparent glass in Assyria is a small bottle found at Nimrud, bearing the name of Sargon.—Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 197.

§ A separate tablet mentions his twenty-second year; and various proofs concur to show that this was the true length of his reign.

Jonah's mission to the Ninevites.* Like his predecessors, Sennacherib was engaged in constant wars with the tribes round the northern and eastern frontiers of Assyria; but by far the most interesting events in his annals are the campaigns against Babylon and the countries of the west. Of the former we shall speak presently: the latter are recorded with a minuteness which affords the most interesting parallel between sacred and secular history.

It was in the third year of his reign (B.C. 700) that, having previously subdued Babylonia and Upper Mesopotamia, the king crossed the Euphrates, and received the submission of the cities of Syria, Phœnicia, Philistia, and Idumæa, in most cases without a struggle: Judæa seems to have been regarded as already in complete subjection. His successes in Philistia provoked the resistance of the kings of Egypt, who were the dependent allies of the King of Meroë; † and Hezekiah seems to have availed himself of their advance to show symptoms of revolt, by encouraging a rising among the Philistines. Having utterly defeated the Egyptians near Lachish, and taken that city and Libnah, Sennacherib proceeded to chastise Judæa, taking forty-six fenced cities, and carrying off 200,000 captives. On his laying siege to Jerusalem, Hezekiah agreed to pay a tribute of 300 talents of silver and thirty talents of gold, besides rich presents. His submission was accepted; but he was deprived of a part of his land, which was given to the princes of Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza. Whether after all these successes the army of the Assyrian came to the disastrous end recorded in Scripture, or whether, as seems more probable, that catastrophe closed a second expedition against Egypt and Judæa, is still a question. In any case we should not expect so calamitous an event to be mentioned in the royal annals. Nor is there any ground for supposing that the death of Sennacherib followed immediately on his flight home. The Scripture narrative says expressly that "he returned and dwelt at Nineveh," and his monuments attest that he continued to decorate his palaces and to make war upon the tribes of Armenia and Media. It was among the former that his two sons found a refuge, after they had murdered their father in the temple of Nisroch, a deed respecting which the monuments are again naturally silent.

Sennacherib was succeeded by his son ESAR-HADDON (B.C. 680),

* *Nebbi-Yunus*, that is, the *Prophet Jonah*. This is not the place to enter into the question of Jonah's date.

† This statement throws light on the probable condition of Egypt under the Ethiopian Dynasty. See chap. vii. p. 127.

the Asshur-akh-iddina of the inscriptions, who reigned in person at Babylon as well as Nineveh.* His inscriptions claim victories over the Egyptians, and over the old enemies on the confines of Assyria. He was probably, as we have seen, the king who colonized the waste lands of Samaria with settlers from Babylonian cities, a proceeding which implies the treatment of Babylonia, to some extent, as a conquered province. This agrees with the mention of a war in Susiana against a son of Merodach-Baladan. Like his two predecessors, Esar-haddon was a magnificent builder. Besides extensive repairs of former edifices, he erected the south-west palace of Nimrud, and one of those at Nebbi-Yunus, which he styles "the palace of the pleasures of all the year." His inscriptions record the aid he received in these works from the kings of Syria, Judah, and Phœnicia, and even from the princes of the Greek cities of Cyprus, not only in materials but in the services of skilled artists. The bas-reliefs of his palaces show that freer and more graceful style which had already begun to modify the old archaic stiffness of Greek art. We have already seen the same influences at work in Egypt under Psammetichus, who was contemporary with the later years of Esar-haddon. But in Assyria, as in many other countries, the fine arts culminated just as the power of the empire was dying out, under Sardanapalus (Asshur-bani-pal II.), the son of Esar-haddon.

The causes of the rapid decline of the Assyrian power may be traced in the nature of the empire, as it is exhibited to us in the records of the Lower Dynasty, and especially when at its height, under Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon. Nominally including the whole of Western Asia from the river Halys and the Mediterranean to the Desert of Iran, and from the Caspian and the mountains of Armenia to Arabia and the Persian Gulf, it was utterly wanting in unity, even of administration. It embraced a number of small kingdoms, and of cities and tribes under many petty chieftains, who were bound to pay tribute and render personal homage to the sovereign, and to give a free passage to his troops.† But this duty was limited by the king's power to enforce it; nor would the yoke be made more welcome by the severe measures used to suppress revolt,—the destruction of cities and the cruel execution of their defenders,—forays in which men and cattle were carried off by tens and hundreds of thousands,—the deportation of whole nations, to labour as captives on the king's buildings, or to

* This accounts for Manasseh's being carried captive to *Babylon*, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

† Military service in the armies of Assyria does not seem to have been required.

mourn as exiles beside the waters of a strange land. The Assyrian armies marched back when they had inflicted these chastisements, and there was no military occupation of the conquered countries.* The fabric of the empire was a web of Penelope, ever undoing and beginning again. We have seen even the most powerful kings constantly renewing the same wars with the same frontier tribes; and the accession of a weak ruler was the signal for the resolution of the empire into its independent elements. The want of cohesion, however, among these scattered elements, secured the central government from a speedy overthrow; to effect this needed some concentrated power from without. Egypt threatened more than once to do the work; but the distance was too great, and her strength was unequal to the task. Babylon, the nearest neighbour of Assyria, was in a state of chronic disaffection, but her attempts at open revolt were speedily put down. At length a new power comes upon the stage, alien from Assyria in race and religion, and recently consolidated into a great nation. We have seen, from the very first, that the range of Mount Zagros, bordering the Tigris and Euphrates valley on the east, divided its Semitic and Hamite nations from the Aryan tribes of the tableland of Iran. The MEDES, who occupied the latter region, have often been mentioned among the peoples conquered by successive Assyrian kings; but these appear to have been only partial conquests made from time to time over separate tribes. We have yet to trace the history of the great Median nation, which, consolidated by Cyaxares, became the instrument for overthrowing the power of Assyria, and even blotting out her existence.†

The interval from the death of Esar-haddon to this catastrophe is exceedingly obscure. The Assyrian monuments have as yet supplied the names of only two kings. Asshur-bani-pal is supposed to have reigned from about B.C. 660 to about B.C. 640. The narrow limits of his recorded wars, in Susiana against the grandson of Merodach-Baladan, and in Armenia, indicate those within which the empire was contracted. His successor, Asshur-emit-ili, is only known as the builder of a palace at Nimrud, the comparative meanness of which gives a sign of the degradation of the monarchy. One cause of its rapid decline may be found in that great irruption of the Scythians into Western Asia, of which we shall have to speak further in the next chapter.

* How such countries were left to themselves, may be seen from the proceedings of Hezekiah and Josiah in Northern Palestine.

† See Chapter x.

From the former of these two kings the Greek writers, by a very natural confusion, obtained the name of that Sardanapalus, whose fate they have told so romantically. Berosus is said to have named Saracus as the king under whom Nineveh was destroyed; but it remains doubtful whether he is identical with Asshur-emit-ili, and indeed whether the latter was the last king of Assyria.

Of the events attending the fall of Nineveh and the empire the monuments contain no record, beyond the incontestable evidence of their own condition. "Calcined alabaster, masses of charred wood and charcoal, colossal statues split through with the heat, are met with in all parts of the Ninevite mounds, and attest the veracity of prophecy." * All bears witness to a conflagration of the palaces, which could only have attended on an utter destruction of the monarchy, and tends so far to confirm the details which we only possess on the doubtful authority of Ctesias, and the more trustworthy narrative which Abydenus professes to have borrowed from Berosus.† He tells us that Saracus, being alarmed by the news of forces advancing against him from the sea,‡ sent Nabo-polassar to take the command at Babylon. The latter seized the opportunity to rebel, and formed an alliance with the Median king.§ The united armies of the Medes, Chaldæans, and Babylonians marched against Nineveh; and Saracus, after a brief defence, retired to his palace, to which he set fire with his own hand, and perished, like Zimri,‖ in the conflagration. Ctesias assigns a duration of two years to the siege, and ascribes its success to an inundation of the Tigris, which swept away a part of the city wall. The prophet Nahum seems to indicate an entrance by the river gates, such as led to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. A similar false security may easily have led to a similar catastrophe.

The destruction of the empire and its capital were alike complete. Nineveh was not even permitted to become, like Babylon in later times, a capital of the conquering monarchy. Her ruin appears to have been hastened by the nature of the city, which seems only to have deserved the name in virtue of her palaces and temples. The

* Rawlinson, *Herod.* vol. i. p. 488; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 71, 103, 121, &c.; Nahum ii. 13, iii. 13, 15. The predictions of the fall of Nineveh and Assyria by Nahum and Zephaniah are so exact as to have a real *historic* value.

† See the fragment in Eusebius, *Chron.* part i. c. 9.

‡ Rawlinson takes these for the Chaldæans and Susianians, who are known to have been in revolt during the preceding reign.

§ Both Abydenus and Polyhistor call this king Astyages; but the order of the Median history proves that it was Cyaxares.

‖ 1 Kings xvi. 18.

great mounds which are scattered over a space of about sixty miles from north to south along the course of the Tigris, above the confluence of the Great Zab, are found to contain the remains of palaces and temples, within enclosures as large as some cities. The spaces within these enclosures are strewn with fragments of pottery and other objects, undoubted signs of human habitation, but all traces of private houses have vanished. As the kings glorified only themselves in their sculptures, so they built for themselves alone; and the houses of unburnt brick which were scattered probably far and wide about their palaces, would soon return to dust. This circumstance has made it almost impossible to identify the true site of Nineveh, the knowledge of which had been lost as early as the time of Herodotus. No traces remain (as at Babylon) of the vast enclosures of the immense city which the ancient writers ascribed to Ninus. It seems most probable that the people dwelt in scattered villages among the several groups of palaces built by successive kings on elevated platforms, and that these latter alone were fortified. Of these edifices four chief groups are marked by as many mounds, on or near the left bank of the Tigris, not including *Kileh-Shergat* (the supposed ancient Asshur), which lies on the right bank, much farther to the south. These are *Nimrud* (Calah) above the confluence of the Great Zab, with the smaller mound of *Selamiyeh* a little further to the north; *Koyunjik* and *Nebby-Yunus*, opposite Mosul; *Shereef-Khan*, about five and a half miles further north; and *Khorsabad*, about ten miles N. by E. of Shereef-Khan. Considering the scattered mode of building Oriental cities, it is by no means improbable that all this area may have been included in the widest extent of the name of Nineveh, and such a supposition would explain the description of the prophet Jonah: "Now Nineveh was an exceeding great city of *three days' journey*." * But the name must have had originally a more definite meaning; and in this sense it probably belonged to the group of mounds opposite *Mosul*, which was at all events the Nineveh of Sennacherib's great palace. Here the mounds of *Koyunjik* and *Nebby-Yunus* are enclosed within a well-marked line of once strong fortifications, the circuit of which is about seven and a half miles, quite large enough for a primitive city, though far smaller than the Nineveh of tradition.

We must leave to the writers on Assyrian antiquities the

* Jonah iii. 3. That this is no mere hyperbole is evident from the specific statement that "Jonah began to enter into the city, *a day's journey*," in his first preaching.

description of the state of art and civilization attested by the Assyrian remains. The whole is summed up by Professor Rawlinson in the following terms: "With much that was barbaric still attaching to them, with a rude and inartificial government, savage passions, a debasing religion, and a general tendency to materialism, they were, towards the close of their empire, in all the arts and appliances of life, very nearly on a par with ourselves; and thus their history furnishes a warning, which the records of nations constantly repeat, that the greatest material prosperity may coexist with the decline—and herald the downfall—of a kingdom." *

It is now time to look back to the former seat of empire on the lower course of the Euphrates, and to trace the steps by which old Babylon regained the imperial state, which she was destined to enjoy but for a comparatively short time. Her eclipse, overshadowed even when not entirely subdued by Assyria, lasted for about 650 years (B.C. 1273—625); her recovered greatness, surpassing all her predecessors, under the dynasty of Nabopolassar, perished before the power of Persia after only 87 years (B.C. 625—538). But before the beginning of this last period, she had risen into importance under the Lower Assyrian Dynasty, the accession of which we have seen to coincide with the new state of things at Babylon marked by the era of Nabonassar (B.C. 747). A few words will suffice to describe what is known of Babylon under the two Assyrian dynasties, as a preface to the brief and brilliant period of her true historical importance.

The confusion between the earliest history of Assyria and Babylonia, in the Greek traditions, is but very partially unravelled by the Assyrian records. We only learn from them, that when the Assyrians obtained that supremacy which the Arabs had wrested from Babylon, the latter did not sink into a mere subject condition. Unfortunately the native records of the period are lost, having been destroyed, Berosus tells us, by Nabonassar, and thus the Assyrian history absorbs that of both states. But even the

* Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Appendix to Book i., Essay vii., vol. i. p. 499. In the great uncertainty which still besets the science of cuneiform interpretation, we have closely followed the system developed in the above Essay, as upon the whole the most probable and consistent. Essays and discussions upon new discoveries made from time to time are contained in several recent numbers of the *Athenæum*. Among the writers whose views are either wholly or chiefly independent of the science of cuneiform interpretation, the most important are Niebuhr, in his *Lectures on Ancient History*, and Mr. Grote, in his *History of Greece*.

Assyrian records of the Upper Dynasty represent Babylon as a very powerful and troublesome neighbour under her native kings, who are even seen as successful invaders of the northern empire. Her position is, in one word, truly described by Professor Rawlinson :—"During the whole time of the Upper Dynasty in Assyria, she was clearly the most powerful of all those kingdoms by which the Assyrian empire was surrounded."*

The Era of NABONASSAR (B.C. 747) seems to mark a political change at Babylon, but of what nature is quite uncertain. Its coincidence with the beginning of the Lower Dynasty in Assyria, and the mention of Semiramis as connected with both dynasties at this epoch, according to the computations of Herodotus, have suggested the theory that the old line, expelled by Tiglath-Pileser, established itself anew at Babylon; but this is no more than a conjecture. The successors, whom Ptolemy's Canon assigns to Nabonassar, are of no importance till we reach the fifth king, Mardocempalus, the MERODACH-BALADAN of Scripture, who sent an embassy of congratulation to Hezekiah on his recovery from sickness. This step implies designs on behalf of the independence of Babylon, for which the Assyrian inscriptions prove that Merodach-Baladan maintained a struggle against the mightiest kings of Assyria, Sargon and Sennacherib. Driven from Babylon by the former (B.C. 721), he appears to have recovered his throne only to be finally expelled by Sennacherib (B.C. 702), who inflicted on Babylonia all the cruelties that marked an Assyrian conquest, and set over the kingdom a viceroy named Belibus. The party of Merodach-Baladan, however, found support from the King of Susiania, till Sennacherib defeated him and overran Babylonia a second time, in his fourth year (B.C. 699).

An ensuing period of confusion is ended by Esar-haddon's assumption in his own person of the government of Babylonia (B.C. 680—667). He had still to maintain war against the sons of Merodach-Baladan and the Susianians. The final suppression of resistance furnishes a probable reason for his reverting to the plan of governing by viceroys, which seems to have continued till the last days of the Assyrian kingdom, though we are quite ignorant of the precise relation in which the rulers of Babylon stood to the latest kings of Assyria.

During all this period of subjection, the old Chaldæans never lost the spirit of independence; and the decline of Assyria, threatened

* Appendix to Book i. of *Herodotus*, Essay viii.

by the growth of the Median empire, at last gave them the opportunity of emancipation. The circumstances under which Babylon co-operated with the Medes in the last attack on Nineveh are only known by a doubtful tradition preserved by the Greek historian Abydenus, the outline of which has already been related. But, whatever may have been the mode by which Nabopolassar obtained his power, there is no doubt that he joined with the Medes in the capture of Nineveh, and received as his share of the spoil the undisputed possession of Babylonia, where he founded his short but brilliant dynasty (B.C. 625). The purely Babylonian names of Nabopolassar (Nabu-pal-uzur), Nebuchadnezzar,* and other kings of the line, and several circumstances of their history, confirm the accuracy of Berosus in calling them Chaldæans.† Their accession was therefore a restoration, though to a much wider dominion, of the old Hamite race, after its long eclipse by the Semitic Assyrians—a revolution not altogether unlike that by which Ardshir long afterwards wrested the Persian empire from the dominion of the Parthians.

This later Babylonian dynasty at no time held the undivided supremacy of Western Asia. The wider empire of the Medes enclosed it on the north and east like a great belt, reaching from the Persian Gulf to the river Halys in Asia Minor, to the west of which the Lydian kingdom was approaching the climax of its power.‡ Nineveh itself, with the upper course of the Tigris, fell to the share of the Mede; but, while he pushed forward his arms in Asia Minor, the whole region west of the Euphrates, as far as Egypt, lay open to Babylonian ambition.

The fall of Nineveh seems at once to have transferred to Babylon at least a nominal supremacy as far as the frontier of Egypt. But the latter power had been restored to new strength by the dynasty founded by Psammetichus; and she soon came forward to dispute with Babylon the possession of Syria and Palestine.

Meanwhile Nabopolassar consolidated his new kingdom during a reign of one-and-twenty years (B.C. 625—604). It is a reasonable supposition that his share of the captives carried away from Nineveh would at once increase the population of his kingdom and

* These names, like Nabonassar, are derived from the god Nebo.

† They form his Eighth Dynasty of six Chaldæan kings; see p. 196. Among the circumstances referred to in the text is the complete ascendancy of the Chaldæan *caste* at the court of Nebuchadnezzar, as seen in the book of Daniel.

‡ Respecting the rise, growth, and relations to each other of the Median and Lydian empires, see chapter x.

supply the labour to commence those great works at Babylon which were completed by Nebuchadnezzar. Nabopolassar took part, as the ally of Media, in the war between Cyaxares and the Lydian King Alyattes, and peace is said to have been restored by the mediation of a prince of Babylon (B.C. 610).

About the same time (B.C. 611), Neko ascended the throne of Egypt, a king eager to restore both the prosperity of the Pharaohs at home and their dominion abroad. His plan was to secure the frontier of the Euphrates by a rapid advance. We have seen how Josiah fell at Megiddo in attempting to oppose his march (B.C. 608); and he advanced, apparently without further resistance, to Carchemish on the Euphrates. Having garrisoned that place, Neko returned in triumph, and set up a new king at Jerusalem, as a tributary to himself. But in three years, these conquests were surrendered to the military prowess of Nebuchadnezzar, whom his father Nabopolassar sent against the Egyptians. Having defeated Neko in a great battle at Carchemish, he pressed forward to Jerusalem, received the submission of Jehoiakim, and reconquered all the lands to the borders of Egypt (B.C. 605—4). The death of Nabopolassar, during this campaign, recalled Nebuchadnezzar in haste to Babylon. His triumphant return was followed more slowly by hosts of captives, who were, as usual, settled throughout Babylonia.

With his "unbounded command of naked human strength,"* NEBUCHADNEZZAR† (B.C. 604) applied himself to those works which afterwards called forth his celebrated boast:—"Is not this Great Babylon, that I have built, for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?"‡ The ancient Greek writers, who have handed down to us a description of the city, tell us indeed that Nineveh was still vaster. But the splendour of Nineveh was to them a mere tradition; Babylon itself was seen, before it had lost nearly all its greatness, by Herodotus and Ctesias, from whom the later writers borrow their descriptions.

The city of Babel, which the Greeks called Babylon, was built in the great alluvial plain of Shinar, on the lower Euphrates, in about 32½ degrees of north latitude. It formed a regular square,

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii., p. 401.

† The prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel use the form Nebuchadrezzar, which is nearer to the original *Nabu-Kuduri-utzur*, that is, we are told, *Nebo is the protector against misfortune.*

‡ Daniel iv. 30.

facing nearly, but not exactly, the four cardinal points,* the river flowing through it diagonally from N.W. to S.E., and so dividing it into two nearly equal parts. Herodotus assigns to the circuit of the outer wall a length of 480 stadia, or 48 geographical miles, while Ctesias gives only 360 stadia, or 36 geographical miles. The former estimate would make the area of the city about 200 square miles; the latter about 130; the smaller number amounting to about five times the area of London. All the other estimates come so near the one or other of these two, as to show that each was supported by high authority, and almost to exclude the suspicion of mere guess-work. It has been suggested, that the statement of Herodotus refers to the outer wall, which may have still existed when he saw the city, but have disappeared by the time of Ctesias, whose dimensions would thus relate to the inner of the two walls mentioned by Herodotus. The existing ruins, near the Arab village of *Hillah*, furnish no sufficient means of testing the truth of this opinion. They consist of a number of mounds, some of enormous size, scattered over a vast surface on both sides of the river. The most remarkable of these, with one exception, lie within a comparatively small compass, on the left bank of the river, about five miles above Hillah.† Here, within a clearly marked enclosure, forming two sides of a square, with the river (roughly speaking) for a diagonal, are three great mounds, the *Babil*, the *Kasr* (or Castle), and that marked by the tomb of *Amram-ibn-'Alb*, which Oppert attempts to identify respectively with the great temple of Bel, the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, and his famous *Hanging Gardens.*‡ On the opposite side of the river, the striking conical mound of the *Birs-Nimrud* has been held traditionally to mark the Tower of Babel. Inscriptions found there are now supposed to identify it with the Temple of Belus, built or rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar at Borsippa; but without necessarily contradicting the old tradition. One important difference between Nineveh and Babylon is, that while the former was built almost entirely of crude brick, the latter exhibits vast masses of burnt brick, cemented by mineral bitumen. The most astound-

* The northern face inclined a little to the east.

† Hillah itself is on the right bank.

‡ The last is not at all probable. For the full description of the ruins, and the whole discussion of the topography of Babylon, the reader is referred to Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon;* Loftus's *Chaldæa;* Oppert's Maps and Plans; Rawlinson's *Herodotus,* vol. ii., Essay iv.; and the article *Babel* in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible.*

ing part of the ancient descriptions is the magnitude assigned to the outer walls, which Herodotus makes 200 royal cubits (about 338 feet) high and fifty royal cubits (about 85 feet) thick. The accounts of later writers are evidently designed extenuations of these numbers, which are not altogether incredible from what we know of the Oriental system of fortification, and the rude vastness aimed at by the early despotic kings.* These walls are described as strengthened by 250 towers, and pierced with 100 gates of brass, with brass posts and lintels. The main streets passed between the opposite gates, crossing one another at right angles. The river was lined by quays, and the streets which abutted upon them were closed with brazen gates, which were shut at night. They played an important part in the capture of the city by Cyrus. Among the prophetic allusions to these fortifications, the most striking is that of Jeremiah :—"The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be burnt with fire." † The two parts of the city were connected by a stone bridge, 1000 yards long and 30 feet wide, at each end of which was a fortified royal palace.

Most of these great works were ascribed by tradition to Belus and Semiramis, to whom Herodotus adds a queen Nitocris, apparently about the time of Nebuchadnezzar; but the authority of Berosus and the chroniclers, with newly discovered inscriptions, prove them to have been for the most part executed or renewed by Nebuchadnezzar. The outer wall of the city was of unknown antiquity; but he repaired it, with most of the ancient monuments; and he added the interior line of defence. Of his rebuilding of the Temple of Belus we have the extremely interesting memorial in the inscription quoted in a former chapter. The most important of his new buildings at Babylon were the great palace, the ruins of which form the mound of the *Kasr*, and the Hanging Gardens, which seem to have been formed by terraces rising one above another, with the surface broken into the likeness of natural hills. They are said to have been raised to gratify his Median queen with an imitation of the scenery of her native mountains! His almost complete rebuilding of the city itself is proved by the constant occurrence of his name, and of none other, on its bricks; and the same is true of most of the cities of Upper Babylonia.

* Taking the dimensions of Herodotus, the outer wall would contain nearly 300,000,000 cubic yards of brickwork, or nearly double the solid content of the great wall of China!

† Jerem. li. 58.

He constructed hydraulic works of the greatest magnificence and utility; but some of these were doubtless restorations of the works of the old Chaldæan kings. Such were the great canal from Hit to the sea, the reservoir for irrigation near Sippara, and the embankments and breakwaters along both the great rivers and the shores of the Persian Gulf. Whatever there was, in these great works, of mere vastness and barbaric pomp, must not make us insensible to their real grandeur and utility.

"These are imperial works, and worthy kings."

And the pride of their author in reviewing them, as he walked in his palace, was not chastised because they were a waste of resources, but that he might learn to give the glory to the Most High, from whom came the power to create them.

It was not amidst the peace assured by wide-spread conquests that Nebuchadnezzar accomplished these magnificent undertakings. We have seen indeed that he began his reign by inflicting such a repulse upon his chief rival, that "the king of Egypt came no more out of his own land;" * but the Jews were slow to renounce the hope of fresh aid from Egypt; and about the same time that Jehoiakim again rebelled, the Phœnicians renounced the allegiance which they had doubtfully yielded to Assyria (B.C. 598—7). Aided by his old ally, Cyaxares, Nebuchadnezzar marched first against Tyre, and formed the siege which lasted thirteen years, and which gave occasion to one of the most striking prophecies of Ezekiel.† Meanwhile, the siege of Jerusalem by another Chaldæan army was attended by the death of Jehoiakim and the elevation of his son Jehoiachin to the throne. But he had only reigned three months, when Nebuchadnezzar, leaving Tyre invested, appeared in person before Jerusalem, carried off the king and 10,000 captives to Babylon, and placed Zedekiah on the throne (B.C. 597). We have already related the revolt of this king and the final destruction of Jerusalem (B.C. 586),‡ a victory soon followed by the capitulation of Tyre (B.C. 585).

We read of no new wars for a period of five years. This interval may well have been employed by Nebuchadnezzar in organizing his new conquests, disposing of his immense hosts of captives, and carrying on his great works at home. But about B.C. 581 he

* 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

† Ezek. xxvi.—xxviii. The date of the prophecy itself (xxvi. 1) must not be confounded with that of the beginning of the siege, which was in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar. Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 21.

‡ Chap. viii. p. 185.

again took the field against Egypt. Apries, the Pharaoh-Hophra of Scripture, had already given him provocation by attacks on the Phœnician cities and by the promise of aid to Zedekiah, though he had retreated when Nebuchadnezzar turned against him from besieging Jerusalem.* The reception of the Jewish fugitives into Egypt after the murder of Gedaliah may have been the crowning offence; but, be this as it may, Egypt appears to have been invaded and overrun by Nebuchadnezzar, and Amasis to have been set upon the throne as the vassal of Babylon.†

This career of uninterrupted prosperity, supported by magnanimity and clemency, combines with the peculiar relation of Nebuchadnezzar to God's chosen people, to invest him with an historic interest surpassed by none of his predecessors, and by few of his followers, who have wielded despotic power. The personal element, which gives so much of its life to history, first comes out distinctly in him among all the rulers of the world. Nor need the historian hesitate how to read such characters; for the secret of their strength and weakness, and the place they were designed to fill in the world's history, have been recorded in the case of Nebuchadnezzar by the same hand that raised him up. The victory which placed Judah at his feet, at the beginning of his reign, involved his subjection to that divine discipline of which he is one of the most conspicuous examples. Among the captives carried to Babylon, after his first invasion of Judah (B.C. 608), were Daniel and his three companions, whose selection to be trained among the Chaldæans, their fidelity to the sacred law, and their advancement to the royal favour, we need not stay to relate in detail.‡ It was as early as the second year of Nebuchadnezzar (B.C. 603), that his dream of the colossal image, engendered probably by the schemes of conquest he was revolving, gave Daniel the opportunity to teach him the supremacy of God, while prophesying, for all future ages, the establishment of His kingdom on the ruins of the successive empires of the world.§ But the lesson might easily be forgotten in the full tide of conquest, though we are disposed to trace something of its effect in the king's forbearance and moderation towards the rebellious Jews. Upon the full establishment of his empire and the completion of

* Chap. viii. p. 186.
† Chap. vii. p. 125; comp. Jer. xliv. 30; Ezek. xxx. 21—24, xxxii. 31--32.
‡ Daniel i.
§ Daniel ii.

his conquests,* it seems natural to suppose that he set up on the plain of Dura that golden image, probably of Bel or Nebo, to which he required the representatives of all the nations he carried captive to Babylon to offer public adoration. The despot's rage at the recusancy of his Jewish officers was turned into awed submission at their safety in the fiery furnace, and the still more wondrous vision of Him who walked with them there; and the royal servant of Nebo proclaimed the supreme power of Jehovah to all his subjects. It is an incidental testimony to the book of Daniel, that the story does not end here, with the establishment of the true religion throughout the empire. A despot's nature is not so quickly changed, and it needed a severer lesson to extort his final homage to the "King of Heaven." †

We need not repeat the story of the sudden stroke which, in the very hour when he was exulting over his own splendid works and the majesty of his kingdom, levelled the king with the beasts of the field, by the form of madness which is known by the name of *Lycanthropy*.‡ The malady seems to have lasted for seven years; and some allusions in the "Standard Inscription" of Nebuchadnezzar to the suspension of his great works are supposed to refer to it; but this is very doubtful. The period of his reign when it occurred cannot have been earlier than B.C. 580, and it may have been considerably later; but, at all events, we learn from the book of Daniel that Nebuchadnezzar enjoyed a season of restored prosperity and power. He died, after a reign of forty-three years, leaving the kingdom to his son, Evil-Merodach, the Illoarudamus of the Greek writers, B.C. 561.

The history of Babylon now falls into an obscurity which of itself testifies to the insignificance of the successors of Nebuchadnezzar. Two years are assigned by the chroniclers to Evil-Merodach, who was then put to death for his lawlessness and intemperance. The only fact recorded of him in Scripture is his restoration of the captive Jewish King Jehoiachin to an honourable place at his court.§ His murderer and successor was his brother-in-law, NERIGLISSAR (B.C. 559), who is called in his inscriptions

* On this ground the date of B.C. 580, which Ussher assigns to the third chapter of Daniel, seems very near the truth.

† Daniel iv. 36.

‡ That is, when a man fancies himself a wolf or some other beast. Professor Welcker, of Bonn, has collected all that is known of this affection in a paper printed in his *Kleine Schriften*, vol. iii. p. 157.

§ 2 Kings xxv. 27; chap. viii. p. 186.

"Rab-Mag," probably a Chaldæan title, signifying Chief Priest. The remains of a palace built by him still exist at Babylon. His youthful son, Laborosoarchod (B.C. 556), was cut off by a conspiracy, after a reign of only nine months, and the throne was seized by one of the conspirators, NABONIDUS or NABONADIUS (Nabunahit*), the Labynetus II. of Herodotus, and the last king of Babylon (B.C. 555).

Meanwhile the growth of the new Persian power, in which Cyrus had just absorbed the empire of the Medes, threatened to cover the whole of Western Asia. Cyrus was now advancing against Crœsus; and, whether through fear, or because the old Median alliance seemed less binding with the new dynasty, Nabonadius listened in an evil hour to the proposals of the Lydian king for an alliance of Lydia, Babylon, and Egypt, against Persia. The plan was disconcerted by the rash advance of Crœsus across the Halys, and the energy of Cyrus. Crœsus was defeated and shut up in Sardis, the city was taken, and the whole Lydian empire, as far as the shores of the Ægean Sea, added to the dominions of the Persian (B.C. 554—3). Cyrus suffered fifteen years to elapse before attacking Babylon; and the interval was spent by Nabonadius in strengthening his defences.† These defences seem to have been confined to the capital itself, the open country being abandoned to the invaders. One battle only was risked under the walls of Babylon; and the defeated Chaldæans retired within their enormous walls, the strength of which bade defiance to the enemy, while the ample spaces within sufficed for abundant supplies. In the language of Jeremiah, whose prophecy of the taking of Babylon has all the vivid picturesqueness of contemporary history,—"The mighty men of Babylon forbore to fight: they remained in their holds."‡ We are quite without details of the duration and the incidents of the siege, until its very end.

Whoever wishes to appreciate the vast difference between the briefest narrative of a great event by an eye-witness, and the meagre annals of later chroniclers, has only to compare the wonderful picture of Belshazzar's Feast, in the Book of Daniel,§ with the confused statements of the Greek writers. At first sight,

* According to Sir Henry Rawlinson, this is the Semitic form, the Chaldæan being *Nabu-induk*, and both meaning "Nebo blesses" or "makes prosperous."

† The river walls are ascribed by Berosus to this king, and their bricks bear his name. The "Median Wall" of Xenophon seems to be incorrectly referred to this period.

‡ Jerem. li.

§ Daniel v.

indeed, these writers seem to leave no place for Belshazzar. They tell us that Nabonadius, when defeated in the one battle that he risked, fled to Borsippa, where he was still shut up when Babylon was taken; after which he submitted to Cyrus, and was treated with the honour which the Persians used to pay to conquered kings. All this is quite consistent with the narrative in the Book of Daniel. For we now learn from an inscription of Nabonadius deciphered by Sir Henry Rawlinson, that that king associated with himself his son Bil-shar-utzur, who is evidently the Belshazzar of Daniel, and whose first and third years are mentioned by the prophet.* It would seem then that Belshazzar took the command of the Chaldæans, who were beleaguered in Babylon, while his father was shut up in Borsippa. There he behaved with the arrogance of a youth inexperienced in government, revelling with his courtiers in fancied security, and insulting the God of Heaven. The fearful handwriting on the palace wall, and the terrible denunciation of the prophet, form a scene too deeply impressed on our earliest recollections to need repetition. The leading incident is confirmed by Herodotus in two words, when he tells us that Babylon was taken "amidst revelries."

All the historians are agreed as to the manner in which the city was entered. By diverting the course of the Euphrates, Cyrus laid open a way for his army through the bed of the river into the very heart of Babylon. His stratagem was aided by the careless security of the Chaldæans themselves, who had left the gates opening on to the river unclosed. Vast as was the space within the walls, large portions of the city might be in the possession of the enemy, before its capture was known at the palace; and the entrance of the Persians may already have been effected when Belshazzar's revelry was at its height. No words could more vividly describe the scene that followed, than those in which the prophet Jeremiah had foretold it in a distant land:—"One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to shew the King of Babylon that his city is taken at one end, and that the passages are stopped, and the reeds they have burned with fire, and the men of war are affrighted."† Belshazzar was killed in the confusion of the sack, the only record of his fate being

* Daniel vii. 1, viii. 1. Respecting the probable relationship of Belshazzar to the family of Nebuchadnezzar, and the place to be assigned to the queen Nitocris of Herodotus, see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, App. to Book i. Essay viii.

† Jerem. li 31, 32.

in the brief words of Daniel:—"In that night was Belshazzar, the King of the Chaldæans, slain."* His father, as we have said, submitted to Cyrus, who gave him a sort of principality in Carmania, where he seems to have ended his days in peace. Thus fell the empire of Babylon in B.C. 538.

Having adhered to the Book of Daniel as the highest authority for these events, we may at this point meet the difficulty which has arisen respecting his "Darius the Median, the son of Ahasuerus," who "took the kingdom," at the age of seventy-two, immediately on the death of Belshazzar,† and who is seen exercising the royal authority, not only at Babylon, but thence over the 120 provinces of the Medo-Persian Empire;‡ while, in another passage, he is said to have been "made king over *the realm of the Chaldæans*," a phrase which might be taken to imply a more limited authority.§ All scholars are now agreed in rejecting the attempt to identify Darius with a supposed Cyaxares II., who appears in the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon as the son of Astyages,—Astyages himself being, by all trustworthy accounts, the last king of Media, by whose dethronement the empire passed to Cyrus and the Persians. The Cyaxares of Xenophon is not an historical personage at all, but a character introduced into the romance—for such the Cyropædia really is—as a foil to the virtues attributed to Cyrus. All our knowledge of the revolution effected in the Medo-Persian empire concurs to make it a violent transfer of the supremacy from the Medes under Astyages to the Persians under Cyrus. Cyrus alone effects the capture of Babylon, at the head of the Medo-Persian forces; and no place is left for the intermediate rule of Cyaxares, as a king of the Medes. But for "Darius, the son of Ahasuerus," a royal prince "of the seed of the Medes," an appropriate place may be found, as a viceroy, who "was made king over the realm of the Chaldæans" by Cyrus, after the capture of Babylon. How far he may have exercised a viceregal authority over the whole empire, while Cyrus was engaged in distant wars, is perhaps hardly worth discussing on the scanty information we possess. Nothing could be more natural than for the Jewish captives at Babylon to regard such a viceroy as a king; and hence they date the years of Cyrus from the time when this

* Daniel v. 30.

† Daniel v. 31.

‡ Daniel vi. It scarcely follows, however, as a matter of absolute certainty, that the 120 princes imply 120 provinces; but such is the most natural sense.

§ Daniel ix. 1.

state of the government appears to have come to an end by the death of Darius, in B.C. 536.*

The further question, whether any light can be thrown on the identity of Darius, though not essential for the solution of the difficulty, is one of no small interest. He is in fact identified, by the chronographer Syncellus, and in the apocryphal supplement to the Book of Daniel,† with the dethroned king Astyages himself. The Darius of Daniel is evidently a Median of the highest rank, and probably of royal birth.‡ The name of his father, Ahasuerus (Achashverosh) is certainly identical with the Median name Cyaxares, which was borne by the father of Astyages. The position to which Cyrus raised him at Babylon accords with the respect which Herodotus tells us that Cyrus paid to Astyages, and with the custom of the Persians. But more than this: we can easily understand, what Herodotus was not sufficiently acquainted with Oriental usage to perceive, that Cyrus, as the grandson of Astyages, and imbued by the Persian discipline with reverence for all forms of duty and authority, may have professed, during the life of Astyages, to yield the royal state to him, though himself really governing. If so, the position of Darius was above that of a mere viceroy; and no occasion is left for wonder that the Jews viewed him as the king, and Cyrus as his successor. The Chaldæans, perhaps understanding better the real relation of Darius to Cyrus, omit him from their list of kings. The identification is not free from further difficulties, too minute to be discussed here; but it is now very generally accepted.§

After the Persian conquest, Babylonia became a province of the empire, and the city was one of the royal residences, ranking as the second in the kingdom. It was from Babylon that Cyrus issued his decree for the return of the captive Jews; and his successors resided there for a great portion of the year. It was long, however, before the Chaldæans submitted finally to the new dynasty. Darius Hystaspis had twice to suppress a revolt of Babylon, under a leader who claimed to be the son of Nabonadius.

* This is reckoned as the first year of Cyrus, in which he issued his edict for the return of the Jews. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22; Ezra i. 1; comp. Daniel i. 21.

† In the part entitled "Bel and the Dragon."

‡ This seems implied in the phrase "of the seed of the Medes."

§ This view was put for h by the present writer in the *Biblical Review*, for 1845, No. 1. It is maintained by Professor Rawlinson and other recent historians. Marcus Niebhur, in his *Geschichte Assurs und Babels*, while identifying Astyages with Darius, makes two conquests of Babylon—a Median and a Persian; the former by Astyages, and the latter by Cyrus; but this is altogether improbable.

On the first of these occasions, two great battles were fought; and on both the city was besieged and taken.* Another revolt, under Xerxes, involved another siege and capture.

The whole interest of Persian history, from Darius to Alexander, being centred in its external relations to the West, we hear nothing more of Babylon till it fell, as Daniel had predicted, under the power of the Macedonian. It was at Babylon that Alexander held his court after his return from India (B.C. 324); and the importance still maintained there by the priestly caste of the Chaldæans is indicated by those unheeded warnings which his own imprudence so soon verified. His death was hastened by his schemes for making Babylon the capital of his empire, and restoring to the country its natural advantages. Intending to repair the system of canals, he visited the lower course of the Euphrates, and in its marshes he caught the fever which his excess rendered fatal (B.C. 323). His plans perished with him. The Seleucidæ, who succeeded to the eastern part of his empire, fixed their capital at Antioch in Syria; while the population of Babylon removed, in great part, to the new city of Seleucia on the Tigris. The great river, once the pride and ornament of the city, no longer restrained and regulated by embankments and canals, wandered over the plain, from which the houses fast disappeared, and created pestiferous marshes. The brick palaces and temples, crumbling into decay, literally "became heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons," † and the haunt of wild beasts. The desolation has been ever increasing down to our own age, under the conjoint influence of misgovernment and neglect. By a strange recurrence in the cycle of history, the land in which the Chaldæans first planted civilization amidst rude Turanian races, and defended it against the Arabs of the desert, has long since fallen under the nominal government of the Turanian Turks, and become the real possession of the wandering Arabs. All the primeval cities, of which we have spoken, shared the fate of Babylon; but her site is marked by a pre-eminence of desolation. When the traveller has exhausted his powers of language in expressing the sadness of gloom inspired by the scene, he has but re-echoed the exact descriptions of the Hebrew prophets. Let but the following examples be placed side by side:—"And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldee's excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt

* We learn this from the statement of Darius himself, in the inscription of Behistun.

† Jer. li. 37.

in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged." * Thus far the Hebrew prophet; now let us hear the modern traveller: "Besides the great mound, other shapeless heaps of rubbish cover for many an acre the face of the land. The lofty banks of ancient canals fret the country like natural ridges of hills. Some have been long choked with sand; others still carry the waters of the river to distant villages and palm-groves. On all sides fragments of glass, marble, pottery, and inscribed brick, are mingled with that peculiar nitrous and blanched soil, which, bred from the remains of ancient habitations, checks or destroys vegetation, and renders the site of Babylon a naked and hideous waste. Owls start from the scanty thickets, and the foul jackal skulks through the furrows." † "Various ranges of smaller mounds fill up the intervening space to the eastern angle of the walls. The pyramidal mass of El-Heimar, far distant in the same direction, and the still more extraordinary pile of the Birs-Nimrud in the south-west, across the Euphrates, rise from the surrounding plain like two mighty tumuli, designed to mark the end of departed greatness. Midway between them the river Euphrates, wending her silent course towards the sea, is lost amid the extensive date-groves which conceal from sight the little Arab town of Hillah. All else around is a blank waste, recalling the words of Jeremiah: 'Her cities are a desolation, a dry land and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby.'" ‡

To these descriptions we may well add the poetic view of the same scene, not merely for its vivid beauty, but for its insight into one of the most striking lessons of Divine Providence:—

"Slumber is there, but not of rest;
There her forlorn and weary nest
The famish'd hawk has found;
The wild dog howls at fall of night,
The serpent's rustling coils affright
The traveller on his round.

* Isaiah xiii. 19—22: comp. Jer. l. and li.
† Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 484.
‡ Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 20.

"What shapeless form, half lost on high,*
Half seen against the evening sky,
Seems like a ghost to glide,
And watch, from Babel's crumbling heap
Where in her shadow, fast asleep,
Lies fall'n imperial Pride?

"With half-closed eye a lion there
Is basking in his noontide lair,
Or prowls in twilight gloom.
The golden city's king he seems,
Such as in old prophetic dreams
Sprang from rough ocean's womb.†

"But where are now his eagle wings,
That shelter'd erst a thousand kings,
Hiding the glorious sky
From half the nations, till they own
No holier name, no mightier throne?—
That vision is gone by.

"Quench'd is the golden statue's ray;‡
The breath of heaven has blown away
What toiling earth had piled,
Scattering wise heart and crafty hand,
As breezes strew on ocean's strand
The fabrics of a child.

"Divided thence, through every age,
Thy rebels, Lord, their warfare wage,
And hoarse and jarring all
Mount up their heaven-assailing cries
To Thy bright watchmen in the skies
From Babel's shatter'd wall."§

In the frustration of the plans of the Babel builders, in the fall of Nineveh, in the desolation of Babylon, we may see more even than the fulfilment of prophecy. They are lasting witnesses to the great plans of Divine Providence in reference to the empires of the world. Raised up by the desires of men who aimed at godlike power upon earth, and permitted to tyrannize over the nations which had forsaken the King of Heaven,—chastizing by self-will and brute force the self-willed weakness of a race that had forgotten God,—they fell successively under the sentence, which the handwriting on the wall passed upon Belshazzar, and which history repeats against every despotism to the end of time: "Thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting:"—wanting in fulfilling

* The allusion is to a group of lions seen by Sir R. K. Porter on the summit of the Birs-Nimrud.

† Daniel vii. 4. ‡ Daniel ii., iii. § Keble, *Christian Year*.

the true end of states and governments, the welfare of mankind, and their union in the bonds of social life. And this is the key to the symbolic use of the name of Babylon, revived in the last ages of the world's history to designate that "mystery of iniquity," in which spiritual is superadded to worldly despotism, till both shall share the fate of Babylon of old.* Nor does the prophecy which sets past and future history in this light close till it has unfolded the bright vision of the only true universal empire, when "the God of heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, but shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and stand for ever and ever."†

* Revelation xvii., xviii. † Daniel ii. 44.

CHAPTER X.

THE MEDO-PERSIAN EMPIRE, FROM ITS ORIGIN TO ITS SETTLEMENT UNDER DARIUS HYSTASPIS. B.C. 633? TO B.C. 531.

"Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and behold there stood before the river a ram which had two horns; and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward and northward and southward; so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and became great."—*Daniel* viii. 3, 4.

DESCRIPTION OF MEDIA—ITS EARLIEST INHABITANTS—THE MEDES AN ARYAN RACE AND KINDRED TO THE PERSIANS—THEIR RELATIONS TO ASSYRIA—RISE OF THE MEDIAN KINGDOM—DOUBTFUL LEGENDS—DEIOCES AND PHRAORTES—CYAXARES THE TRUE FOUNDER—HIS CONTEST WITH THE SCYTHIANS—MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF THE MEDES—CONQUESTS OF CYAXARES—DESTRUCTION OF NINEVEH—RISE OF THE LYDIAN EMPIRE—THE NATIONS OF ASIA MINOR—THE HALYS AN ETHNIC BOUNDARY—AFFINITIES OF THE WESTERN NATIONS—EARLY KINGDOMS IN ASIA MINOR—GORDIUS—MIDAS—TROY—LYDIA—NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY—MYTHICAL PERIOD OF LYDIAN STORY—DYNASTY OF THE HERACLIDS—CANDAULES AND GYGES—DYNASTY OF THE MERMNADS—CONQUESTS IN ASIA MINOR—ATTACKS ON THE GREEK COLONIES—INVASION OF THE CIMMERIANS UNDER ARDYS—ALYATTES—THEIR EXPULSION BY ALYATTES—WAR BETWEEN LYDIA AND MEDIA—THE "ECLIPSE OF THALES"—DEATHS OF CYAXARES AND ALYATTES—THE TOMB OF ALYATTES—CRŒSUS AS VIEWED BY HERODOTUS—HIS REAL HISTORY—ASTYAGES THE LAST KING OF MEDIA—REIGN OF ASTYAGES—PEACEFUL STATE OF WESTERN ASIA—ORIGIN OF THE PERSIAN RACE—DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY—THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE—RELIGION OF THE MEDES AND PERSIANS—MAGIAN ELEMENTAL WORSHIP, ORIGINALLY TURANIAN—DUALISM THE OLD PERSIAN FAITH—AURAMAZDA AND AHRIMAN—MIXTURE AND CONFLICT OF THE TWO SYSTEMS—ZOROASTER—HIS DOCTRINES AND LEGENDARY HISTORY—THE TEN TRIBES OF THE PERSIANS—THEIR MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND GENERAL DISCIPLINE—DYNASTY OF THE ACHÆMENIDÆ—THEIR RELATION TO MEDIA—LEGENDARY STORY OF CYRUS—TRANSFER OF THE MEDIAN EMPIRE TO PERSIA—CYRUS IN THE CYROPÆDIA AND IN SCRIPTURE—THE CONQUEST OF LYDIA, THE GREEK COLONIES, AND BABYLON—RESTORATION OF THE JEWS—DESIGNS ON EGYPT—WARS IN CENTRAL ASIA—DEATH OF CYRUS—CAMBYSES—CONQUEST OF EGYPT—HIS MADNESS AND DEATH—THE MAGIAN PSEUDO-SMERDIS—ACCESSION OF DARIUS THE SON OF HYSTASPIS—SURVEY OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

THE nations that have thus far occupied our attention were of the Hamitic and Semitic races. We have seen them founding kingdoms on a vast scale of despotic power and rude magnificence, and cultivating those arts and sciences which minister to the material wants of man. We have seen one family called out from the rest, to preserve the knowledge of the true God, amidst the idolatry which had become universal at a very early age, and to exhibit, in contrast to those despotisms, the pattern of a free religious commonwealth, governed by a present God. We have seen how, through their own moral weakness, the race of Israel lost this great distinction, and became captives to Assyria and

Babylon, till the time came to avenge them in the overthrow of their tyrants. We have now to trace the history of the power by which that revolution was effected; a power sprung from the race of Japheth, to which the prophetic blessing of Noah had promised the most enduring possession of empire.

We have had frequent occasion to allude to that marked division which is formed by the chain of Zagros (the mountains of Kurdistan and Luristan) between the great valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and the table-land of Iran to the east. While the former region was the seat of that power and civilization which, at least in the earliest ages, requires the nurture of a fertile soil and favourable climate, the latter was the cradle of those hardier races whose destiny it is to found a more lasting power.

The greater part of this table-land was known in the earliest ages by the name of MEDIA, a country which may be described generally as extending from the Caspian Sea on the north to the mountains of Persia Proper on the south, and from the highlands of Armenia and the chain of Zagros on the west to the great rainless desert of Iran on the east. It corresponds to the modern provinces of Irak-Ajemi, parts of Kurdistan and Luristan, Azerbijan, and perhaps Talish and Ghilan. Between these limits it comprises a great variety of country and climate, being intersected throughout by mountain ranges, which enclose valleys rich in corn and summer fruits. The finest part of the country is the modern province of Azerbijan, an elevated region enclosed by the offshoots of the Armenian mountains, and surrounding the basin of the great Lake Urumiyeh (4200 feet above the sea), and the valleys of the Sefid Rud (the ancient Mardus) and the Aras (Araxes), the northern boundary of the whole land. In this mountain region stands Tabriz, the delightful summer retreat of the modern Persian Shahs. The mountains which extend to the south, forming the western part of Media, partake generally of the like character. The slopes of Zagros afforded excellent pasture; and here were reared that valuable breed of horses, which the ancients called the Nisæan. The eastern districts are less favoured by nature, being flat and pestilential where they sink down to the shores of the Caspian; rugged and sterile where they adjoin the desert of Iran. An offshoot of this desert, to the south-west, formed a natural division between Media and Persia Proper, a region of which we have presently to speak.

Even when the ancient writers refer back to a period at which this country was probably occupied, like Western Asia in general,

by a primitive Turanian race, they know its inhabitants by the name of Medes.* But the race to whom the name properly belonged (the *Mada*, *Madai*, or *Medi*) were undoubtedly Japhetic, or, as we now say, borrowing the designation from themselves, Aryan. In the great ethnic table in the Book of Genesis, Madai is the third son of Japheth, standing next after Gomer and Magog, the races who occupied Central Asia north of Media. Herodotus expressly informs us that the Medes were universally called Aryans;† the Armenian writers invariably apply to them this appellation; and, in common with the kindred Persians, they always claimed it for themselves. They appear to have had essentially the same language‡ and religion, dress and customs, as the Persians, who were the very cream of the Aryan race. The close connexion between the races, constantly implied in the language of the ancient writers, who use the words Median and Persian almost indifferently, is especially remarkable in the formula used by themselves, as if to imply the identity of their most ancient institutions—"the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not." §

Indications are not wanting that the Median race was very widely spread over the highland regions of Western Asia, in the primeval ages of the world; but this is a discussion into which we cannot stay to enter. The tribes which occupied the country in the earliest historic times are traced back, both by Indian and Persian traditions, to the country beyond the Indus; and the inscription on the celebrated black obelisk of Nimrud‖ is thought by some to refer to the migration as still in progress (about B.C. 880). We have seen that the Greek traditions of the Assyrian Empire make Ninus the conqueror of Media. The records of the Assyrian kings make frequent mention of Median wars and conquests, beginning from the ninth century; but these conquests

* We have seen that this may explain the statement of Berosus respecting a primitive Median dynasty in Chaldæa; chap. viii. p. 195.

† *Herod.* vii. 62. We adhere, with Max Müller, to the native orthography, as more distinctive than *Arian*.

‡ The so-called Median inscriptions of the Persian kings, in the cuneiform character, are held by Sir Henry Rawlinson to be Scythic (*Commentary on the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia*, p. 75).

§ Daniel vi. 8, 12, 15. The usage of such writers as Herodotus, who no doubt learned the common use of the names from the people themselves, is perfectly distinct from the confusion by which the writers of the Augustan age applied the terms Median and Persian indifferently to the Parthians and even to northern India, as in the "Medus Hydaspes" of Virgil.

‖ See chap. ix. p. 218.

were usually only of that intermittent kind which we have already described.* The most successful of the invaders was Sargon, who twice overran some part of the country, and founded in it cities, which he peopled with the Israelitish captives from Samaria (B.C. 710). An inscription in his great palace at Khorsabad claims Media as the easternmost province of his empire. But how far the conquest was from being permanent is proved by the distinct mention of Media, both by Sennacherib and Esar-haddon, as "a country which had never been brought into subjection by the kings their fathers." † The tribes of Media, united by no common government, were defeated or victorious, paid tribute or withheld it, according to the varying strength and energy of their powerful neighbour.

This state of things was ended by the consolidation of Media into a powerful kingdom under a dynasty of native princes. For the history and date of this great change we obtain no information from the Assyrian records, and we are dependent upon the doubtful and inconsistent statements of the Greek writers, and especially of Herodotus and Ctesias. The account of the latter author is now generally rejected as a mere fabrication. That of Herodotus is on many grounds suspicious; and he is supposed to have been misled by the wilful misstatements of his Median authorities. He places the revolt of Media from Assyria a little higher than 179 years before the death of Cyrus (B.C. 708), at the very time when the Assyrian monuments begin to claim the subjugation of Media! Having recovered their independence after a fierce struggle, they chose a native king named Deioces, who reigned fifty-three years, and whose three successors, Phraortes (twenty-two years), Cyaxares (forty years), and Astyages (thirty-five years), continued the Median dynasty down to its overthrow by Cyrus, whose twenty-nine years (ending in B.C. 529) make up the above sum of 179 years. The story of Deioces bears a marked impress of Grecian rather than Oriental ideas. The seven tribes of the Medes, scattered over separate villages, suffered from all the ills of anarchy, till the reputation for justice which Deioces had acquired in his own village induced them to make him the arbiter of their disputes. Having restored order, Deioces withdrew into private life, knowing that he should soon be missed. Anarchy revived; a king was called for as the only remedy, and Deioces was elected. He at once began to organize a despotic power, which he admin-

* See chap. ix. pp. 223—4. † Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay iii. on Book i.

istered from his new capital of Ecbatana, whither he compelled the Medians to remove their habitations. The city was built upon a hill, enclosed by seven concentric walls, the central summit being occupied by the palace, within which Deioces lived in seclusion, transacting all public business through spies, informers, petitions, and written decrees. In this picture, as in the Cyrus of Xenophon, criticism has detected one of those ideal embodiments of forms of government by which the Greeks were wont to illustrate their political discussions.* Phraortes, the reputed conqueror of Persia, is almost equally suspicious. The name (*Fravartish*), though genuine, may not improbably have been transferred back from its historical owner, a Mede who rebelled against Darius Hystaspis, and set up for a time an independent throne in Media. While tradition represents Phraortes as making extensive conquests, and at last falling in battle against the Assyrians,† the contemporary monuments of Assyria show us the king Asshur-bani-pal as chiefly engaged in hunting in Susiana.

CYAXARES appears to have been the true founder of the Median kingdom, about B.C. 633. As such he was regarded by an earlier Greek tradition than that followed by Herodotus; ‡ and the great inscription of Darius alludes more than once to rebels who traced their lineage from Cyaxares. "The conclusion thus established," says Professor Rawlinson, "brings the Median kingdom into much closer analogy with other oriental empires than is presented by the ordinary story. Instead of the gradual growth and increase, which Herodotus describes, the Median power springs forth suddenly in its full strength, and the empire speedily attains its culminating point, from which it almost as speedily declines. Cyaxares, like Cyrus, Attila, Genghis Khan, Timour and other eastern conquerors, emerges from obscurity at the head of his irresistible hordes, and sweeping all before him, rapidly builds up an enormous power, which, resting on no stable foundation, immediately falls away." § The origin and growth of this power can only be con-

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol iii. pp. 307—309. Sir Henry Rawlinson sees in the name of Deioces (i.e., *Dahak*, the *biting*) a mere equivalent of Astyages (i.e., *Aj-dahak*, the *biting snake*). He regards both names as Scythian titles, borrowed by the Medes from their enemies.

† The real Frawartish fell in battle against the Persians.

‡ In a celebrated passage of the *Persæ* of Æschylus (vv. 761—764), a *Mede* is named as the first leader of the Medo-Persian host, *his son* as the completer of his work, and Cyrus as the *third* from him; that is, clearly, from the *first*. The three are, therefore, Cyaxares, Astyages, and Cyrus.

§ Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, App. to Book i. Essay iii.

jectured from the scanty materials we possess. It is even doubtful whether it first arose in Media itself, or whether Cyaxares was not rather the leader of an Aryan host from some region further to the East,* who for the first time established an Aryan nation in the country of Media, which had hitherto been chiefly occupied by scattered Turanian tribes.

It is certain that the time of Cyaxares was distinguished by a great movement among the Turanian races which on the north overhung the more civilized countries, both in Europe and in Asia. According to Herodotus, the Cimmerians, who lived to the north of the Ister and the Euxine,† pressed upon by the Scythians from Central Asia, made a great irruption into Asia Minor, where some of their tribes effected permanent settlements; while the Scythians, entering Upper Asia by way of Media, overran that country, crossed the range of Zagros into Mesopotamia, passed through Syria to the frontier of Egypt, which Psammetichus only redeemed from invasion by costly presents, and held the dominion of Western Asia for twenty-eight years, till they were expelled by Cyaxares. It is needless to enter into the elaborate discussion by which these statements have been shown to be greatly exaggerated as a whole, and very doubtful in their leading details. For our present purpose, the chief point remains pretty certain that Cyaxares only established his new kingdom in Media after a severe conflict between the Scythian and Aryan races. We have abundant evidence that these races had hitherto shared the possession of the tableland of Media. While the former still preponderated, the latter seem to have been steadily growing in numbers and in power, reinforced by fresh migrations from the East. At length, we may suppose, there occurred one of those great movements in Central Asia by which, from age to age, the wave of Turanian invasion has been driven forward to break upon the south; and in a fresh effort to repel this fresh invasion, the Aryan race obtained the mastery and founded the kingdom of Media. One consequence of their victory may have been to drive a body of the expelled Scythians across Mount Zagros, whose irruption gave a new blow to the already declining power of Assyria. What truth there may be in the account of their further progress westward, we have no sufficient means to decide.

"Little as we know," says Mr. Grote, "about the particulars of these Cimmerian and Scythian inroads, they deserve notice as

* Professor Rawlinson, in advancing this theory, suggests Khorassan.

† The Danube and Black Sea; see further, p. 255.

the first (at least the first historically known) among the numerous invasions of cultivated Asia and Europe by the Nomades of Tartary. Huns, Avars, Bulgarians, Magyars, Turks, Mongols, Tartars, &c., are found in subsequent centuries repeating the same infliction, and establishing a dominion both more durable, and not less destructive, than the transient scourge of the Scythians during the reign of Cyaxares."*

Dividing with these Scythian tribes the possession of the regions beyond the Tigris, and long engaged in war against them, it is not surprising to find the Aryan Medes resembling them in military organization. Strong in cavalry and archery, the hardy followers of Cyaxares were well prepared to play the part of conquerors. Cyaxares is said to have divided their undisciplined forces into the several arms of cavalry, archers, and spearmen. The two great achievements of his reign were the extension of his empire to the west, over the highlands of southern Armenia and of Asia Minor, as far as the river Halys, and the destruction of Nineveh and the Assyrian empire.

The order of these events is left doubtful by Herodotus, nor can we determine it certainly by other evidence. It seems more probable that Cyaxares would first avenge on the weakened kingdom of Assyria her many attacks on Media, and make good the claim of the latter to independence by a decisive victory. The most recent researches appear to have succeeded in fixing the capture of Nineveh to the year B.C. 625. Of the manner in which it was effected by Cyaxares, in alliance with the Babylonians, enough has been already said.† The result was to re-erect Babylonia into an independent kingdom under the dynasty of Nabopolassar, with free scope for extending their conquests to the west, while the whole of Upper Mesopotamia was added to the Median kingdom. Two new empires were thus founded in Western Asia, of which the Median was the more powerful, the Babylonian more civilized and splendid. Each had scope enough for its own ambition to postpone the final contest for supremacy to a much later period.

Meanwhile a third empire had arisen far to the west, in Asia Minor, which was approaching the height of its power at the epoch of the fall of Nineveh. This was the great kingdom of LYDIA, with which Cyaxares was brought into conflict by the westward progress of his conquests. A review of the previous history of

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 339.

† See chap. ix. p. 225.

this kingdom carries us to the shores of the Ægean sea, and brings the famous nations of Europe within our view.

The peninsula of Asia Minor is equally remarkable in a physical and ethnic point of view. Like Asia it is formed by a great central tableland, supported by two chief mountain-ranges, which extend from east to west, and form, in fact, the prolongations of the central and southern chains of the whole continent. Like Europe, it is surrounded by the sea on every side except the east, and its deeply indented shores, especially on the west, are marked out by nature for maritime and commercial enterprise. Placed between these two continents, and divided from Africa only by the Mediterranean, with Cyprus as a stepping-stone between, while it adjoins on the land-side the primeval seat of the human family, it lies, so to speak, in the very focus of the chief races that have overspread the earth. The result of this position is a mixture of populations, more intricate and more difficult to distinguish, than in any other region of the ancient world. The very enumeration by Herodotus of the nations west of the river Halys is enough to alarm the student of ethnology, nor can we obtain much light from the great divisions into which the peninsula was afterwards mapped out. There is, however, one broad general distinction of the highest value. The river Halys, which divides the whole country irregularly into an eastern and western half, was also a line of demarcation between the Semitic and Japhetic races; the former embracing the Cappadocians or Syrians, and the latter a vast number of different tribes; while on the southern coast, the Pamphylians and Cilicians, cut off from the rest by the chain of Taurus, seem to have been Semitic races not unmixed with Hamite blood. We cannot pursue in detail the traditions, languages, common rites, and other marks of affinity, which connected the tribes west of the Halys with each other and with those of Europe. Suffice it to say, that the nations along the north coast, and in the north-west as far south as the river Hermus, the Paphlagonians, Bithynians, Mysians, Teucrians, Phrygians, and other lesser tribes, were near akin to the Thracians of Europe, the connexion having been made more intimate by migrations in both directions. The south-west corner, south of the Mæander, was the seat of the Carians and Leleges, who were spread also over the islands of the Ægean. Between the Hermus and the Mæander dwelt the Lydians, apparently one of the most ancient nations of the peninsula, closely connected with the Pelasgians, who formed the oldest population both of Greece and Italy.

Traditions of very remote antiquity went so far as to make the Etruscans (the conquering race who, in Italy, subdued the Pelasgians) a colony from Lydia.* The Carians, Lydians, and Mysians preserved the memory of their common origin by common sacrifices to the Carian Jove at Mylasa. Of the Lycians we shall speak later.

The earliest legends of these nations tell of the existence of local kingdoms, such as those in Phrygia, of Gordius, whose fated knot involved the power to bind and loose all Asia, and of Midas, whom there is some reason to believe an historical personage.† Amidst the halo of glory which the poetry of Homer has shed round the name of Troy, magnifying a local war into the most famous contest in the annals of the world, we discern traces of an empire, limited indeed as compared with those which have occupied our attention, but comprising most of the Thracian peoples on both sides of the Hellespont. Passing from poetry to history, we find the first great kingdom established in Asia Minor by a people whose historic name and capital city are a like unknown to Homer. He never mentions Sardis, though he speaks of the neighbouring localities of Mount Tmolus and the Gygæan lake; while he alludes to the people of Lydia by the name of Mæonians.‡

The country of Lydia possesses great elements of wealth in the fertile valleys of the Hermus, the Cayster, and the Mæander, and the mineral treasures of its soil. Recent experience in other parts of the world enables us to understand those stories of the golden sands of the Pactolus, which have sometimes been regarded as fables even by those who possessed money coined from them. The Lydians had also mines near Pergamus; and the Greeks believed them to be the first people who coined gold and silver money, or carried on retail trade.

The origin of the Lydian kingdom is lost amidst mythical stories, stamped with a Greek character, as was natural from their passing through the mouths of the Greek colonists, who borrowed, with the Lydian and Phrygian modes of music, the legends of their adopted country. In the first king, *Manes*, the

* Horace employs this tradition as a delicate flattery of his patron :—

> "Non quia, Mæcenas, *Lydorum* quidquid *Etruscos*
> Incoluit fines, nemo generosior est te,—."—*Sat.* vi. 1, 2.

This tradition, however, was not held by the Lydians themselves, and appears to be certainly unfounded. (See Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, vol. i. pp. 38, foll.)

† Herodotus (i. 14) makes him the first who sent presents to Delphi.

‡ Niebuhr considers the Mæonians to have been the original inhabitants of Lydia and a Pelasgian people, and the Lydians a later and conquering race.

son of Jove, we see the step from the rule of the gods to that of a *man*, which is so often met with in mythical history. In his descendants, Asies, Atys, Lydus, and Tyrsenus, we have simply the *heroes eponymi* of Asia,* of the royal race of the Atyadæ, of Lydia itself, and of its supposed colony, Etruria. In the name of Torrhebus, whom the native historian Xanthus mentions as a brother of Lydus, it is supposed that we may trace that remnant of the old Pelasgian inhabitants, who occupied the separate district of Lydia Torrhebia—including the valley of the Cayster, south of Tmolus—and who spoke a distinct dialect.

Next comes the dynasty of the Heraclids, whose twenty-two kings fill up a period of 505 years. The names of the first five kings—Agron, Hercules, Alcæus, Belus, and Ninus—suffice to betray not only a purely mythical character, but the most heterogeneous mixture of Greek and Oriental legends. This is regarded by Professor Rawlinson as "the clumsy invention of a Lydian, bent on glorifying the ancient kings of his country by claiming for them a connexion with the mightiest of the heroes both of Asia and of Greece." † At the end of this dynasty we still find ourselves within the sphere of poetical romance, though the personages are possibly historical. Most readers know the story, told by Herodotus with his admirable simplicity, of the fate of Candaules, the last king.‡ With the infatuation of a man doomed to destruction by the gods, he insisted on showing the naked person of his wife to his follower Gyges. The queen discovered the insult, and gave Gyges the choice between suffering death himself, or inflicting it on Candaules, and succeeding to his bed and throne. By the choice of the latter course, Gyges put an end to the dynasty of the Heraclids, and founded that of the Mermnads.§ The change was not effected without opposition, but actual war is said to have been averted by the sentence of the Delphic oracle, the fame of which had already been

* It should be remembered that this name belonged first to a part of Asia Minor, about the same region as Lydia, and was afterwards extended to the whole continent.

† Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, App. to Book i. Essay i. The extension of the Assyrian empire to Lydia is affirmed by Ctesias and accepted by Niebuhr; but the story is not confirmed by the monuments.

‡ Called also Myrsilus, *i.e.* the son of Myrsus, a form of patronymic, which is also found in Latin.

§ The story is avowedly borrowed by Herodotus from the poet Archilochus, of Paros, who lived about the time of Gyges. Plato has preserved another form of the legend, in which Gyges, a herdsman of the King of Lydia, obtains in a marvellous manner a ring which makes its wearer invisible; by this means he obtains access to the queen, conspires with her to assassinate the king, and seizes the throne.

extended through the Greek colonists to the Asiatics. The main event is probably historical, the revolution being one of those which female desire has often brought about in Asiatic kingdoms.

The oracle was rewarded, or rather, we may safely say, its response was purchased, by the first of those presents with which the Mermnad kings continually enriched the shrine of the Pythian god. But it was afterwards believed to have foretold the punishment of the crime of Gyges by the extinction of his dynasty with his fifth successor. The five kings thus indicated are—Gyges, Ardys, Sadyattes, Alyattes, and Crœsus. Herodotus assigns to the whole dynasty a duration of 170 years, and (though there are some minor discrepancies between him and the chroniclers) we may divide this period pretty accurately among the several kings. But there is a doubt about the epoch of the end of the dynasty, on which all the other dates depend. In an elaborate argument, which we have no space to follow, Professor Rawlinson proposes to place this epoch eight years higher than the usual date.*

The new dynasty pursued, from the first, an aggressive policy towards their neighbours, both on the west and east, and the Lydian kingdom gradually became an empire, comprising nearly all Asia Minor, west of the Halys. Gyges began that series of aggressions on the Greek colonists, who seem hitherto to have dwelt peacefully on the western coasts, which Crœsus consummated by their complete reduction to a tributary state, thus preparing the way for the extension of the Persian Empire to the shores of the Ægean. Within the peninsula, a series of conquests was also completed by Crœsus, whose empire included all the tribes west of the Halys, except the Lycians and the Cilicians, for whom the Taurus doubtless proved a barrier against invasion. But these conquests were interrupted by two events of moment in the general history of the world.

In the reign of Ardys, Asia Minor was devastated by the invasion of the Cimmerians, a people who came unquestionably from the region now called the Ukraine, north of the Black Sea, between

* The following are the two schemes :—

		CLINTON, &c.	RAWLINSON.
		B.C.	B.C.
1.	Gyges.....	716—678	724—686
2.	Ardys.....	678—629	686—637
3.	Sadyattes	629—617	637—625
4.	Alyattes	617—560	625—568
5.	Crœsus	560—546	568—554

the Danube and the Sea of Azov, where, as Herodotus remarks, their traces were found in Cimmerian castles and a Cimmerian ferry, in a tract called Cimmeria and a Cimmerian Bosporus;* and where their name is still borne by the ruins of Eski-Crim (Old Krim, the ancient Cimmerium), and by the peninsula of Crimea or Crim-Tartary. From that region they were probably expelled by some great movement of the Scythians of Central Asia, like that which shortly afterwards precipitated hordes of the latter people upon Media.† Smaller bodies of the Cimmerians seem to have entered Asia Minor on former occasions, in conjunction with Thracian tribes, by way of the Hellespont and Bosporus; but now a vast horde marched round the shores of the Black Sea along the foot of the Caucasus, poured into the country from the north-east, and deluged its whole surface. They even entered the range of the Taurus, but were repelled with great slaughter by the Cilician mountaineers. Their ravages were most severely felt in the rich valleys of Ionia and Lydia, where they burnt the great temple of Artemis at Ephesus, and the capital city of Sardis, all but the citadel. It is the nature of such barbarian invasions to exhaust their first force by subsequent inaction and excess. That the power of the Cimmerians thus declined in the reign of Sadyattes, the son of Ardys, is proved by his resuming the siege of Miletus, about B.C. 631. They were at length expelled by Alyattes; but even then they retained certain positions in the country, the most important of which was Sinope on the Black Sea. The exact dates of their entrance and expulsion are both uncertain. The one seems to have been early in the reign of Ardys, and the other late in that of Alyattes.

The similar invasion of Media by the Scythians is said to have occasioned the first collision between the Lydian and Median empires. A horde of the defeated nomads fled from the severities inflicted on them by Cyaxares, and sought refuge with the Lydian king.‡ His refusal to give them up was followed by a war, which lasted six years with equal advantages on both sides, and was only

* Now the *Straits of Kaffa.*—*Herod.* iv. 12, The far wider question of their identity with the Cimbri and other great Celtic races of Western Europe, including the Cymry of Wales and Cumberland, and of their movements westward under the pressure of the Scythians of Asia, has long been under discussion. (See Rawlinson's Essay i. to *Herodotus*, Book iv.)

† For the traditional story of both events, see *Herod.* iv. 11, 12. But we cannot accept his account of their connexion.

‡ "The passage of such nomadic hordes from one government in the East to another, has been always, and is even down to the present day, a frequent cause of

ended by a celestial portent. An eclipse of the sun, which occurred in the midst of a great battle, struck such terror into both armies that the conflict was suspended; and peace was shortly afterwards concluded by the mediation of the Babylonian prince, Labynetus, who seems to have been present as an ally in the army of Cyaxares,* and of the Cilician prince, Syennesis, the ally of Alyattes. The marriage of Aryenis, the daughter of Alyattes, to Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, formed a tie between the royal houses of Lydia and Media, which helped to involve them in a common fall. The inadequate cause assigned for the war permits us rather to regard it as arising from a great scheme of conquest on the part of Cyaxares, who had now pushed on his frontier to the Halys; and the successful resistance of Alyattes may be explained by a general league of the nations within the Halys, in which even the Cilicians took part.

The date of the battle is one of those tantalizing problems in which a promise of certainty eludes our grasp. We might have supposed that it would be easily calculated from the "Eclipse of Thales"—so called because the Milesian philosopher is said to have predicted its occurrence. Whether the astronomical science of the Greeks was then sufficient for such a prediction has been doubted; but our own difficulty arises from the very opposite cause. Astronomers have proposed dates varying between the limits of B.C. 625 and B.C. 583. As the result of calculations, based on the newest tables, Ideler maintains that the only eclipse answering all the conditions of time, place, and total—or all but total—obscuration,† is that which occurred on the 30th September, B.C. 610, of our present calendar.‡

This war was succeeded by a long interval of peace, during

dispute between the different governments. They are valuable both as tributaries and as soldiers."—Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 310.

* *Herod.* i. 74. This Labynetus would naturally be the commander of a contingent sent by Nabopolassar to the aid of his ally. He bears the same name (Labynetus = Nabu-nit) as the last king of Babylon, and may very likely have been of the same family.

† This is manifestly required, to explain the awe inspired by the eclipse; and it may be added that the striking accounts given by recent observers of their own emotions on viewing such a scene, with all the calmness of science and preparation, forbid our ascribing the impression made on contending armies as the fruit of ignorant superstition.

‡ See Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, vol. i. p. 209; Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 311. The balance of evidence seems in favour of this date, though, still more recently, such authorities as Airy and Hind lean to the date of B.C. 585. —Bosanquet, *Fall of Nineveh*, p. 14.

which the conquests of Nebuchadnezzar and the fall of Judah form the only stirring events in Western Asia. Of Cyaxares we hear nothing further, except that he sent aid to Nebuchadnezzar in the wars against Egypt and Judah. In a word, the alliance of the two empires seems to have been firmly maintained till the overthrow of the Median dynasty by Cyrus.

The reign of Cyaxares lasted just forty years, the probable date of his death being B.C. 593. Alyattes, King of Lydia, survived him a quarter of a century, dying, after a reign of fifty-seven years, in B.C. 568, just seven years before the death of Nebuchadnezzar. The interval of forty years thus left between the war with Media and his death may be partly filled up by the expulsion of the Cimmerians and attacks upon the Grecian colonies. His later years seem to have been occupied with the erection of his tomb, an edifice which Herodotus pronounces the sole remarkable structure raised by the Lydian kings, and inferior only to those of Egypt and Babylon.* Its remains still stand on the north bank of the river Hermus, near the ruins of Sardis. In the general idea of a sepulchral chamber surmounted by a lofty pile, it resembled the pyramids of Egypt, but its structure bears a much closer resemblance to the *tumuli* or *barrows* of western nations; and it is surrounded by many smaller mounds of the same form, marking the burying-place of Sardis. It was formed by a basement of immense blocks of stone, above which was heaped a mound of earth, surmounted by five stone pillars, carved with inscriptions, which were standing at the time of Herodotus.† The ground-plan is a circle (perhaps originally an ellipse), to which Herodotus gives a circumference of nearly three-quarters of a mile, so that the area was even larger than that of the Great Pyramid; but the height was probably much less. At present the circumference is just half a mile. The basement is partly of hewn stone, as described by Herodotus, and partly cut out of the limestone rock, whose horizontal strata resemble courses of masonry. The mound is composed of sand and gravel, apparently from the bed of the Hermus; its greatest slope is about 22°. The sepulchral chamber, recently discovered by M. Spiegenthal, the Prussian consul at Smyrna, is almost exactly in the centre of the tumulus: it is a

* *Herod.* i. 93.

† Sir Gardner Wilkinson notices the resemblance of the structure to tombs in Etruria and Greece, like that of Menecrates at Corfu, and probably that of Agamemnon at Mycenæ (the so-called "Treasury of Atreus") when it was complete. Note in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*.

little more than 11 feet long, nearly 8 feet broad, and 7 feet high. Its walls are composed of large blocks of white marble, highly polished, and without inscriptions. It contains no sarcophagus; and the mound bears traces of having been excavated and rifled in every direction. Its internal construction is quite different from that of another celebrated sepulchral mound in the same region, the so-called "Tomb of Tantalus," near Smyrna.*

CRŒSUS, the son of Alyattes, was the last and greatest king of Lydia; but his conspicuous place in history is due not so much to his wide conquests, his proverbial wealth, or his vast reverse of fortune, as to the halo of romance which Herodotus has thrown around his story. Singling him out as the first who, within his own knowledge, commenced aggressions on the Greeks, he regards him throughout as the fated victim of that retribution which the Greeks ever saw pursuing the offender with steps slow but sure; and the one great lesson of his life is that which Solon teaches the king amidst all his pride of wealth, and which the helpless captive's confession re-echoed as the flames began to rise around his living funeral pyre: that no man, however fortunate, can be called happy till he dies—that "in all things it behoves us to mark well the end; for oftentimes God gives men a gleam of happiness, and then plunges them into ruin."† The same idea runs through all the poetical embellishments of the story;—the visit of Adrastus, whose very name (the Inevitable) indicates the minister of fate, and by whose hand the son of Crœsus falls;—the dumbness of his other son, miraculously broken to save his father's life;—the practical irony which makes Crœsus the victim of ambiguous responses from the oracles whose shrines he had enriched, and whose truth he fancied he had tested;—the blindness with which he crosses the Halys, trusting to the promise that he should overturn a mighty empire, and then finds that the empire subverted is his own;—his doom as a sacrifice by fire, and his rescue by the power of the Greek god, to give full effect to the lesson of the Greek sage. These fascinating legends must not be wrenched from their place in the page of Herodotus, nor related

* Note to Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 93, founded on the descriptions of Hamilton and Spiegenthal.

† *Herod.* i. 42. The disputed question, whether Solon ever visited Crœsus, matters little or nothing to the historian's purpose. The lesson itself is one on which the Greek tragedians delight to dwell, but perhaps some readers may be less familiar with the more homely Swedish proverb: "Praise not the sun before the day is out; praise counsel when you have followed it, and ale when you have drunk it."

as if they were real history; nor must we forget, on the other hand, that this view may unfold some portion of the inner truth of such a career. What remains for the historian to record is that Crœsus, ascending the Lydian throne at the age of thirty-five, in a reign of fourteen years (B.C. 568—554), became master of all the Greek states of Asia Minor, and was only deterred from attacking the islands by the want of a navy;—that by consulting the Greek oracles, and holding frequent intercourse with Greek citizens, he made the Greeks more familiar with their destined enemies in Asia;—and that, after conquering all Asia Minor west of the Halys, he dared to match himself with the new power of Cyrus and to avenge the fall of his father-in-law Astyages. With this view he formed a great league with Egypt and Babylon against Persia; but the result was only to bring his empire to a sudden and disastrous end. But, to understand this catastrophe, we must resume the thread of Median history from the death of Cyaxares.

ASTYAGES, or Aspades, the last king of Media, succeeded his father Cyaxares in B.C. 593, and reigned for thirty-five years, till he was dethroned by Cyrus, B.C. 558. Excepting a single account of a war with Armenia,* which has every mark of being fabulous, his history presents a total blank, till towards its close. This silence seems to confirm the traditional view of his character, as a peaceful despot, indulging himself with the quiet enjoyment of the fruits of previous conquests. It would seem that "the three great monarchies of the East, the Lydian, the Median, and the Babylonian, connected together by treaties and royal intermarriages, respected each other's independence, and levied war only against the lesser powers in their neighbourhood, which were absorbed without much difficulty."† But a new power now arose, from within the Median Empire, to make an entire change in the political state of Asia.

The PERSIANS have already been mentioned as a nation closely connected with the Medes, in race, language, and religion. Of the family of mankind which claimed, not unjustly, the distinctive name of "Noble" (Arya), the Persians formed one of the noblest types. When we first meet with them in history, they are a race of hardy mountaineers, brave in war, rude in manners, simple in their habits, abstaining from wine, and despising all the luxuries of food and dress. Though uncultivated in art and science, they

* See the story, as given by the Armenian historian, Moses of Chorene, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 422.

† Rawlinson's *Herodotus*.

were distinguished for an intellectual ability, a lively wit, a generous, passionate, and poetical temperament; qualities, however, which easily degenerated into vanity and want of perseverance. As known to us in a state of subjection to despotic power, they were tainted with Asiatic servility to their rulers; but even then they were distinguished by that rare virtue among the Orientals, a love of truth.

Amidst the unexampled mutations of the Persian Empire, the ancient name adheres to the country where we first find the Persians and to the race who claim to be their purest modern representatives. The name of the latter (*Parsee*) is in fact identical with the form by which the Hebrew represents the native name *Parsa*, which is supposed to signify "Tigers." The country, which still bears the name of *Fars*, or *Farsistan* ("the Land of Fars") *—the Persis or Persia Proper of the ancient geographers—is a mountainous region in the south-west of Iran, where the great plateau descends to the eastern shores of the Persian Gulf. The margin on the sea-coast is a hot and arid waste, like the sandy deserts of Arabia; and the same character is borne by the eastern region, where the mountains pass into the table-land of Iran. Between these desert tracts lie the central highlands, which are a prolongation of the mountain-chain of Zagros. This rugged range contains some well-watered plains and valleys, rich in corn, wine, and fruits, and reaches of excellent pasture-land. This is especially the case towards the north, where the plain of *Shiraz*, besides producing a renowned wine, forms a favourite residence of the modern Shahs. On a site of equal beauty, in the valley of the *Bend-amir*, stands Persepolis, the capital of Darius, the ruins of which, near Istakher, bear the name of *Chehl-Minar*, or the *Forty Pillars*.† The older capital, Pasargadæ, lay about forty-two miles further to the north-west, in a wilder position among the hills at *Murgaub*, where the tomb of Cyrus is still seen. The fertile tracts, however, are exceptions to the prevailing character of the country; the hill-sides are generally bare, and the valleys little more than narrow

* The letters *f* and *p*, always interchangeable, are particularly so in Persian. Niebuhr supposes that the original *kingdom* of Persia comprised not only Persis, but Carmania on the east, and part at least of Susiana on the west. He holds Herodotus to be in error, when he represents the Persians under Cyrus as the inhabitants of a small canton, who could easily be assembled in one place.

† These magnificent ruins, consisting of two great palaces, built by Darius and Xerxes, besides temples and other edifices, cover many acres of ground. They are described in several well-known works. See especially Fergusson's *Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored.*

ravines. The extent of Persia Proper does not exceed 300 miles from north to south, and 230 from east to west. Such were the narrow limits and the scanty resources of the cradle of the Persian Empire.

The evidence of language and tradition, with other grounds of probability, connect the Persians—most closely of all the peoples of Iran—with the Aryan race beyond the Indus; but as to the time and course of their migrations we can only form very uncertain conjectures. Entering Iran, most probably, with the Medes, their passage into the isolated mountain region we have described seems to have kept them freer from a Turanian admixture, as it certainly preserved them, in later ages, from the declension which the possession of empire brought upon the Medes, and to which they themselves afterwards succumbed.

The Persians appear to have brought with them into these abodes their distinctive language, religion, and political and military institutions. Their language formed one of the most interesting types of the Indo-European family of speech, being closely connected with the Aryan dialects of India on the one hand, and the tongues of Modern Europe on the other. In the course of time it has passed through no less than five different stages;—first, the *Zend*, or most ancient dialect,—long since dead, but preserved in the sacred books of the Zendavesta,—the nearest to Sanskrit of all other Indo-European tongues;—next the *Achæmenian Persian*, the dialect spoken under the old empire, and preserved in the cuneiform inscriptions from Cyrus to Artaxerxes Ochus (B.C. 558—338);—then, the *Pehlevi*, or various dialects of the revived empire under the Sassanidæ (A.D. 226—651);—still later, the *Pazend* or *Parsi*;—and lastly, the *mixed Persian* of the present day, which is largely corrupted with Arabic.

The religion of the Persians is one of the most interesting forms of belief devised by the search of a keen intellect after the truth, when the light of revelation has been obscured. Erroneous views have long prevailed respecting it, through the confusion of two systems, originally distinct, which existed among the Medo-Persians.

Herodotus and the Greek writers in general represent the religion of the Persians as an elemental worship. Ascending the highest mountains, they sacrificed to the firmament, the sun and moon, the earth, fire, water, and the winds.* They had no

* *Herod.* i. 131. In conformity with Greek ideas, Herodotus says that they called the firmament Jove.

images of the gods, though we find both Assyrian and Egyptian emblems on their sculptures; and at a later period they worshipped Beltis or Mylitta.* Herodotus is mistaken in adding that they had neither temples nor altars. Their ministering priests and teachers were the Magi, a learned caste like the Chaldæans of Babylonia, and addicted to those arts which have received from them the name of magic.

But Herodotus knows nothing of that other aspect of the Persian religion, in which it appears as a philosophical attempt to explain the mystery of creation, and the conflict between good and evil, by what is called the principle of "Dualism." According to this doctrine, there were *two* great First Principles, that of good and that of evil, each the author of a distinct creation, and each engaged in perpetual conflict with the other. These two principles were personified by the Persians under the names of Auramazda (Oromasdes, Ormazd, or Ormuzd), which is said to signify "the Great Giver of Life," and Ahriman (Arimanius) "the Death-dealing." The one was the lord of Life and Light, the other of Death and Darkness. Auramazda created the earth and heaven, the race of men, and all that ministers to their well-being; Ahriman was the author of sin, death, disease, war, poverty, tempest, cold, and, in short, of all agencies adverse to human life and happiness, and tending to subvert the order of nature established by Auramazda.† So too in the political order of the state: it is Auramazda that settles the king firmly on his throne and gives him victory over his enemies, while Ahriman is ever planning sedition, rebellion, and defeat. Each was the creator of a band of spirits inferior to himself, the ministers of his will and the agents of his works. As to the issue of the conflict, the doctrine seems to have been silent, at least in its earliest and simplest form. Nor could it consistently be otherwise; for, as the belief sprung out of an insoluble mystery in the past, it could offer no solution of the same mystery in the future. The very need of supposing the two conflicting principles to exist at all would involve the need of supposing their conflict to last for ever. And here we see how utterly unlike (except perhaps in the distorted reflection of some rays of

* Herodotus confounds this deity with Mithra, the Persian emblem of the sun.

† It is, in general at least, beyond the province of the historian to discuss the merits of the systems in philosophy and theology which he has occasion to describe. But we may observe, especially in the case of the physical order of things, how completely every system of dualism breaks down at the first step, that of discriminating what is really beneficial, and what hurtful, to the world and the human race.

truth) is the Persian dualism to the Scripture doctrine concerning Satan and his angels. These, so far from being essential members of the order of the universe—essential to account for the existing state of things—owe their condition entirely to their having rebelled against that order. Instead of being a self-existent and independent power, the dragon is bound with a great chain, doomed to defeat and perdition, and meanwhile deprived of all liberty to work out his malice one hair's-breadth beyond the limits of Divine permission. Nor is he permitted even to go thus far, except to prove in the end—

> "How all his malice served but to bring forth
> Infinite goodness, grace, and mercy, shown
> To man by him seduced, but on himself
> Treble confusion, wrath, and vengeance poured."

The devil of devil-worshippers is no more the Satan of the Bible than the idols of the heathen are the living God.

The popular idea of the Persian religion, from a very early period to the present day, is a compound of the two systems of Magianism or elemental worship (especially that of fire and the sun) and Dualism. There was no doubt a time when some such confusion prevailed among the Persians themselves. But there are good reasons for concluding that these two systems were originally quite distinct, the latter alone existing among the Persians, and the former among the old Turanian tribes of Iran.

Just as Herodotus, in describing the religion of the Persians, knows nothing of Dualism,* so, on the other hand, neither do the Achæmenian inscriptions, by which a flood of new light has been thrown on Medo-Persian history, nor the most ancient religious writings, bear any trace of the Magian elemental worship. Nay more, while mentioning Auramazda as the supreme god, they only contain slight allusions to the Principle of Evil.† Now, if we look across the Indus, to the country from which the Persians are thought to have migrated, we find in the Vedas, or sacred books of the ancient Indians, a religion based on Monotheism, in its spiritual and personal form, which might be easily corrupted into

* His whole description refers evidently to the Magianism, which had been partially adopted by the Persians, and extensively by the Medes.

† "In the great inscription of Darius at Behistun, the false religion which that king displaced is said to have been established by the 'god of lies.' It need surprise no one that notices are not more frequent, or that the name Ahriman does not occur. The public documents of modern countries make no mention of Satan."—Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, App. to Book i. Essay v., *On the Religion of the Ancient Persians.*

Dualism. Sir Henry Rawlinson has indeed put forth a conjecture, far too ingenious not to be mentioned, that "it was in fact the Dualistic heresy which separated the Zend or Persian branch of the Aryans from their Vedic brethren, and compelled them to migrate to the westward." At all events, the notices of their migration, in their own most ancient religious books, refer all the successes and disasters of the Aryan race to the conflict between Auramazda and Ahriman.

The only remaining source, from which we can trace the Magian elemental worship, is from the Turanian tribes with which the Aryans came into contact when they entered Iran. How far this theory is confirmed by the religions of the Turanian tribes throughout the world is a question both in itself too large to be entered upon here, and complicated by the prevailing degeneracy of the whole race. But in the neighbouring regions of Mesopotamia, which we have seen reason to believe were very early occupied by a Turanian population, the prevailing Sabæism was tinctured with, and may even have sprung from, an elemental worship, and Magianism itself seems to have gained a footing among the Chaldæan priests. This view explains the fact that, while the Persians, long isolated in the southern highlands, preserved their Dualistic faith, the Medes, who were brought into closer contact with the old Turanian population, completely adopted the elemental worship. This was especially the case in the northern province, which to the present day retains the memory of its fame as the chief seat of the Magian religion, in its name *Azerbijan* ("the Land of Fire"). The contest for supremacy between the Medes and Persians in the time of Cyrus was probably religious as well as political; and this was certainly the case when the Medes recovered their supremacy for a short time, under the Magian Pseudo-Smerdis. The triumph of the Persians under Darius Hystaspis was at once over the Median race and the Magian religion; and the fear so nearly realized found vent in proscriptions and cruel massacres of the Magi.

At length, however, the religious ascendancy, which a powerful priesthood had failed to hold, was recovered by the enthusiasm of a devotee, who established a form of religion compounded of the two systems—in one word, a reformed Magian worship combined with the Dualistic creed of the Persians. Of the personal history of ZOROASTER * or Zerdusht, we know next to nothing, for the

* Sir Henry Rawlinson regards the name *Zara-thushtra* as the Aryan form of *Zirashtar*, that is, *the seed of Venus*.

Oriental stories are for the most part pure invention, and the fragmentary notices of the classical writers teach us little but their ignorance of the subject. The very time at which he is said to have lived—under Gushtasp or Vishtaspa (Hystaspes, the father of Darius)—is thought to have been purposely fixed, so as to connect his reform of religion with the final establishment of the empire; and here the story is self-convicted of fiction, by making not only Gushtasp, but also his father Lohrasp, rulers of the Medo-Persian empire. His origin from Azerbijan, a province with a large admixture of Scythian population, and the chief seat of Magianism, is a sign of his connexion with this form of worship. The favourite stories of miracles heralding the birth of great men are not wanting in his case; and he is said to have been only ten years old, when he withdrew to a cave in the mountains of Elburz. He remained in this solitude for twenty years, favoured with divine revelations from Auramazda and his attendant spirits, which he recorded in the book called Zend-avesta ("the Living Word").* At the same time he received the sacred fire, which was to be kept perpetually alive upon the earth. The key to his whole teaching is contained in the words addressed to him by Auramazda:—"Teach the nations that my Light is hidden under all that shines. Whenever you turn your face towards the Light, Ahriman will be seen to fly. In this world there is nothing superior to Light." It is for this reason that the disciple of Zoroaster turns his face in prayer to the sun, as the purest of all created lights, or else to the sacred fire that burns on the altar. The doctrine of Dualism, as taught by Zoroaster, was in substance what has been already stated; but he gave the preponderance of power to Auramazda, who alone of the two principles was eternal, and would ultimately conquer Ahriman. Zoroaster was sent back with the commission to declare to Gushtasp the doctrines of the Zend-avesta.

Zoroaster was thirty years old when he appeared before Gushtasp at Bactra (Balkh). His first convert is said to have been Asfandiyar, the son of Gushtasp, who gained over his father to the new religion, which soon spread throughout Azerbijan.† Zoroaster then travelled, propagating his faith, not only through all the kingdom of Iran, but to Chaldæa on the one side and India on

* This account of the origin of the Zend-avesta is altogether fabulous.

† The story that Gushtasp had 12,000 skins of cows prepared, for writing on them the new doctrines, curiously antedates the invention of parchment. These sacred writings were deposited in a cave at Persepolis, under a guard of Magians.

the other. One view of his mission represents him as purifying the old religion from corruptions imported from these two countries. On Zoroaster's return to Iran, temples for the worship of the sacred fire were erected everywhere by Gushtasp, whose zeal in the cause involved him in a war with Arjasp, the king of Turan, which was triumphantly ended by his son Asfandiyar. Zoroaster died not long before this victory, at the age of seventy-six, about B.C. 513. We relate the legend as one of those embellishments which religious zeal has added to the history of the world. Whatever may be the real history of the movement, the general result seems to have been this: that, in the old Persian empire, from the reign of Darius Hystaspis downward, the popular religion was the modified Magianism, which is ascribed to Zoroaster, while that which prevailed at court, and among the highest Persian nobility, was nearer to the ancient faith. But at the time when Cyrus first founded the empire, the latter may be regarded as the true Persian religion, and in direct antagonism to the Magian worship which had already become prevalent in Media.

The Persian nation was composed of ten tribes; of which, Herodotus tells us, three were noble, three agricultural, and four nomadic. At the head of all stood the royal tribe of the Pasargadæ, to which the kings belonged, and from whom the ancient capital took its name. They are supposed to represent the horde which first migrated from beyond the Indus. They kept themselves distinct from the other tribes, over whom they enjoyed peculiar privileges. Among the three agricultural tribes, the Germanians* (or Carmanians) demand mention as having given their name to the country east of Persis, Carmania, the modern *Kerman*. The nomad tribes seem to have been partly the remains of the old Turanian inhabitants, who maintained themselves as robbers in the mountain fastnesses, and partly kindred hordes, who had immigrated from the regions east of the Caspian. Both appear to have been moulded, to a great degree, into the Aryan type.

The Persians were pre-eminently a military race. Mounted on the famous breed of horses, which it was their pride to cherish, their nobles formed the finest cavalry in the world. They had a strong infantry; and not only the nomad tribes, but the whole nation, were expert archers. On the sculptures at Persepolis, we see their warriors armed with long lances, oval shields, bows with

* This is a curious case of purely accidental resemblance between the names of distant and distinct nations. We have another example in the Iberians of Spain and of Georgia.

the ends curved backward, and quivers. Some are clothed with tunics and trousers, and wear a cap of the Phrygian shape; others wear long robes and upright head-dresses. In the field their onset was impetuous, and their courage great; but they wanted the steadiness of forces trained to act well together.

Their military spirit was kept in full vigour by their hardy mountain life, their simple and temperate habits, and the strict discipline in which they were trained from their youth up. Xenophon may have borrowed many details given in the *Cyropædia* from his favourite Spartan institutions; but there is no reason to doubt the existence of a discipline which taught self-command and self-denial, respect to elders, and obedience to authority.

The close political connexion between the Medes and Persians, from a very remote antiquity, is proved, as we have already observed, by the very formulæ of the empire. Had the latter been merely conquered by the former, from a previous state of independence, like other surrounding tribes, we should never have heard of "the law of the *Medes and Persians*, which altereth not." Whatever the nature of their connexion with Media may have been, the Persians had a separate government under their own kings. These first appear in history under the title of the ACHÆMENIDÆ, derived, it is said, from Achæmenes, who founded the dynasty about B.C. 700. Herodotus gives us the names of four predecessors of the great Cyrus, in a direct line from father to son,—Teïspes,* Cambyses I., Cyrus I., and Cambyses II. He makes the last prince only a Persian noble, whereas the monuments call the father of Cyrus a king; but the use of the title proves nothing as to the condition of the state. There seems no doubt that Persia lost at least the full exercise of her independence as the Median power grew. From the analogy of other tribes, strongly placed on the confines of a great empire—as in the relations of Media herself to Assyria—it seems most probable that Cyaxares was able to enforce an acknowledgment of his supremacy, and the payment of a tribute from the Persian king. The question is, indeed, of comparatively little moment, for the revolution effected by Cyrus was not so much the liberation of a subject race, as the conquest of an empire by a sudden invasion. And this one fact is nearly all that we can detect with certainty amidst the halo of romantic legend, with

* We learn from another source that Teïspes married his daughter, Atossa, to the king of Cappadocia. Such an alliance with so distant a state indicates the possession of considerable power. Observe, in the above list, that alternation of names which was so common likewise in Greek families.

which the Persian poets invested the rising of their imperial Sun.*

From the vast and inconsistent mass of such legends, Herodotus professes to have selected the account which seemed the least improbable—a confession which at once warns us against mistaking his narrative for a real history. The story is too well known to need telling more than very briefly; but too famous to be omitted altogether.

Astyages, whom we have seen succeeding to the empire of Cyaxares his father (B.C. 593), gave his daughter Mandane in marriage to Cambyses, a Persian noble of a quiet temper, lest a higher alliance among the Median nobles should fulfil a dream, which had threatened the conquest of all Asia by her offspring. The dream returned, and the king sent for Mandane, intending to destroy the child she was about to bear. Harpagus, a Median courtier, to whom the commission was entrusted, gave the child to Mitradates,† the king's herdsman, to expose in the mountains north of Ecbatana. The herdsman's wife, who had just brought forth a still-born child, persuaded him to expose the body, and to bring up as their own the child, who was afterwards called Cyrus.‡ On a time, when the boy was ten years old, he was chosen by his playfellows to be their king; and he took instinctively to the part, not only duly ordering his guards, and courtiers, messengers, and chief minister (the King's Eye), and his public works, but severely scourging a disobedient officer. The latter boy happened to be the son of a Median of distinction, who at once carried his complaint before Astyages. A recognition follows, the herdsman and Harpagus confess the truth: Astyages professes pleasure that the design, of which he had long since repented, had miscarried; and invites Harpagus to a banquet; the flesh of his own son is served up to the unsuspecting father, who is then shown the head in a basket, and asked by the king if he knew what animal's flesh he had been eating.. He replied that he knew well, and that the king's pleasure was his own; and then retired, to bury what remained of his son, and to meditate revenge.

The king next consulted the Magians what he should do with

* Such is the meaning of the name Cyrus (*Koresh*), from *kohr*, the *sun*.

† This name, afterwards so famous, signifies "given to the sun" (Mitra or Mithra).

‡ The name of the herdsman's wife, Cyno (the Greek word for a *bitch*), betrays a rationalistic attempt to explain what was doubtless the original story, that Cyrus was suckled by a bitch. There was a similar perversion of the legend of the she-wolf of Romulus and Remus. See Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 246.

Cyrus; and persuaded by them that his dream had been fulfilled by the boy's exercise of royalty in play, he sent him back to his father and mother in Persia. Cyrus arrived with a mind full of ambitious hopes, for on the road he had learnt the whole story from his escort. He grew up to be the bravest and most popular of the youths of his own age. Harpagus had meanwhile solicited the Median nobles, who were malcontent with the king's harsh rule, to conspire for the deposition of Astyages and the elevation of Cyrus to the throne. When the plot was ripe, he despatched a letter by a stratagem across the guarded frontier, inviting Cyrus to revolt. The prince assembled the three noble tribes, and by a sort of acted apologue in a truly Oriental spirit, showed them the blessings of liberty and empire. He then led them against Astyages, who was so infatuated as to place Harpagus in command of his troops. A few only fought, who were privy to the conspiracy; some deserted to the Persians; and most fled. Astyages received the news with threats of vengeance upon Cyrus, and impaled the Magians who had advised to spare his life. He then marched out at the head of all who were left in the city, young and old, lost his last battle, and fell into the hands of Cyrus. It is common in these Oriental fables to allow the dethroned captive the consolation of keen wit; and thus Astyages replies to the insults of Harpagus by taunting him with the folly of enslaving his country to the Persians for the sake of a revenge which he might have enjoyed by seizing the throne for himself.

Another account, which seems to come from Ctesias, represents the contest as much longer and more doubtful. Astyages was victorious in two battles, and marched upon the Persian capital, Pasargadæ, his attack on which was repulsed, and the same day the Persians defeated him in a fourth battle, killing 60,000 of the Medes. Persisting, however, in his attempt to conquer the rebels, Astyages risked a fifth battle, also near Pasargadæ, in which he was again defeated, and fled from the field. The provinces submitted in turn to Cyrus, who pursued Astyages and took him prisoner. There are several indications confirmatory of the length and obstinacy of the conflict.* At all events, the one

* Among these is the well-known passage of the *Anabasis* (iii. 4, sec. 8.), in which Xenophon names the ruined cities of Larissa and Mespila on the Tigris (on or near the site of Nineveh), as the scenes of an obstinate resistance by the Medes, when the Persians took from them the supremacy. In this passage, Xenophon, as the historian, expressly contradicts the story of Xenophon, the romance writer, in the *Cyropædia*, concerning the quiet succession of Cyrus to the empire after Cyaxares, the son of Astyages.

great historic fact remains, and indeed sums up nearly all we know of the reign of Astyages, that the conquest by Cyrus and the Persians transferred to the latter the supremacy of the Medo-Persian Empire. Herodotus adds that Cyrus kept Astyages at his court, and treated him well for the rest of his life: Ctesias says that he set him over a satrapy: and we have seen reason to think it not improbable that he may be that "Darius the Median," who exercised the royal authority at Babylon after its capture by Cyrus.* The reign of Astyages lasted five-and-thirty years, and ended probably in B.C. 558.

The totally different account of these events in Xenophon's *Cyropædia* deserves a passing notice, not certainly because his philosophic romance has any more historic value than the poetic legends related by Herodotus;—for, while the latter have some sanction from national traditions, the former is the writer's own invention;—but because of some collateral issues dependent on our estimate of the work. We have had occasion to speak, in the case of the Median king Deioces, of the tendency of the Greek writers to turn the history of other countries into an illustration of their own views of philosophy and politics. The *Cyropædia* is such a work, by an author honestly desirous of recommending the practical side of the Socratic philosophy, but distrustful of the liberty which he thought his own citizens had abused. He had been, in his early manhood, a disciple of Socrates, whose conversations on self-command and on the affairs of life made a deeper impression on his mind than the speculations which fascinated his fellow-disciple Plato. He treasured up his master's precepts for the care of the body and the regulation of the desires, for the economy of resources and the preservation of friends. In the *Memorabilia* he recorded such discourses to defend Socrates against the charge of corrupting the youth: in the *Cyropædia* he set himself to show how the same lessons, learnt in youth and practised throughout life, would fit a man to secure the respect and obedience of his subjects, and so prove that the government of men is not so difficult a task as is commonly supposed. The great monarchies of the East have always had a fascination for writers on such a theme; and Xenophon was perhaps not unwilling to draw an invidious contrast between the Greek republics and the absolute monarchy of Persia. The traditional greatness of its founder was bright enough, and at the same time sufficiently remote to protect the writer from the charge of absurdity, in

* See chap. ix. p. 239.

choosing Cyrus for the pattern of the virtues he desired to illustrate,—an obedient child, a courageous and modest youth, a virtuous and generous man, a successful conqueror, a wise and prosperous and paternal ruler. The same consistent ideal runs through all the life of Cyrus. Whether his childish simplicity puts to shame the excesses of his grandfather, or his manly frankness disarms the jealousy of his uncle;—whether he discourses to his comrades in the tent, or to his children on his death-bed, he is still the great exemplar of the Socratic philosophy, according to Xenophon's conception, acted out on the loftiest stage and on the grandest scale. To detect the element of fiction in such a picture—which Xenophon never meant to be taken for a portrait—it is enough to remember the simple fact, that Cyrus was an Asiatic conqueror in a rude age, and the leader of a fierce band of warriors. The conquests he effected and the empire he organized, his generous policy towards the Jews, and his clemency in some striking cases, though contrasted with arrogance and cruelty in others, prove his possession of noble as well as brilliant qualities. But if we would seek further for his likeness, we must assuredly look rather to Genghis Khan or Timour than to the Cyrus of Xenophon's romance.

We have dwelt upon this view, because a certain class of writers have done all they could to make the Cyrus of Xenophon a hero of popular history, from motives deserving of respect, but in a spirit subversive of historic truth. In Xenophon's picture they seem to themselves to recognise the Cyrus of the Bible, both as to the incidents of the story, and especially as to the character of the man. Almost the sole argument for the former view is derived from Daniel's allusions to the capture of Babylon, and the reign of the Mede Darius. We have already shown that there is no need to seek for Darius in the Cyaxares of Xenophon; and on the other hand, the unambiguous prophecy of Isaiah makes Cyrus alone the conqueror of Babylon.

The temptation to recognize in the virtuous prince of Xenophon the chosen servant of God, as predicted by Isaiah, will not mislead the thoughtful student of Divine Providence. That Cyrus was "the anointed of Jehovah, whose right hand He strengthened, to subdue nations before him"—"His shepherd, to perform all His pleasure," in leading back His people to Jerusalem,* implies no more of true piety in him than in the chosen instruments of God's wrath, such as Nebuchadnezzar. His own professions to the same

* Isaiah xlv. 1; xliv. 28.

effect* are no stronger than those uttered by the Babylonian tyrant when convinced of Jehovah's power. In one word, the error in question is rebuked by the very terms in which the prophet concludes his address to Cyrus as the Lord's anointed: "I have surnamed thee, *though thou hast not known me.*"† Cyrus was the unconscious instrument in God's hand to perform a certain work, and we need not falsify history to maintain the spotless purity of his character.

The dethronement of Astyages by Cyrus is alleged by Herodotus as the immediate cause of the war between Lydia and Persia. Besides the motive of avenging his father-in-law, Crœsus hastened to attack Cyrus before he should become too powerful. He forthwith began those consultations of the Greek oracles, of which Herodotus relates such curious stories,—stories furnishing abundant proof of the system of trickery and corruption which maintained the reputation of those oracles. These frequent missions to Greece led to his forming an alliance with Sparta, the earliest of those Oriental alliances by which the Greeks impaired their power to resist the common enemy. Meanwhile, Crœsus organized a vast confederacy of the three great monarchies of Lydia, Babylonia, and Egypt, against Cyrus; but he gave neither Nabonadius nor Amasis time to bring him any effectual aid. Trusting to a studiously ambiguous oracle, he led his army across the Halys into Cappadocia, the westernmost province of the Medo-Persian empire, and took the chief city of Pteria, a district near Sinope, reducing its Syrian inhabitants to slavery.

Cyrus, on his part, was equally prepared to meet him. He had subdued all the northern and western provinces of the old Median Empire, and had solicited the Ionians to revolt from Crœsus, but in vain. His rapid marches brought him into the district of Pteria, which the Lydians were ravaging, unsuspicious of his near approach, and unsupported by their allies. Crœsus was compelled to risk a battle with numbers inferior to the enemy; and an indecisive conflict was closed by the fall of night. Seeing that a defeat would now be utter ruin, Crœsus at once began his retreat to Sardis, and there disbanded his mercenary troops, intending to renew the war with the ensuing spring. Meanwhile he summoned his allies, Egypt, Babylon, and the Lacedæmonians, to send their succours to Sardis by the fifth month. He counted on the long delays by which Oriental campaigns are usually divided; but Cyrus and his Persians made war on a different system. He pursued

* Ezra i. 1, 2. † Isaiah xlv. 4.

Crœsus with such speed as to be his own herald before the walls of Sardis. This celebrated city, the ruins of which still bear the name of *Sart*, stood on the southern side of the broad valley of Hermus, at a point where it is contracted by the northern spurs of Tmolus. A precipitous rock formed its citadel, and a level plain spread out in front of the city. Into this plain Crœsus led out his native Lydian forces, a splendid cavalry armed with long lances; for the Lydians had not yet degenerated into a byword for effeminate luxury. Cyrus placed his camels in the front, then his infantry, and his cavalry in the rear, relying on the aversion which the horse is said to have for the camel. The stratagem was successful: the horses of the Lydians turned away in fright, but their riders dismounted to engage the Persian infantry, and even at this disadvantage they fought long before they were driven back within the walls. The siege of Sardis was now formed, and Crœsus sent messengers to hasten the succours of his allies, but the city was taken before they could arrive. There are different versions of its capture; but we have no reason to doubt the story of Herodotus, that a Mede, who had observed a Lydian soldier descend the rock to fetch his fallen helmet, mounted by the same path to the seemingly impregnable citadel; his comrades followed till a large number gained the rock, and so the city was taken. Sufficient allusion has already been made to Herodotus's romantic story of the manner in which the life of Crœsus was saved.* He was treated with respect by Cyrus; and the wisdom he had learnt by adversity enabled him to give good counsel to that king and his successor.† His reign lasted fourteen years; his fall is placed by most chronologers at B.C. 546, but by Rawlinson at B.C. 554.

Cyrus left a Persian garrison in the citadel of Sardis; but entrusted the government of the country to a Lydian, named Pactyas, who revolted soon after the conqueror's departure homeward. This revolt hastened that collision between Persia and the Greek colonies, which was an inevitable result of the conquest of Lydia. While the contest was impending, as we have seen, Cyrus had incited the Ionians to revolt from Crœsus; but after the victory, he had rejected their petition that they might remain tributaries as before: Miletus was the only city to which these terms were granted. In conjunction with the Æolians, who resolved to follow the course

* There is no satisfactory evidence that the old Persian religion required, or even permitted, human sacrifices in honour of fire.

† See the story of his having nearly fallen a victim to the mad fury of Cambyses, in *Herodotus*, ii. 36.

they might decide on, they prepared to defend themselves, and asked aid from Sparta. The Lacedæmonians would do no more than send commissioners to Phocæa—the city which had led the embassy, and which soon after gained by her devotion a lasting fame—to investigate the state of affairs. One of the commissioners proceeded to the court of Cyrus at Sardis, and forbade him in the name of the Lacedæmonians to molest any of the Greek cities, for they would not suffer it. Turning to some Greeks who were standing by, Cyrus asked who and how many were these Lacedæmonians, that they dared to send him such a warning; and having received the reply, he said to the Spartan herald: "I have never yet been afraid of any men, who have a set place in the middle of their city, where they come together to cheat each other and forswear themselves. If I live, the Spartans shall have troubles enough of their own to talk of, without concerning themselves with the Ionians."*

When Pactyas revolted, his first step was to enrol Greek mercenaries from the coast, with whom he marched against Sardis, and besieged the Persians in the citadel. But on the approach of the army sent against him by Cyrus, under Mazares, he fled to the Greek city of Cyme. The Cymæans refused to give him up, though warned to consent by the oracle of Branchidæ near Miletus, which repaid the favour of Cyrus by abandoning the Ionians as a doomed nation. Too weak, however, to protect the refugee, the Cymæans conveyed him to Mytilene and thence to Chios; and the Chians earned lasting shame by giving him up for the bribe of a certain district on the mainland.

Armed with this new cause of quarrel, Mazares proceeded to attack the Grecian cities; and the conquest was completed by his successor Harpagus with unrelenting rigour. In this war we find the Persians using the mode of attack, which we have noticed as represented on the Assyrian sculptures, by means of a mound of earth piled up against the wall of the besieged city. Resistance, however brave, was overpowered by the numbers of the Persians. To strike terror, probably, by a severe example, the inhabitants of Priene, the first city attacked, were sold as slaves. The rest seem to have been reduced from the position of tributaries, and in some cases only allies, which they had held under Crœsus, to an entire

* "Ionians" seems to have been the general name used by the Asiatics for the Greek colonists, and originally, indeed, for the Greek nation, as we see in the *Javan* of Genesis x.

subjection to the "Great King"—for the enslaved Greeks soon learnt to call their master by his high-sounding Oriental titles.

All the Greek cities on the coast were thus subdued, except Miletus, which had purchased safety by submission, and two others whose nobler choice it remains to mention. As to the adjacent islands of the Ionians, Herodotus makes the sweeping statement that they submitted through dread of the same fate. Samos certainly remained independent till the reign of Darius, and in this interval she reached the height of her power under Polycrates. Chios and Lesbos seem to have preferred the advantages of their connexion with the mainland to the doubtful issue of a continual state of war; and the Persians, being as yet without a navy, would naturally grant them favourable terms.* Thus did Cyrus plant his foot on the first step of the chain of islands that bridge over the sea dividing Asia from the free republics which he had threatened should feel his power.

We spoke just now of two cities which escaped subjection by a nobler choice. The two cities were Teos and Phocæa, whose inhabitants abandoned their homes to seek others beyond the sea. A voice was indeed raised to urge the like sacrifice upon the whole nation. Already, when they were first threatened by the power of Crœsus, Thales of Miletus had advised the formation of a single seat of government at Teos, as the central city of Ionia, all the cities still retaining their own laws; and now Bias, of Priene, another of the "Seven Sages" of that time, came forward at the united festival which was celebrated at the Panionium, to urge the whole nation to set sail in one body for Sardinia, and there to found a Pan-Ionic city. Masters of the largest island in the world,† they might enjoy not only freedom, but a wide maritime empire, instead of remaining to be slaves in Asia. The sacrifice demanded was too great for any but the two cities we have named, and even in them a portion of the inhabitants remained behind. Two bodies of emigrants from Teos founded Abdera in Thrace and Phanagoria on the Cimmerian Bosporus. The self-imposed exile of the Phocæans is far more interesting. They had long been conspicuous as the most adventurous Greek sailors who had issued from the ports of Asia Minor. They had explored the recesses of the Adriatic, and traced the northern coasts of the Mediterranean as

* The submission of Chios, and its terms, are implied in the surrender of Pactyas. Lesbos also had territory on the mainland worth preserving.

† This is a curious error for Herodotus who, as we should think, had lived long enough in Italy to have learnt the relative sizes of Sicily and Sardinia.

far as the Pillars of Hercules, and Tartessus.* In that distant region the aged king had offered them a refuge from the power of Crœsus; and when they declined his generous offer, he gave them money to repair their fortifications, which Herodotus describes as built with great blocks of stone accurately fitted to each other. This show of strength induced Harpagus to offer them terms, in which however they saw no security from enslavement. They asked a single day for deliberation; which Harpagus granted, if we may believe Herodotus, with the generous intention that they might execute their plan. As soon as his forces were withdrawn, they launched their galleys, put on board their wives and children, their household goods, the images of their gods, and the votive offerings from the temples, leaving behind only their paintings and works in stone and bronze. Then they set sail for Chios. The Persian army, returning the next day, found themselves masters of a deserted city.

The jealousy of a rival maritime state prevented their settling at the islets near Chios, called Œnussæ; and no choice was left but to turn their prows to the far West. The death of Arganthonius had deprived them of the asylum he had offered in Tartessus; but a nearer end was promised to the voyage by the colony of Alalia, which they had founded twenty years before in the island of Cyrnus (Corsica). Further preparation was needed for such a distant voyage; and it would be sweet to give their enemy a parting blow. Sailing back to Phocæa, they surprised the Persian garrison, and put them to the sword. Then, imprecating curses on the man who should draw back, they dropped a great mass of iron into the sea, and swore never to return till it appeared floating on the surface. But they had scarcely put to sea, when that longing for home which the Greeks called *nostalgia* (home-sickness) subdued more than half their number, who sailed back to Phocæa, and submitted to the Phocæan yoke. The remaining half reached the haven of Alalia, and, joining the older colonists, subsisted for five years by piracy, which in that age was no disgrace. The two great maritime powers, the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, combined to put them down. In the engagement which ensued, the Phocæans gained a victory over the 120 ships of the enemy; but of their own sixty, only twenty came out of the fight, and those in a state disabled for war. So they returned to Alalia, re-embarked their

* The most important of their colonies was Massilia (*Marseilles*); the inhabitants of which still boast of being "compatriots of the Phocæans."

wives and children, and set sail for Rhegium, on the Italian side of the Straits of Messina. Their last removal was to the western coast of Italy, between the Gulfs of Salerno and Policastro, where, on a beautiful bay, at the mouth of a little river, they founded the city of Elea or Velia. To this new colony other Ionian exiles found their way, and among them the poet and philosopher Xenophanes, of Colophon, who founded the school of philosophy which was called, from its birthplace, the Eleatic. This episode was worth relating fully, for the light it throws on the process of maritime adventure and colonization on the shores of the Mediterranean, and for the glimpse it gives us of the great powers which had grown up in the West during the revolutions of empire in the East.

Having completed the subjugation of Ionia and Æolia, Harpagus compelled the conquered Greeks to serve in his campaigns against the Lycians, the Caunians, the Carians, and the Dorian colonies in the south-west of the peninsula. The easy submission of the latter proves, as Mr. Grote observes, that "the want of steadfast courage, often imputed to Ionic Greeks as compared to Dorian, ought properly to be charged on Asiatic Greeks as compared with European—or rather upon that mixture of indigenous with Hellenic population, which all the Asiatic colonies, in common with most of the other colonies, presented, and which in Halicarnassus was particularly remarkable: for it seems to have been half Carian, half Dorian, and was even governed by a line of Carian despots."* These despots probably purchased the security of their rule by acknowledging the supremacy of Persia; and we shall see the Carian queen Artemisia acting a conspicuous part in the expedition of Xerxes against Greece. Cnidus, the other chief Dorian city of Caria, made a faint show of resistance by cutting through the neck of its peninsula; but the attempt was abandoned at the bidding of one of those oracles which came so conveniently to the aid of the Persians.†

Far different was the conduct of the Lycians. This people—one

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol iv. p. 279. It is remarkable that Herodotus gives us no details of the subjugation of this his native city.

† The wise desire to save their countrymen from hopeless resistance may, in some cases, have been the motive of a course which in others can only be explained by bribery. It is amusing to find that an oracle, when it condescends to reason, adopts the anile argument, common in every age, against enterprise and invention—

> "Fence not the isthmus off, nor dig it through—
> *Jove* would have made an island, *had he wished.*"

of the most interesting in the ancient world—inhabited a wide projection of the southern coast of Asia Minor, which is formed by a series of terraces descending from Mount Massicytus, a great southern spur of Taurus. Lycia occupies a conspicuous place in the earliest Greek literature. Homer makes the Lycians fight on the side of Troy, under Glaucus and Sarpedon, heroes only second to Hector and Æneas; and among the finest passages of the *Iliad* are the colloquy of Glaucus with Diomed and the death of Sarpedon. Bellerophon is represented as fighting against the warlike Solymi, whom other traditions represent as being the oldest inhabitants of the land. The Solymi were probably a Semitic race, closely connected with the Phœnicians; their Lycian conquerors a people of the Indo-Germanic stock. The Greek tradition brought them from Crete, when the people of that island were still barbarians, of a race kindred to the Carians; the further speculations which connected them with the Greeks cannot be accepted. Their ancient monuments show the influence of the neighbouring Greek colonies in Caria; but those, in which the Grecian type is so decided, belong to a much later period.* From their first appearance in history, the Lycians furnish an example of a firmly united and well balanced federal constitution, which embraced their twenty-three cities; and perhaps they owed it to this cause, as much as to the protection of Mount Taurus, that they and the Cilicians, alone of all the people west of the Halys, held out against the power of Crœsus. The Persians only subdued them after a resistance which was made for ever memorable by the fate of Xanthus.† In a battle fought on the plain south of the city, the fierce courage of the Xanthians was overpowered by numbers, and they were shut up within their walls. Having collected into the citadel their wives, children, slaves, and treasures, they set fire to the building. Then, binding themselves with dreadful oaths, they sallied forth again, and fell fighting to the last man. In the time of Herodotus only eighty families in Xanthus were allowed to be of Lycian descent, their ancestors having been absent from the country at the time. Enough was left, however, of the old spirit, to offer the most desperate resistance to Alexander; and long ages afterwards they repeated the self-immolation of their

* The Lycian monuments, which the British Museum owes to the labours of Sir Charles Fellowes, deserve special study. The language of their ancient inscriptions is still a matter of dispute.

† The native name of the city was Arina. Xanthus (yellow) is a Greek translation of the name of the turbid mountain-stream on which it stood.

forefathers rather than surrender to the Romans under Brutus.* It has been thought, on the evidence of the Xanthian obelisk in the British Museum, erected probably about B.C. 465, that the government of Lycia became hereditary in the family of Harpagus.

As for the rest of Asia Minor, the tribes which had owned allegiance to Crœsus submitted, or were subjected by Harpagus; but various wild races, such as the Pisidians, were never thoroughly subdued. The Cilicians seem to have preserved a real independence under their native princes, who were afterwards reduced to acknowledge the supremacy of Persia, probably by Cambyses.

The conquest of lesser Asia required several years; and, though not conducted by Cyrus in person, it must have claimed much of his attention. Meanwhile he had to consolidate his power in Media and its northern and eastern frontiers. He overran the great plain east of the Caspian (*Khiva* and *Bokhara*), and founded on the river Jaxartes (*Sihoun*), the city which marked the northern frontier of his empire.† To the east of Media, his conquests are said to have extended over Herat, Cabul, Candahar, Seistan, and Beloochistan, in short, the whole plateau of Iran, to the mountains dividing it from the valley of the Indus. Thus we may well account for the fifteen or sixteen years which he suffered to elapse before attacking Babylon. Herodotus, indeed, expressly says that Cyrus reduced the rest of Upper Asia before he made war upon the Assyrians.‡ He alludes elsewhere to the conquest of the Bactrians and the Sacæ; but he avoids encumbering his pages with details of any but the two great events of the capture of Babylon, and the expedition against the Massagetæ, in which Cyrus lost his life. The former exploit has been related in the preceding chapter. It was probably in B.C. 539 that Cyrus began his march from Ecbatana. The whole of that summer was occupied in diverting the water of the Gyndes, an eastern tributary of the Tigris,—a rehearsal of the stratagem by which Babylon was taken in the following year, B.C. 538.

The first act of imperial power performed by Cyrus, when he took up his own residence at Babylon, was to issue his decree for the return of the Jews to the ancient territory of Judah, and for the rebuilding of the Temple of Jehovah (B.C. 536). While

* The story is told by Plutarch, in his *Life of Brutus*.

† *Cyreschata*, that is, *Cyrus's furthest*. Just so Alexander built an *Alexandreschata* in the same region.

‡ *Herod.* i. 177. The context shows that he means the Babylonians, whom he always regards as Assyrians.

combating the extreme views of certain writers as to his motives, we cannot believe that the recent events at Babylon, recorded in the Book of Daniel, made a less impression on his mind, than the earliest displays of Divine power had made on Nebuchadnezzar. The statement that "Daniel continued even until the first year of king Cyrus"* seems to mark the continuance of the honour in which the prophet had been held by Darius, and justifies the inference that he advised and aided in directing the restoration. The emphatic acknowledgement, in the decree issued by Cyrus of his appointment by "Jehovah, the God of Heaven" to perform this work, is what we might expect from a prince who had seen, in the sacred books of the Jews, his very name thus distinguished, in connexion with the prophecy which his capture of Babylon had so literally fulfilled.† But it does not follow that, in thus honouring Jehovah, he forswore the religion of his fathers, or that he forsook his own line of policy. As Egypt had joined with Babylon and Lydia in the league against him, we are quite prepared to believe the statement of Herodotus, that Egypt, as well as Babylon, was comprehended in the conquests he was meditating when he returned from Sardis. ‡ In all previous wars between Egypt and the great empires of Western Asia,—as afterwards in the contests between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids—Palestine was a frontier post of extreme importance to either party. It was sound policy to maintain there a nation, who would cling to it as their own sacred land,—a policy always followed by Egypt, and only abandoned by Nebuchadnezzar under the provocation of reiterated rebellion. Let his policy, however, have been what it might, Cyrus carried it out with noble generosity. He invited the worshippers of Jehovah from the most distant provinces of the empire, charging their neighbours to provide them with money, goods, and beasts for the journey, besides free-will offerings for the House of God; and collected from the Babylonian temples all the sacred vessels which had been carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, and gave them to the care of the prince of Judah. While thus honoured to fulfil the Divine decrees, Cyrus strengthened his empire by a policy which proved perfectly successful. For the space of more than two centuries, to the overthrow of the empire by Alexander, Persia had no more obedient province than Judæa, and her kings no more loyal subjects than the Jews, both those

* Daniel i. 21.

† Ezra i. 1—4; Isaiah xliv. 28; xlv. 1—13.

‡ *Herod.* i. 153.

who remained in the East and those who returned to their own land.

In both scenes their loyalty was preserved under considerable provocation, and their political conduct may be adduced as one sign of the better spirit which the Jews showed after the return from the captivity. For there is no more conspicuous proof, in the providential government of the world, that men may be taught to fear God by finding Him faithful to His threats and yet merciful in their infliction, than in the altered temper of the restored people. If they brought back with them the germs of faults which were afterwards to require a more terrible chastisement, they were at least cured of the idolatry and obstinate rebellion which had called down the first. Guided by Zerubbabel, and encouraged by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, they bore the opposition which sprung from the jealousy of the half-heathen Samaritans and the calumnious accusations transmitted to court by the Persian satraps, till they gained the favour of the king, and were permitted to complete their works in peace. The details are so exclusively concerned with the religious history of the people, and so mixed up with such intricate questions respecting the kings named in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, that their discussion must be left to the separate province of Scripture History. It is enough here to give the general results. The Temple was finished and dedicated in the sixth year of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 515). His successor Xerxes (B.C. 485—465), there can now be little doubt, is the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, a document which gives us a most interesting view, both of the interior of the Persian court, and of the condition of the Jews throughout the empire. The influence of the Jewish queen, the proved loyalty of their most distinguished men, such as Mordecai, and the display of strength, when, in defending themselves against a general massacre, they slew 75,000 of their enemies, must have greatly improved their general position. Under Artaxerxes I. Longimanus, they were vastly strengthened by the mission of Ezra and the new body of returned exiles who accompanied him (B.C. 458), and again by the commission granted to Nehemiah (B.C. 445). In spite of renewed opposition from the Samaritans, and corruptions which had grown up within the new state, the work of restoration was completed, the walls were rebuilt, the law was once more taught by the Levites, the ordinances of religion established anew, and an orderly division was made of the people between Jerusalem and the country districts. In a second visit

(about B.C. 433) Nehemiah reformed the internal abuses which had grown up, chiefly from the spirit of selfish gain, and the nation prospered under the rule of their High Priests till the end of the Persian Empire (B.C. 323).

The end of Cyrus, as related by Herodotus, forms a mournful contrast to the greatness of his reign. He fell in an expedition against the Massagetæ, a Scythian people in the great plain east of the Caspian. The story is again embellished by romantic details—the over-weening confidence of Cyrus in his good fortune—the challenge of the warrior queen Tomyris to choose his own ground to fight on—the dream of Cyrus, foreshowing the elevation of Darius the son of Hystaspis—the details of the two battles—and the savage insults of Queen Tomyris upon the corpse of Cyrus, whose head she dipped into a skinful of human gore, to "give him his fill of blood." Another story, preserved by Ctesias, made him fall in an expedition against the Derbices, a Caucasian people. There is no reason to doubt that he really fell in battle against some tribe of central Asia; but it seems also certain that he was buried at Pasargadæ, his Persian capital. There the followers of Alexander (as Arrian relates) not only saw the tomb, bearing the inscription, "I am Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, who founded the empire of the Persians and ruled over Asia: grudge me not then this monument;" but Aristobulus gathered together, and interred again, the scattered bones. A tomb is still to be seen at *Murghaub* answering to Arrian's description. A square base, composed of immense blocks of a beautiful white marble, rises by seven steps, and supports a quadrangular cell, surmounted by a roof with gables, like the pediments of a Greek temple. This is also built of huge blocks of marble, those of the roof being cut to the required slope. The walls are five feet thick, and the interior is ten feet long, seven feet wide, and eight feet high. The marble floor is pierced with holes, which are supposed to have held the fastenings of the golden sarcophagus. The tomb stands in an area surrounded by pillars, which are inscribed both in the Persian and the so-called Median (or Scythian) dialects, "I am Cyrus the king, the Achæmenian."* The reign of Cyrus lasted nine-and-twenty years: his death forms one of the best ascertained epochs in chronology, B.C. 529.

Mr. Grote gives the following admirable summary of the reign and conquests of the Great Cyrus:—"In what we read respecting

* An engraving of the tomb is given with the description in Sir R. K. Porter's *Travels*, vol. i. pp. 498—506, and in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 351.

him, there seems, though amidst constant fighting, very little cruelty. His extraordinary activity and conquests admit of no doubt. He left the Persian Empire extending from Sogdiana and the rivers Jaxartes and Indus eastward, and to the Hellespont and the Syrian coast westward; and his successors made no permanent addition to it, except that of Egypt. . . . . It was from Cyrus that the habits of the Persian kings took commencement, to dwell at Susa in the winter and Ecbatana during the summer; the primitive territory of Persis, with its two towns of Persepolis and Pasargadæ, being reserved for the burial-place of the kings and the religious sanctuary of the empire. How or when the conquest of Susiana was made, we are not informed. . . . . The river Choaspes, near Susa, was supposed to furnish the only water fit for the palate of the Great King, and it is said to have been carried about with him wherever he went."* This great historian then proceeds to show the vast change which these conquests effected on the Persian nation itself, holding out to their nobles satrapies as lucrative and powerful as kingdoms, and to the soldiers plunder and licence without limit; and, while tempting them with all the luxuries of the conquered countries, for which they soon abandoned their old simplicity, opening the prospect of a career of unbounded conquest, into which the successors of Cyrus at once plunged. The result was to roll back the tide of conquest upon an empire enfeebled by luxury, divided by the jealousies and contests of provincial rulers, and with a central power too weak to prevent its falling to pieces. In tracing the progress of this declension, let it be remembered that we are dealing with the case, not simply of a widespread empire, but of an empire in which the central power was despotic. How far an almost unbounded dominion may be rendered safe by free institutions is a great question of our own days.

The "Nemesis" of unbridled power—to borrow the impressive view of the Greeks—already begins to work in the personal character of CAMBYSES, the son and successor of Cyrus. His wanton cruelties and insane rashness have often been compared with those of Antiochus Epiphanes, Caligula, and Paul of Russia, as proofs that if "oppression drives wise men mad," it makes the tyrant himself madder. The great event of his reign was the expedition against Egypt, which is usually placed in his fifth year (B.C. 525).† Herodotus passes over the interval; but elsewhere he

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iv. pp. 288, 289.

† This is on the authority of Manetho, in the Armenian version of the *Chronicon*

gives us reason to believe that Phœnicia was conquered by Cambyses. He puts into the mouth of the Persian courtier the flattery,—which could hardly have been ventured on without some foundation of truth,—that Cambyses surpassed his father, for he was lord of all that his father ever ruled, and further had made himself master of Egypt, *and the sea.** Accordingly Cambyses is the first Persian king whom we find in possession of that great instrument of maritime power, the navy of the Phœnicians; but their connexion with Persia was little more than a voluntary alliance; and Cambyses was obliged to humour them because "upon the Phœnicians all his sea-service depended."† The affairs involved in the transfer of so vast and recent an empire, even from father to son, with the collection of all its forces for the meditated expedition, may easily have required five years. Herodotus expressly tells us, twice over, that the forces led by Cambyses against Egypt comprised the recently subjugated Ionian and Æolian Greeks, as well as the hereditary vassals of the Medo-Persian Empire.‡ The expedition was undertaken, as we have already seen, at the close of the long reign of Amasis, who, however, died before the actual commencement of the war.§

Notwithstanding the provocation he had given by joining the league of Crœsus, Amasis seems to have been on friendly terms with Cyrus; but Cambyses easily found a new ground of quarrel. It is not worth while to repeat the doubtful stories which Herodotus tells upon this point. Phanes, a mercenary from Halicarnassus, undertook to guide the Persian army across the desert which divides Philistia from the Lake Serbonis and Mount Casius on the Egyptian frontier; and, by the same man's advice, a safe-conduct was obtained from the Arabian chief of that region.‖

of Eusebius, and of Diodorus (i. 68). Syncellus, however, reports Manetho as placing the invasion two years earlier, B.C. 527.

* *Herod.* iii. 34.

† *Herod.* iii. 19. Herodotus tells us, that it was only the refusal of the Phœnicians to sail against their own children, and allies under a treaty, that hindered the conquest of Carthage by Cambyses; and that the king accepted their excuse because they had yielded themselves to the Persians. He then speaks of the similar submission of the Cyprians in a way which implies its having been voluntary in both cases.

‡ *Herod.* ii. 1; iii. 1. § See chapter vii. p. 138.

‖ Modern travellers confirm the statement of Herodotus as to the good faith of the Arabs to such engagements. Speaking of the region crossed by Cambyses, Mr. Kinglake says, "It is not of the Bedouins that travellers are afraid, for the safe-conduct granted by the chief of the ruling tribe is never, I believe, violated."—*Eothen*, p. 191.

Cambyses found the new king of Egypt, Psammenitus, the son of Amasis, encamped near the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile. A horrid pledge was given of the fierceness of the coming conflict, especially between the mercenaries in either army. The Greek and Carian soldiers of Psammenitus, enraged at the treachery of Phanes, took his sons, whom he had left in Egypt, brought them forth in sight of both armies, and slaying them in their father's sight, caught their life-blood in a bowl, and drank it mingled with wine and water. Then, pledging themselves to one another with an oath, they rushed into the battle. After a stubborn fight and great slaughter on both sides, the Egyptians fled.* The defeated army sought for shelter within the walls of Memphis. Cambyses sent a herald up the Nile to summon them to surrender, but they destroyed the ship and tore the crew limb from limb. The siege was formed, and the city only offered a brief resistance. Upon its capture, the Libyans submitted to Cambyses; and the Greek cities of Barca and Cyrene sent him presents, which he contemptuously rejected for their meanness.

The outrage on the herald might have excused retaliation in the first flush of victory; but, instead of this, Cambyses amused himself by wanton cold-blooded cruelty to Psammenitus ten days after the city had surrendered. Setting him in a suburb of the city, with a mockery of royal state, he caused a procession of prisoners to pass before him. First came his daughter, in the garb of a slave, with the daughters of the chief Egyptian nobles; next his son, and two thousand of the noble youths, with ropes round their necks and bridles in their mouths, doomed to death for the murder of the herald's crew. Psammenitus sat unmoved, while the Egyptians about him cried aloud at the fate of their sons and daughters; but when one of his former boon companions, who had been plundered of his all, came up and begged alms of the soldiers, the king burst into tears. Being required by Cambyses to explain conduct so strange, Psammenitus answered, that his own misfortunes were too great for tears, but he could weep over a friend fallen into beggary on

* Herodotus, who visited the field of battle, makes a curious observation on the Persian and Egyptian skulls, which he saw piled in two separate heaps. The former were so thin that a slight blow with a pebble would break a hole in them, the latter so strong that you could hardly crack them with a stone.—*Herod.* iii. 12. Sir J. G. Wilkinson adds: "The thickness of the Egyptian skull is observable in the mummies; and those of the modern Egyptians fortunately possess the same property of hardness, to judge from the blows they bear from the Turks, and in their combats among themselves."

the threshold of old age. The answer moved to tears not only the Persian nobles and Crœsus, but even Cambyses himself, who issued orders to spare the son of Psammenitus; but it was too late. Psammenitus himself was treated by Cambyses with the honour which, as we have seen in more than one example, the Persians were wont to show to dethroned kings;* but, being detected in new conspiracies, he was compelled to drink poison. Cambyses now gave full vent to the wanton spirit, indicated by the public insults to the fallen king. Entering the palace of Amasis, he had his corpse brought forth from the chamber where it lay awaiting final interment, and began to scourge it and insult it in every way. Finding that the attendants were wasting their blows on the wrappings of the mummy, he ordered them to burn it;—a command, observes Herodotus, as insulting to the Persians, who regarded fire as a god, as it was to the Egyptians.

Cambyses now planned three great expeditions for the conquest of all Africa;—the first against the Carthaginians; the second against the inhabitants of the Oasis of Ammon (*Siwah*); and the third against some tribe whom Herodotus calls "the long-lived Ethiopians," and whom he believed to live upon the southern ocean. How the first expedition was frustrated by the refusal of the Phœnicians, has been already stated; the last was prepared for by sending spies, whose reports (real or feigned) furnished curious details, which may be read in Herodotus, and who brought back a challenge which so excited the fury of Cambyses, that he undertook the expedition in person. He was compelled, however, to relinquish it, after the entire failure of provisions had driven his soldiers to the extremity of casting lots for every tenth man to be eaten by his comrades.

Meanwhile an army of 50,000 men was despatched to the Oasis of Ammon, with instructions to enslave the inhabitants, and to burn the temple of the god. They set out from Thebes, and were known to have reached the "Great Oasis," about seven days' journey to the west, and to have started thence on their forward march across the Libyan Desert; but they were never heard of more. They met a fate, as was believed, worthy of their sacrilegious mission. It was afterwards said by the Ammonians, that the Persians had advanced half-way across the desert, when, as they were seated at their noon-day meal, a violent south-wind bore down upon them vast columns of whirling sand, under which they were completely

* Herodotus gives his express testimony to this usage (iii. 15).

buried. It is more probable that they were suffocated by the Simoom, or lost their way and perished by thirst; for the sand-storms of the desert, however annoying, are seldom dangerous.

Cambyses had returned to Memphis, stung by these twofold disappointments, when he found the whole city rejoicing at the discovery of a calf marked with the signs which declared it to be the divine bull Apis. Conceiving the public joy to be over his own defeat, he demanded an explanation of the magistrates; and, on their relating to him the discovery of Apis, he condemned them to death as liars. Next he summoned the priests, and commanded them to bring Apis before him, for "he would soon know whether a tame god had really come to dwell in Egypt." Then, drawing his dagger, he stabbed the calf in the thigh, and, as the blood flowed, he mocked this god of flesh and blood and sensible to steel, ordered the priests to be scourged, and denounced the penalty of death on any Egyptian who should observe the festival. The Apis died of its wound, and was secretly buried by the priests.

The Egyptians regarded all the subsequent excesses of Cambyses as proofs of a judicial visitation of madness for this act of sacrilege. After making all allowance for the source from which Herodotus received his information, we can hardly doubt that he performed many deeds of wild caprice, inconsistent with the exercise of rational self-control. The most cruel of these was his shooting an arrow into the heart of the son of a favourite courtier, Prexaspes, who had ventured to tell him, at his own request, that his subjects said he was addicted to wine; and, when he had given this proof of sobriety, requiring the father to compliment him on the steadiness of his aim. The most fatal was the murder of his brother Smerdis,* at Susa, by the ministry of the same Prexaspes, in consequence of a dream, which appeared to threaten his accession to the throne. This crime soon brought its own punishment.

There was a certain Magian, who bore a resemblance to the murdered prince. Herodotus adds that he was also called Smerdis, but we learn from the Behistun inscription that his true name was Gomates (*Gaumata*). With the help, according to Herodotus, of his brother,† whom Cambyses had left in Persia as governor of his household, the Magian assumed the throne, and proclaimed him-

* The true name was Bardis (*Bardiya*), the *S* being a prefix.—*Behistun Inscription*, col. i. par. 10. The inscription seems to place the murder before the departure of Cambyses for Egypt. If so, it was probably a precaution against revolt.

† The inscription does not mention this brother.

self throughout the empire as Smerdis the son of Cyrus, their king in place of Cambyses. The death of the true Smerdis had been carefully concealed, and the people seem almost universally to have transferred their allegiance to the usurper, who took precautions to avoid discovery.* Historians generally ascribe this to the long absence of Cambyses in Egypt, combined with disgust at his tyranny; but the language of Darius, confirmed by all we know of the attendant circumstances, points to a religious revolution, in which the supreme power was seized by the Magians:—"When Cambyses had proceeded to Egypt, then the state became wicked; then the lie became abounding in the land, both in Persia, and in Media, and in the other provinces." These words dispose of the speculation of some modern historians, that the revolt was one chiefly of the Medes against the Persians. There can be little doubt, as we have said above, that the Median element would predominate, because Magianism was chiefly prevalent among the Medes; but the rebellion was essentially Magian, and we have the distinct testimony of the inscription, both that Gomates was himself a Persian, and that the whole empire went over to him from Cambyses, "both Persia and Media, and the other provinces." In describing his restoration of the order of the state, after he had put down Gomates, Darius tells us that he rebuilt the temples which Gomates the Magian had destroyed, and that he restored to the people the sacred offices of the state, the religious chaunts and worship of which Gomates the Magian had deprived them. So much for the character and success of the revolution.

Of the heralds sent through all the empire to proclaim the usurper, one dared, according to Herodotus, to discharge his office in the camp of Cambyses, at Ecbatana in Syria.† The king at first vented his anger on Prexaspes, as if he had only pretended to kill Smerdis; but, assured that Prexaspes had slain and buried the prince with his own hand, and learning from the herald that he had not received his commission from the pretender in person, nor had even seen him, Cambyses perceived the truth. He was mounting his horse in haste, to lead his army to Susa against the usurper, when the button of his scabbard fell off, and the point of his sword pierced his thigh at the very spot, as the Egyptians observed, where he

* Herodotus says that he shut himself up in a castle; the inscription declares that he put to death many who had known Bardis, lest they should recognize him.

† If there be any truth in the story, Cambyses was probably already on his march homewards. No satisfactory explanation has been given of this Syrian Ecbatana; the name was perhaps invented to suit the story.

had stabbed the Apis. Feeling himself mortally wounded, Cambyses asked the name of the place where he was, and being answered "Ecbatana," he remembered an oracle, which he had understood to mean that he should die at his full time in his palace at Ecbatana, and he exclaimed, "Here then Cambyses, son of Cyrus, is doomed to die."* Calling the chiefs of the Persians round him, he confessed the murder of his brother, and exposed the imposture of the usurper; he exhorted them all, and especially the Achæmenids, to meet force by force, and fraud by fraud, so as to prevent the return of the kingdom to the Medes,† invoking every blessing on the loyal, and praying that those who failed in this duty might perish by such a fate as his. He died childless, after a reign of seven years and five months, B.C. 522.

Such is the account which Herodotus probably learnt from Egyptian sources. The inscription simply says that, upon the seizure of the empire by Gomates, Cambyses died "unable to endure;" but another version of these words, if correct—"self-wishing to die"—would seem to imply suicide. Herodotus adds that the Persian chiefs imputed the dying words of Cambyses to hatred of his brother, and were only the more convinced of the claims of the so-called Smerdis; and thus the Magian reigned secure. So far he is confirmed by the inscription, in which Darius boasts that no one, either Persian or Median, dared to say a word against the usurper till he arrived: the description which follows of the tyranny of the Magian agrees with the hatred which Herodotus says that the Persians bore to his memory; and the statement of the historian, that he won the affections of the other Asiatics by exempting them from military service and taxes for three years, is quite consistent with his harshness to the Persians.

Long before that term expired, his reign and life came to an end, by a conspiracy of the chiefs of the Achæmenids. Whether the curious stories of Herodotus respecting the detection of the false Smerdis and the stratagem by which the crown was obtained

* Most commentators have noticed the parallel in Shakspere's scene of the death of Henry IV. in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster:—

"It hath been prophesied to me many years,
I should not die, but in Jerusalem,
Which vainly I supposed the Holy Land:—
But bear me to that chamber: there I'll lie:
In that Jerusalem shall Harry die."

† This is the phrase of Herodotus, giving certainly some support to the national view of the rebellion, though proving that he had an imperfect idea of its character. At all events, it was a rebellion against the Achæmenids, if not against the Persians in general; and as such the Achæmenids revenged it.

by Darius, the son of Hystaspes, be true or not (and there is no sufficient reason to reject them altogether), his narrative is in substantial agreement with the inscription of Darius himself. The six conspirators in Herodotus, besides Darius, who makes the seventh, correspond, with only one exception, to the men whom Darius names as with him when he slew the Magian, and who "alone laboured in his service." Otanes is the *Utana* of the inscription; Intaphernes, *Vidaphrana;* Gobryas, *Gaubaruva;* Hydarnes, *Vidarna;* Megabyzus, *Bagabuksda.** Herodotus represents Otanes as the deviser of the conspiracy, and Darius as only arriving at the last moment at Susa, from Persia, of which his father Hystaspes was the governor, whilst Darius takes the main credit of the exploit to himself. But if we look a little closer, we find Darius saying, "No one dared to say anything concerning Gomates the Magian, *until I arrived.* . . . Then it was, *with my faithful* men, I slew that Gomates the Magian." And, in Herodotus, it is Darius who, from the moment of his arrival, urges immediate action, while Otanes counsels delay. Nay more: as Darius was closely related to the royal family, perhaps the next heir to the throne, it is not improbable that Otanes may have begun the conspiracy in his interest, which it required his presence to bring to a head. It is also worthy of notice, that Herodotus represents Darius as aware of the imposture of the false Smerdis, and as supposing that the knowledge was confined to himself. A further indication of his importance is given by his confidence that the guards would at once allow him to pass, with his comrades, as the bearer of a message from his father, the satrap of Persia. And when, by this stratagem, the conspirators had obtained admission to the palace, it was the dagger of Darius that gave the Magian his death-stroke. It is implied throughout that the whole affair was begun and ended at Susa; but the inscription tells us that the Magian was slain at a fort called Sictachotes, in the district of Nisæa, in Media. His reign had lasted seven

* In the last name we have the same interchange of *b* and *m* as in Bardes and (S) Merdis. *Vi*darna becomes *Hy*darnes, just as *Vi*shtasp becomes *Hy*staspes. As for *Int*aphernes from *Vid*aphrana, Herodotus probably wrote *Vint*aphernes (for the Greek *Vau* was not lost in his time), and the nasal intonation of the dentals is very common. The whole is a strong incidental proof of the value of some, at least, of the authorities followed by Herodotus; and the solitary discrepancy between the Aspathines of his list and the Ardumanish of the inscription may well be excused when we learn, from the inscription of Naksh-i-Rustam, that the quiver-bearer of Darius was named *Aspachana.* Ctesias gives only one name right (Hydarnes) besides that of Darius himself.

months. The usurpation of the Magian priests was avenged by a great massacre, of which the memory was preserved by the annual festival called Magophonia (the slaughter of the Magians), during which no Magian might show himself abroad for the space of five days, on penalty of death.* This is one of the most curious examples in all history of those checks which a government finds it necessary to impose on a dominant hierarchy. For, as we have already seen, the religious system of these very Magians became the popular creed throughout the Persian empire, notwithstanding the failure of their attempt to grasp the government. They even succeeded in securing for their doctrine the traditional authority of their great political enemy, by making Zoroaster contemporary with the second founder of the empire.

Throughout the inscription, Darius ascribes his success, and indeed all his subsequent prosperity, to the grace of Auramazda; and he made it his first care to restore the temples and the worship which Gomates the Magian had overthrown. With equal distinctness he claims to have recovered "the empire which," he says, "had been taken away from *our* family." This is a clear assertion of his hereditary right to the throne, and by this title he doubtless obtained it. Herodotus, indeed, takes the opportunity to entertain his readers with an elaborate discussion among the conspirators, so serious that it was not begun till quiet was secured by a delay of five days. Otanes argues vehemently against an irresponsible monarchy, and proposes to raise the people to power, on that principle of *isonomy*,† which was as dear to a Greek republican as the *equality* of 1789 is to a modern Frenchman. Megabyzus contends that the ignorant wantonness of a rabble is even worse than the caprice of a despot; and urges his comrades to establish an oligarchy, not only as the best form of government, but for the sake of keeping the power in their own hands. Darius, like some later aspirants to imperial power, pushes the last argument to its legitimate conclusion in favour of the monarchy under which the Persians had gained their freedom; and his view was supported by the remaining four. If Herodotus, as is unquestionably the truth, has here embodied a theoretical discussion from a Greek point of view, rather than any actual fact, he has at least given a plain statement of the motives which make men prefer the two latter forms of government.‡

* The parallel to the general massacre of the Jews planned by Haman is too obvious to need remark.

† Equality in all civil and political rights.

‡ One is almost inclined to suspect a sly humour in the gravity with which he

DARIUS, the son of Hystaspes, of the royal race of the Achæmenids, ascended the throne in B.C. 521.* His earlier years were disturbed by great rebellions in Babylonia and Media, under leaders claiming descent from former kings. In the inscription so often mentioned, he relates the particulars of these revolts, and how he suppressed them by the help of Auramazda. He then perfected that elaborate system for the government of his empire which we shall presently describe. But first, as we are about to change our point of view, and to look at Asia henceforward from the West, let us cast a preparatory glance at the later history of the Persian Empire. Ambitious to rival Cyrus as a conqueror, Darius undertook expeditions beyond the extreme south-eastern and north-western boundaries of his empire, against India and European Scythia. The successes of his generals in the former country seem to have been little more than nominal; and we may reserve what we have to say of that interesting land, till its real appearance in the current of general history under Alexander. Herodotus † gives a most picturesque account of the Scythian expedition, in which the great military skill of Darius rescued his army from a position of extreme peril, and saved himself from the fate of Cyrus. Drawn on by an enemy whose wandering hordes always retired before him, he had the prudence to retreat in time. We shall have to recur to the connexion of this campaign with the affairs of the Asiatic Greeks. Permanent results, however, followed from the expedition, and a beginning was made of conquest in Europe. While Darius returned to Sardis, he left Megabazus to subdue Thrace and the Greek cities of the Hellespont. That general not only reduced the Thracian tribes as far west as the

insists that such speeches *were* made, though many of the Greeks disbelieved it; as if he meant that they *ought to have been made.*—*Herod.* iii. 80.

* His Persian name is *Darayavush*, which is said to signify the *restrainer*. His descent is traced from the second son of Teïspes (son of Achæmenes, *Hakhamani*), by the same number of generations as that of Cyrus from the eldest son of Teïspes. By his marriage with Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, the two lines were united in his son Xerxes. It deserves notice that Hystaspes was still alive. Content, doubtless, with the satrapy of Persia, he left the bolder enterprise to his son. He is mentioned in the Behistun inscription as a satrap under Darius.

† Book iv. It must be remembered that the Scythians here referred to are not the great nations afterwards known by that name in Central Asia, though they also originally came from that region, and were of the same great Turanian race. They inhabited the region round the north of the Black Sea, between the Danube and the Don, from which, as we have seen, they had expelled the Cimmerians, and which was afterwards called *Sarmatia*, from one of their tribes. The account of them and their customs, which Herodotus derived from the Greek settlers on their coast, forms to this day a most important chapter in the history of ethnology.

Strymon; but, crossing that river, he extended his conquests to nations more nearly connected with the Greeks. The Pæonians were subdued, and most of them were removed into Asia; and Amyntas, king of Macedonia, acknowledged the supremacy of the Great King, by the customary present of earth and water. The envoys of Darius gave a sample of the insolence with which the Persians might be expected to behave, and paid the penalty with their lives; but the matter was hushed up. Thus the Persian Empire was extended to the northern border of Thessaly; where it hung like the edge of an advancing glacier, threatening to overwhelm the free states of Greece.

The intrigues which had been at work among the Ionian cities, during these European campaigns, belong to Grecian history. It is enough here to mention that Histiæus, the tyrant of Miletus, was deeply engaged in these intrigues, though he had thus far given all his help, in public, to the cause of Darius, and had been rewarded with a principality on the Strymon. His conduct there being suspicious, Darius carried him away with him, when he left Asia Minor, and the resentment of Histiæus was the immediate cause of the Ionian revolt, which forms the true beginning of the great wars between Greece and Persia (B.C. 500). Meanwhile the return of Darius from Sardis to Susa was followed by a few years of profound tranquillity throughout the empire. A broad line of demarcation is here drawn between the glories of the king's first twenty years, and the troubles of his last sixteen, which shook the empire to its base.

The Ionian revolt occupied the six years from B.C. 500 to B.C. 495. Its suppression was followed by a brief prospect of the subjection of Grecian liberty to Asiatic despotism, the consequences of which in the history of the world would have been so vast a mischief as to defy all calculation. But the unaided valour of the Athenians at MARATHON repulsed the first invasion; and, what was far better, proved the impotence of vast barbarian hosts against a small band of well trained warriors, where each heart is nerved by the consciousness of freedom (B.C. 490). The vast preparations of Darius for a new invasion were interrupted by the revolt of Egypt under Inarus (B.C. 486); and in the following year Darius died, after a reign of thirty-six years, leaving a fame only second to that of Cyrus (B.C. 485). The one founded the empire, the other rescued it from revolution, and organized its whole administration.

But the very same hand had shaken the foundation of his own

edifice by challenging the shock of western liberty; and the headstrong passions of his successor, Xerxes* (B.C. 485—465) hastened the catastrophe. The victories of Salamis and Platæa (B.C. 480—479) transferred the war to the coasts of Asia; while Xerxes seems to have lived in his seraglio, amidst the scenes described in the Book of Esther, and at last fell a victim to a conspiracy in his palace. The internal history of the empire under his successors is a confusd scene of rebellions in the provinces, internal wars among the satraps, and conspiracies in the seraglio. Under Artaxerxes Mnemon, the memorable expedition of the younger Cyrus (B.C. 401) and the campaigns of Agesilaus in Asia (B.C. 396—394) proved how vulnerable the empire was, even to a small Greek army, and gave the example which Alexander followed when he finally overthrew the power of Persia (B.C. 330).†

Returning from this brief anticipatory sketch, it remains to take a general survey of the Persian Empire, as organized by Darius, that we may see the condition of the Eastern world at the epoch when the Western claims our attention.

The Persian Empire presents the chief type of that form of government which we still see in Turkey, a power whose dominions are not far from corresponding to those of the Great King west of the table-land of Iran, and in modern Persia, which answers very nearly to ancient Media and Persia Proper. The many nations which dwelt from the Indus to the Ister, and from the Sea of Aral to the shores of the Greater Syrtis, retained their own languages, laws, manners, and religion. In many places the native princes held the honour, and part of the power, of royalty. The cities of the more civilized provinces, as in Ionia, administered their own internal

* This name is the Greek form of the Persian *kshershé*, which is akin to the Sanskrit *kshatra* (*king*). The prefix *Arta* (*noble*), so common in Persian names, gives us Artaxerxes. The prefix Cy or Kai, which we still see in the modern Persian name of Cyrus (Kai Khosru) converts it into the Median *Cyaxares*. Lastly, the Hebrew prosthetic *a* makes *A-chasverosh* (Ahasuerus), a name applied alike to Cyaxares (in *Daniel*), to Cambyses, who probably used this royal title (in *Ezra*), and to Xerxes (in *Esther*).

† The following is a complete list of the Persian kings, from the foundation of the empire to its fall:—(1) CYRUS, B.C. 559-529; (2) CAMBYSES, B.C. 529-522; (3) Usurpation of the Pseudo-SMERDIS, 7 months, B.C. 522-521; (4) DARIUS I., son of Hystaspes, B.C. 521-485; (5) XERXES I., B.C. 485-465; (6) Usurpation of ARTABANUS, 7 months, B.C. 465-464; (7) ARTAXERXES I., Longimanus, B.C. 464-425; (8) XERXES II., 2 months, B.C. 425; (9) SOGDIANUS, 7 months, B.C. 425-424; (10) Ochus, or DARIUS II., Nothus, B.C. 424-405; (11) ARTAXERXES II., Mnemon, B.C. 405-359; (12) Ochus, or ARTAXERXES III., B.C. 359-338; (13) ARSES, B.C. 338-336; (14) DARIUS III., Codomannus, B.C. 336-330.

government; but the "tyrants" who rose to power in them were generally favoured by Persia. The old boundaries of the nations marked out, for the most part, the new provinces, or *Satrapies*, as they were called, from the officer who ruled each as the royal lieutenant.* That sentiment of common nationality and religion, which makes the great majority of the subjects of "Holy Russia" look to the Czar as a father, is unknown in such an empire. The sovereign is equally supreme and irresponsible; but it is as the owner of the whole territory, and the absolute master of its inhabitants. In theory, the king delegated as much of his authority as he pleased to the satrap, whom he appointed from any nation or rank, and degraded or put to death at his will. A check was provided on the power of the satrap by placing the command of the forces in separate hands; while, sometimes at least, the commandants of garrisons were independent of both. The satrap, however, was often the military commander, especially in the frontier provinces. The administration of justice, too, was committed to officers independent of the satraps, called Royal Judges. They were appointed by the king, who called them to account most rigorously for any corruption in their office. Cambyses had one such offender put to death and flayed, and his skin made a covering for the judgment seat.† The proverbial unchangeableness of the Medo-Persian laws must have added no small security against judicial oppression. In reference to one of the most important of the satrap's functions, and the one most tempting to provincial tyranny, it was some safeguard to the people that each province was assessed to a regular amount of tribute, and not, as in the modern Persian and Turkish kingdoms, expected to furnish as much as the governor can extort. The satrap might indeed levy for his own use as much as his power or prudence permitted; but there was a check upon his extortion in the interest which the king had in preventing the impoverishment of the provinces. All

* The Greek word *satrap* (σατράπης) represents the *khshatrapa* of the Behistun inscription. It is explained (though not beyond doubt) as *upholder of the king* or *kingdom*. (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 329.) In the Behistun inscription Darius enumerates twenty-three countries as having been given to him by the grace of Auramazda. Lists are given, with some important additions, in the inscriptions at Persepolis and *Naksh-i-Rustam*, which are of later date. The 127 provinces of the Book of Esther, like the 120 of Daniel, must be understood of smaller divisions, reckoning separately many tribes and countries which were united in the satrapies. Herodotus makes the number of the satrapies twenty, and gives a full description of them, with a statement of their revenues. (Book iii. chaps. 90-94.)

† *Herod.* v. 25.

this, however, could not prevent the gross abuse of the enormous power entrusted to the satraps; and there are strong cases, not only of extortion, but even of personal outrage upon Persians of the highest rank. So long, in fact, as the province was orderly and flourishing, the tribute regularly remitted, and no suspicion of the satrap's fidelity excited by his own conduct or by the machinations of his rivals, he enjoyed the state and much of the power of an independent sovereign. This seems to have been especially the case in the satrapies of Asia Minor, which, besides being remote from the capital, were involved in the restless activities of Greek politics. Here we find embassies received and sent, and alliances and wars made, not only without reference to the court, but by the different satraps, taking different sides. Each enlisted his own body of Greek mercenaries, with whose aid they made war upon one another.

Such a system involved the constant danger of rebellion; and various means were taken to guard against the risk. The satrapies were assigned, as far as possible, to members of the royal family and nobles connected with it by marriage. A watch was kept upon the satrap by a "Royal Secretary," appointed to report all his proceedings to the king. Xenophon tells us that special commissioners were also sent every year, to make enquiries into the condition of each satrapy. Upon the whole, these precautions seem not to have been ineffective. Excluding those revolts which were purely national,—such as those of Babylonia and Media under Darius, and that of Egypt, the attempt of the younger Cyrus is almost the only case of dangerous rebellion; and this was a matter of temper rather than of policy. In process of time, however, some of the more distant or less easily accessible provinces seem quietly to have fallen off from the empire, for we have evidence that it was of less extent under the last Darius than under the first.

The position of the Great King himself differed in no material respect from that of an Asiatic despot at the present day, such as the Shah of modern Persia. He appears to have governed without a council, except when of his mere motion he convened the nobles to aid him with their advice, which even then he was under no obligation to follow. If his courtiers ventured to appeal to the unchanging laws of the Medo-Persians, the first of those laws, according to the royal judges, and one that overrode all others, was that the king might do whatever he pleased.* The only

* This answer is said to have been given by the judges to Cambyses to cover a peculiarly flagrant breach of law.—*Herod.* iii. 31.

effective check on his despotism was assassination, the fate of three of the Persian kings—Xerxes I., Xerxes II., and Artaxerxes III. The king spent his life in the retirement of the seraglio, at Susa, Babylon, or Ecbatana,* and the real power was often exercised by a fond or ambitious queen like Parysatis, or a powerful eunuch, like Bagoas. This degeneracy may be dated from the return of Xerxes from Greece. Darius himself administered the empire with the same energy by which it was reconquered and organized.

The Persian Empire was the last of those great Asiatic despotisms, whose imperfectly known annals we have endeavoured to construct into this second book of our History of the World. The position which these monarchies occupy in our work we believe to correspond fairly to their true place in that course of moral government which it is the business of history to trace. They stand between the two great systems of patriarchal order and constitutional liberty. During nearly the whole two thousand years † that their dominion lasted, the former system was still preserved as a sort of protest against their usurpation, first in the purely patriarchal life and simple worship of the fathers of the Hebrew race, and afterwards in the theocratic commonwealth which was based upon it. And the more we keep this contrast in view, the better shall we understand this long period in the story of mankind. The chosen race, with all its faults, stands on the rugged spot assigned for its abode, like a lighthouse on its rock, piercing the surrounding darkness, and revealing the restless tossing of the waves below. There is preserved the life which has been elsewhere overwhelmed, the light which has elsewhere been quenched, save that some scattered relics of a better state here and there ride out the storm. And by that light we cannot fail to see that the deluge of despotism, like the waters of Noah, was a judgment on a world that had proved faithless to its trust. "O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the staff in their hand is mine indignation. Against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge, to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets."‡ But towards the close of

* The usual custom was to spend the spring at Susa, the summer at Ecbatana, and the winter at Babylon. Roads were made by Darius to all parts of the empire.

† This is merely a round number, reckoned roughly from the epochs assigned, in the way we have already described, to the rise of the Egyptian and Chaldæan kingdoms, down to the acmé of the Persian Empire in B.C. 500. A more definite period of 1500 years might be dated from the birth of Abraham.

‡ Isaiah x. 5, 6.

this period, other nations arose in the West, to work out another problem—whether man's free energy in arms and laws, in poetry and art, in learning and philosophy, could perfect his social state. Our attention is now called to the scene of that experiment.

NOTE ON THE BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION.

THIS most memorable record, the deciphering of which by Sir Henry Rawlinson not only threw a new light on Persian history, but formed the first step in the science of cuneiform interpretation, is engraved on a precipitous rock 1700 feet high, belonging to the chain of Zagros. The spot is near the road from Babylon to the southern of the two cities named Ecbatana, the highway connecting the eastern and western provinces of the empire. At the height of 300 feet above the base of the rock is a great bas-relief, representing captives of various nations brought before the king, and round this is the inscription, in several columns. It is written in the cuneiform character, and in three languages—the old Persian, the Babylonian, and the so-called Median, which we have seen reason to regard as Scythic. Thus, as we have had occasion to remark, it was addressed to the three great races of the empire—the Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian; just as, at the present day, the edicts of the Sultan are published in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish. The character and interpretation of the inscription were first discussed by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who refers it, from internal evidence, to the fifth year of Darius, B.C. 516 (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. X.). Sir Henry's translation is printed, with a transcript of the Persian form of the document, in Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii., p. 590. There are other important inscriptions of Darius, of a later date, at Persepolis and *Naksh-i-Rustam*.

It is proper here to acknowledge our great obligations throughout the preceding chapter, to the labours of Professor Rawlinson; and in particular to his Essays on the Lydian and Median Empires, and on the Religion and Government of the Persians, in the first and second volumes of his translation of Herodotus.

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BOOK III.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

FROM THE EARLIEST LEGENDS TO THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP OF MACEDON.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE MYTHICAL AGE OF GREECE.

Some time let gorgeous Tragedy
In scepter'd pall come sweeping by,
Presenting Thebes, or Pelops' line,
Or the tale of Troy divine.—MILTON.

CONTRAST OF ASIATIC DESPOTISM AND GRECIAN LIBERTY—SURVEY OF THE WESTERN WORLD—GREECE AND ROME—THEIR PART IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY—EARLIEST POPULATION OF GREECE AND ITALY—THE PELASGIAN RACE—DESCRIPTION OF GREECE—THE HELLENIC RACE AND ITS FOUR DIVISIONS—EARLIEST TRADITIONS—STORIES OF EGYPTIAN AND PHŒNICIAN SETTLEMENTS—THE ALPHABET—HOW HISTORY DEALS WITH THE MYTHICAL LEGENDS—THEIR CHARACTER AND CONSTRUCTION—LEGENDS OF THE GODS—JOVE AND THE OLYMPIC DEITIES—APOLLO AND THE ORACLE AT DELPHI—LEGENDS OF THE HEROES—HERCULES—THESEUS—MINOS—THE ARGONAUTS—STORY OF THEBES—THE TROJAN WAR—THE HOMERIC POEMS.

As we trace the history of the great Empires of the East, we feel the painful sense of something wanting to the happiness, nay, to the very social life, of humanity. That something is the spirit of individual freedom, creating its own proper sphere of action in a free state. Just as a man's life consists not in the abundance of the things that he hath, so the true life of our race could not be satisfied by the material wealth and civilization which flourished on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates, much less by the splendour of their empires. The very regions themselves are a type of their inhabitants. The torrid climate and the vast masses of land seem to require a fresher air and greater freedom of intercourse, to rouse the people to vigorous life. These boundless tracts lie ever open to the march of a conquering despot, for whose enrichment the fertile soil yields her produce to the labour of a subject population.

The spell of despotism, which so early mastered Asia, could only be broken by some hardier power, or dispelled by the infusion of a healthier moral tone. Both means were tried, and both were permitted to fail. The Hebrew commonwealth, which might have taught these nations the true liberty of a pure religion, fell into their slavery by forsaking its own privileges. The hardier and freer races, which poured down from the table-land of Iran, had already succumbed to despotic power, and soon paid dear for their conquest by sinking into the state of the conquered nations.

But, meanwhile, we have followed the tide of conquest from East to West, and now we may be permitted to fancy something of the feelings of the Persian conqueror, if he marched down the valley of the Hermus to its mouth, and saw the open sea spread out before him. Ascending one of the rocky headlands to look out over the Ægæan, and breathe the unwonted freshness of the sea air, he would gaze over the islands of the fair Archipelago at his feet towards the land that forms the opposite shore. He knows something of the spirit of the Hellenic nation, deeply as it has degenerated in Asia; and he has had a specimen of its free hardihood in its native home.* As he despises their threats, and marks them out as speedy victims to his ambition, he knows not that in that spirit is a force more puissant than the many nations he can bring into the field; and still less does he think, as he turns away to complete his Asiatic conquests, that their result will be to gather up those nations into one, ready to be smitten by the power of Greece, taught her language, and brought under her influence, in preparation for other and more lasting conquests. To follow these great revolutions in the history of the world, we must change our point of view to the West.

By adhering to our plan of following that which, for the time being, forms the main current of the world's history, and awaiting the point at which the several nations fall into it as tributaries, our views of the early history of the West may be greatly simplified. Looking round the nations on the shores of the Mediterranean and further inland, we have seen Thrace subjected to Persia; and we have had a glimpse, sufficient for the present, of the Scythian tribes beyond the Danube. The Germans, and the other races of Northern Europe, are as yet far removed from any claim on our attention. So is the whole western region, beyond the Alps and the Rhine, including Gaul and Spain, which, we need only now remark, was known by fame to Herodotus as the Celtic Land. On the opposite shore, the Persian empire extends over Egypt, and, nominally at least, over Libya and the Greek colonies of Cyrenaïca, as far west as the great Syrtis. The remaining half of the northern shores of Africa has been already brought to a great extent under the dominion of Carthage, whose history—with some further notice of Phœnicia, her mother country—we reserve till the time of her appearance in rivalry with Rome.

There remain only the two peninsulas, which the united voice

* See the tale of the defiance sent to Cyrus by the Spartans, chap. x. p. 274.

of educated Europe has long agreed to mark as classic ground —Greece and Italy. From each in turn went forth a power, only second in its influence on the world to that which had its centre in the Holy Land; after each had, on her own soil, worked out some of the greatest experiments in politics. The independent states of Greece, having tried the various models of republican freedom, and having proved the power of liberty to repel subjugation, and to cultivate the intellect of man to the highest pitch in literature and oratory, philosophy and art, —at length yielded up their separate liberties to the Macedonian, whose son founded a new Hellenic world on the ruins of the Persian Empire, and effected a sort of intellectual conquest of the East. Rome accomplished quite another work. Unlike the many states of Greece, she formed one political body from the very first, bound together by respect for law, and by a strict military discipline. Strong, hard, tenacious, and unyielding, as the iron which formed her emblem in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, she welded the nations she subdued into a true empire; subjecting at the same time the very face of each land to the use of man by the roads made for her armies. While she gave the world her laws,—to this day the most abiding result of her dominion,—she received in return the varied fruits of their civilization. Conquered Greece, especially, had the noble revenge of subduing the rude conquerors by her arts and letters. The combined effect of these two conquests was to unite the East by the universal language of Greece and the universal dominion of Rome, in preparation for the appearance of Christianity; and to make its diffusion easy over the Romanized provinces of the West. And when, by the process of decay and division, the iron feet, on which the imperial image had stood so firm, ended in the toes of ferruginous clay, these still had in them some share of the iron: to translate the image,—the fruits of the Roman ascendancy endured, and still endure, in those bonds of language, laws, letters, policy, traditions, and religion, which have made Western Europe a community of nations. To follow the history of these vast changes, and at the same time to show how the East fell off from the last of the ancient empires, forms the remaining portion of our present work.

The various tribes which peopled the two peninsulas of Southern Europe were members of one great branch of the Indo-European race, to which ethnographers have given the name of Pelasgian. The Greek and Latin languages are essentially but dialects of

the same tongue. To explain the forms and roots of one language, we must often refer to the other, not for remote analogies, but the most necessary steps.* This community of languages is the chief of many proofs of a community of race; but whence this common race came into the two peninsulas, and to which of the other Japhetic families they were most nearly related, are questions too wide and doubtful for discussion here. The familiar names of both countries entirely fail to describe their primitive inhabitants. That of *Italy* is so far ethnic, that it is derived from a widespread people, but only in the southern half of the peninsula and Sicily (the Itali or Siculi); the name *Latin* is that of a comparatively small nation, with whom the Romans were closely connected from the earliest times; *Roman*, it need hardly be said, described at first only a citizen of Rome itself. *Greece*, strange to say, was a name almost unknown by the people whom we call Greeks, and never used by them to describe their country. It was first adopted by the Romans, from whom the name has descended to us, through the precedence so long given in education to Roman before Greek literature.† Nor is it unusual for a country and its people to be generally known by a foreign name. As the Greeks and Romans called the *Rasena* Tyrrhenians, Etruscans and Tuscans, and as the Romans called the *Hellenes* Greeks, so we call the *Deutschen* Germans, and the *Cymry* Welsh. Even the renowned Hellenic name sprang from a small tribe in the remote region of Thessaly; and the Hellenic nations themselves are known to Homer by other and separate names.

In both countries, some of the leading races gratified their pride, while they threw a thin covering over their ignorance, by boasting that they were sprung from the land which they had possessed from the beginning.‡ The earliest race whom we know to have

* For the general reader, who may not be well acquainted with modern philology, it will perhaps not be superfluous to give a passing warning against deriving Latin from Greek, any more than Greek from Latin. They are cognate dialects of some ancient speech, which no longer exists in its original form, each having also elements peculiar to itself; something as Italian, French, and Spanish have all sprung from Latin. Generally speaking, the older dialects of the Greek are nearest to the Latin, for reasons well known to the philologian.

† The origin of the name *Græcia* is still obscure. Aristotle first names the *Græci* as a tribe in or near the small district of Hellas, which he places in Epirus, while the other Greek writers place it in Thessaly. A plausible conjecture is, that the Romans, becoming acquainted first with these Græci on the further shore of the Adriatic, extended the name to the whole country.

‡ Witness the *Autochthones* of Attica and the *Aborigines* of Latium; besides the legends of the repeopling of Thessaly by stones transformed into men and women

been generally spread, not only throughout both continents, but over the adjacent islands and even into Asia Minor, were the Pelasgians, a people of savage manners, but civilized enough to till the earth and to build walled cities. Their religion was that form of polytheism which prevailed in both countries till it yielded to Christianity; mainly a personification of the elemental powers and the heavenly bodies, with a host of inferior deities who haunted the woods and waters, presided over favoured cities, and watched over men as tutelary spirits;—"Good demons, dwelling upon the earth, because of the counsels of Great Jove, the guardians of mortal men." *

The supreme deity, in the form which the mythology finally assumed, was Jove,† the god of the air, who, with the lesser deities, chiefly his sons and daughters,

> "from the snowy top
> Of cold Olympus, ruled *the middle air*,
> *Their highest heaven.*"

The learning of our great poet here represents accurately the Greek idea of the abode of Jove, as we see it in Homer; and so too it was in the most literal sense that Jove threw Vulcan "sheer o'er the crystal battlements" of his palace on Olympus down upon "Lemnos the Ægæan isle." But mutations in the earlier faith are shown by the transference of the supremacy from Ouranos (Heaven) to Cronus (Time, the Latin Saturn), and from him to Jove; revolutions which raise interesting questions as to a possible connection with the Sabæism of the East.

The Pelasgians were displaced by more warlike tribes, generally of a kindred race; but remnants were left of them in various portions of their old countries, like those which remain of the old Cymrian population of our own islands. We do not propose to encumber our pages with ethnic questions, which it would be impossible to discuss fully, and which are still involved in great obscurity: enough has been said to show the close connexion of the two countries; and we have now to speak of Greece, as the one of which we have the earlier historic notices, which first came

after the deluge of Deucalion, and of Bœotia by the armed men who sprung from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus.

* Hesiod.

† This form is adopted not only as the most English, but the most accurate representation of the root common to the Greek Zeus and the Latin Ju-piter, *i.e. Father Jove.* Here we may remark, once for all, that when we reluctantly follow the unscholarlike custom of calling the Greek deities by Latin names, it is because the true names might hardly be intelligible to English readers.

into contact with the monarchies of Asia, which colonized the shores of the Mediterranean and of Italy itself, before Rome was built, and which exercised a wide influence on the civilization of the world while Rome was only as yet maturing her constitution. It is necessary to take a brief survey of the land itself; for its position, formation, and climate have much to do with the history of the people; but without entering into those minor details which belong exclusively to geography.

Greece forms the southern portion of a much larger peninsula, the base of which extends nearly along the forty-fifth parallel of north latitude, from the northern recess of the Adriatic to the mouths of the Danube. About three degrees further to the south, the upper and wide portion of this peninsula is traversed by a great chain of mountains, which bore various names in its western part, its eastern half forming the range celebrated in ancient and modern times under the names of Hæmus and the *Balkan*. South of this chain Thrace, Macedonia, and the southern portion of Illyria, stretched across from the Black Sea and the Bosporus to the Adriatic; countries inhabited by non-Hellenic races, but closely connected with the history of Greece. Further still to the south, another range extends nearly along the fortieth parallel of north latitude, from the mouth of the Adriatic to the north-western gulf of the Ægæan. This chain, called Lingon and the Cambunian Mountains, runs far out to sea at its western extremity in the "ill-famed rocks" of the Acroceraunian* headland, while on the east it terminates in Mount Olympus, at the foot of which the narrow and beautiful pass of Tempe forms at once the entrance to the plain of Thessaly and the first portal to Greece itself. The range forms, in fact, the base of the true peninsula of Greece. Below it the comparatively large divisions of Thessaly and Epirus, —the former on the east, and the latter on the west of the mountain-chain which runs down from Balkan, across the Cambunian range, and forms the backbone of the whole peninsula,—were the earliest seats of the Greek nation and religion, though in later times they lie chiefly beyond the range of the most important parts of Grecian history.† One degree still further to the south (in 39° N. latitude) the peninsula is divided by a true isthmus between the Pagasæan and Ambracian Gulfs; and across this isthmus runs

* The name signifies the Cape of Thunderbolts.

† At the erection of the modern Greek, or, as it is now called under its new king, the Hellenic, kingdom, these two districts were left to Turkey.

Mount Othrys. Finally, the thirty-eighth parallel of north latitude passes through the narrow isthmus of Corinth, barely separating the two gulfs which would otherwise make Peloponnesus (the Island of Pelops) a true island. The mountain-chains, which we have seen arranged so regularly in Northern Greece, stretch diagonally across the central portion of the land, terminating in Cape Sunium, the apex of the triangle of Attica; while a parallel chain supports the island of Eubœa; and both are prolonged into the Ægæan, forming the islands called the Cyclades. In Peloponnesus, the mountains form a sort of central wall around Arcadia, whence chains diverge in all directions, jutting out into long promontories, and enclosing deep gulfs, which give the peninsula a rough general resemblance to the leaf of a plane-tree. The chief backbone of the whole country is prolonged in the island of Cythera, and again in Crete, which lies like a huge breakwater off the mouth of the Ægæan, and from which again the islands of Carpathos and Rhodes complete the chain to the south-western headland of Asia Minor.

Thus intersected throughout with mountains, and deeply indented by the sea, from which the small size of the whole country prevented any part from being very distant, Greece possessed the two physical features which have always tended most to rear a free and enterprizing race. The Greeks were at once mountaineers and mariners; and all experience proves the ennobling effects produced upon the imagination of those who live among highlands and beside the sea. But, more than this, the mountains at once formed a barrier against invasion from without, and broke up the land into separate portions, like the valleys of Switzerland, holding little intercourse with each other, and each forming a free political state, with its city for a centre; while the sea offered the means of communication which were wanting upon the land, and invited the people to maritime adventures. Such adventures naturally assumed the shape of piratical incursions, among men ignorant of the arts of civilization and pressed by the common wants of life. For the small plains and valleys, though fertile, were few in comparison with the rugged mountain tracts, and patient labour is distasteful to a rude and hardy race.

> "For why?—the rule suffices them,
> The old and simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can."*

* In this universal piracy Thucydides found an explanation of the fact, that the old Greek cities were built far inland.

By thus constantly attacking one another, the several states kept up a keen rivalry of independence, and were exercised in war; while they found a wider scope for their energy in those distant expeditions the fame of which survives in the Argonautic and Trojan legends, and in those others by which they planted colonies far and wide over the shores of the Mediterranean.

Conditions somewhat similar, in a northern clime, produced the fierce sea-kings of our own early history; but there were other influences at work upon the Greeks. Susceptible to external impressions, and alive to every form of harmony and beauty, above all other nations, they enjoyed a climate which might have breathed life into the dullest race, and which clothed their mountains, bays, and islands with a beauty ever varying between the saffron hues of dawn, the fixed brilliancy of noon, the violet light in which the setting sun bathes the hills,

> "Where tenderest tints along their summits driv'n,
> Mark his gay course and own the hues of heav'n"—

and the clear transparent shades or bright moonlight of the night. Well did one of their poets describe the Athenians as "ever delicately marching through most pellucid air." Such influences raised the spirit of the people to that keen and just sense of beauty which is embodied in the perfection of their arts.

We have seen that the earliest inhabitants of this fair land were the Pelasgians, a people whose history is enveloped in obscurity. In some parts of the country, and especially in the islands, there dwelt other races, such as the Leleges and Carians. At a period long before the beginning of recorded history, a more vigorous and warlike race, akin to the Pelasgians, drove them out from their possessions, except some portions in which they held their ground, and especially the central highlands of Arcadia. These conquerors were the HELLENES, who were believed to have issued from the district of Thessaly immediately north of Mount Othrys. Their name was given to the whole country, and ultimately to all their settlements, however distant. For, divided as they were politically into small states, they cherished the idea of national unity; and their distant colonies on the Cimmerian Bosporus, the mouth of the Rhone, and the coast of Africa, were as much a part of Hellas as Athens and Sparta themselves.

In their earliest records, however, and particularly in the Homeric poems, the Hellenic people are known by the names of their several tribes; and these were distinguished by marked

differences of language and character, and ultimately of political institutions. There were four chief divisions of the nation, the Dorians, Æolians, Achæans, and Ionians. The affinities of these races were represented by an imaginary genealogy, descending from the gods. The Titanic deity* Prometheus, the creator of mankind, and their preserver from the jealousy of Jove, was the father of Deucalion, in whose days all the human race perished by a flood, except himself and his wife Pyrrha. Deucalion was the father of HELLEN, the "hero eponymus" of the Hellenic race. Hellen had three sons, Dorus, Æolus, and Xuthus; and the last was the father of Achæus and Ion. Xuthus is a mere connecting link in the pedigree, to indicate the close relation between the Achæans and the Ionians, who are represented as dwelling together in the Peloponnesus and Attica, while the Dorians and Æolians occupied chiefly Northern Greece. This view is confirmed by the dialects of which we still possess the literary remains.† To speak more particularly, the earliest known distribution of the four races is as follows:—The Æolians were spread over Northern Greece, and occupied also the western coast of Peloponnesus and the islands now called Ionian. The Achæans were the dominant people of Peloponnesus, of which they held the south and east, the Arcadians retaining the centre. The Ionians, who are as yet of little consequence, had a narrow slip of country along the northern coast of Peloponnesus, and extended eastward into Attica. The Dorians have scarcely yet shown themselves beyond the small patch of territory on the southern slopes of Mount Œta, and north of Delphi, which preserved their name in the historic age. Such appears to have been the distribution of the races in the age represented by the Homeric poems, and before the great Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus.

The Greeks of this age have no history, in the proper sense of the word. The materials of history are altogether wanting; and

* The Titans—sons of Ouranus (Heaven) and Gæa (Earth)—were the deities of the older mythology antecedent to Jove and the Olympic gods.

† The discussion of philological problems is not within the scope of our work; but we may say in passing, that we regard the language of Homer as essentially Achæan, a dialect little different from the old Ionian, as distinguished from the later literary Ionic. As Homer's Greeks are Achæans, it would be wonderful if his own Greek were anything but Achæan. The Æolian forms (and the Dorian, if any) in his poems are accounted for by the want of that decisive separation between the dialects, which afterwards became fixed in the literature of the different races. The theory of a mixed dialect, framed by the poet, and therefore called epic, is altogether inadmissible; but it is not denied that some peculiar forms may have been invented to suit the genius or exigencies of the poetry.

their place is supplied by a mass of religious, genealogical, ethnical, and poetical legends, or, as the Greeks called them, *myths*. If among these there are many fragments of true tradition (and we cannot doubt it), these are so conformed to the mythical spirit of the rest, as to make their separation utterly impossible. The imaginative Greek temperament has at least saved us from the controversy still open as to the primeval history of the East, by confounding truth and fable in one haze of poetic fiction. Not painfully to unravel the doubtful traditions of the past, but to weave around them the web of poetry, so as to glorify their ancestors, and to illustrate their doctrines of supreme fate and human arrogance and impotence in the fortunes of their heroes, was the worthier task to which they applied their brilliant intellect.

To such sources only can we trace the stories of the foundation of the most ancient cities and kingdoms of Greece. Argos and Sicyon are said to have been cities of the Pelasgians. Inachus, the son of Oceanus and Tethys, founded a kingdom at Argos in the 20th generation* before the Trojan War; and Ægialeus, king of Sicyon was even more ancient. The epoch of Ogyges, king of Bœotia and Attica, is remarkable for a great deluge. The Pelasgian kingdom in Thessaly is said to have lasted 150 years, and the name of its founder, Achæus, which we have already seen among the sons of Hellen, indicates the tendency to repeat the same names in the mythical genealogies of different races in the same regions. About the same time that Hellen and his sons, coming from Phocis, drove the Pelasgians first out of Thessaly and then from the rest of Greece, except Arcadia, those foreign colonists began to arrive, of whom we have presently to speak. Long afterwards Erechtheus, a native chief, established the Ionian kingdom of Attica and restored the worship of Athena.

Among the traditions which are perhaps not altogether mythical, are those relating to an early infusion of Oriental elements into the population of Greece; but even these are too doubtful to warrant historical conclusions. They point to Egypt, Phœnicia, and Phrygia, as sources of colonization and civilization. Thus CECROPS, an Egyptian from Saïs, is said to have imported into

* This would be, according to the usual computation, about B.C. 1856. Ogyges is placed about B.C. 1749; the first appearance of Hellen and his sons in Phocis, about B.C. 1550; Cecrops and Cadmus about the same time, but by others much later, B.C. 1313; Danaus about B.C. 1500; Erectheus, about B.C. 1383; and Pelops, about B.C. 1283. But the dates assigned vary greatly, and are destitute of all chronological authority.

Attica the germs of civilization and religion.* Danaüs, the brother of King Ægyptus, is represented as leading the flight of his fifty daughters from the persecution of his brother's fifty sons, and landing on the shores of Peloponnesus, where he founded Argos, and gave the people the name of Danai, under which they appear in Homer. We have already seen that these stories are mentioned in the Egyptian annals, which the chronographers profess to derive from Manetho; but we can have no assurance that they were not inventions partly of Greeks who wished to find points of contact with Egypt, and partly of Egyptian priests willing to humour them and to glorify their own nation.

Still, our want of the means to test these traditions will hardly justify their absolute rejection. We can only say that there is no sufficient reason for accepting them.† The same may be said of the story that PELOPS, the son of Tantalus, a wealthy king of Phrygia, led a colony from that country to the peninsula which henceforth received his name, and there founded Mycenæ, the old capital of Argolis, where his descendant Agamemnon held a sort of supremacy over the Achæans of the Peloponnesus. The legend of CADMUS, the Phœnician, who colonized Bœotia and founded Thebes, although even more imaginative than the rest in its details,‡ has a relation to well-known facts. The maritime people of Phœnicia founded colonies in the islands of the Ægæan, and may have done the same upon the mainland. The Greek alphabet was unquestionably borrowed from the Phœnician, though the languages themselves were of different families, the Greek being Aryan, and the Phœnician Semitic.§ It was probably by way of Phœnicia that the Greeks received the Babylonian system of weights and measures, and perhaps the elements

* A probable origin of this story is found in the identification which the Greeks made of the Egyptian goddess Neith with their own Athena.

† Compare chap. vii. pp. 112, 113.

‡ Such as the slaying of the dragon and the sowing of his teeth, from which armed men sprung up. It may be suggested in passing, whether the peculiar character of the Bœotians for stolid obstinacy was at all due to an infusion of Semitic blood.

§ The tradition to this effect is fully confirmed by the close resemblance of the old Phœnician letters (as seen on coins) to the Greek, and still more by the identity of the names and the order of the letters in the Greek alphabet and in the Hebrew, which is but a modification of the Phœnician :—Alpha, *Aleph;* Beta, *Beth;* Gamma, *Gimel;* Delta, *Daleth;* E-psilon (*i.e.*, thin E), *He* (unaspirated); Vau (sometimes called Digamma), *Vau;* &c. Even the apparent differences, instead of being real discrepancies, assist us in tracing the history of both alphabets. All the alphabets of modern Europe have come from the Phœnician through the Greek.

of other sciences. These facts suggest caution as to a sweeping rejection of traditions about Oriental influence.

These mythical stories reflect, in their whole conception, so much of the inner life of the Greek nation, and the hearty faith with which they were repeated by the poets and accepted by the people had so vast an influence on Grecian history, that to pass over them in silence would be to quench the spirit of that history at the threshold: for Greek mythology is the light by which the student must view the monuments of the Grecian heroes, of the historic as well as the mythic age. The Athenians of the Peloponnesian war learnt their first lessons from Homer; and their minds were moulded by the poets who presented before their eyes the god-like endurance of Prometheus, the fate of the house of Pelops, the woes and expiation of Œdipus. Achilles was the model proposed to himself by Alexander.

But it is not in the province of the historian to relate these legends at length, unless he can afford the space to arrange and analyse them,—a work which has been done by the master hand of Mr. Grote.* Least of all is it allowable to put the poet's creations on the Procrustean bed of rationalistic criticism, lopping off what seems improbable, and stretching out the fancied fragments of true tradition, and all for the sake of "spoiling a good poem, without making a good history." All that we can or ought to attempt is a brief outline of those principal legends which most show the thought and spirit of the Hellenic nation, and give some hints of the actual state of society, before the age of certain history.

There are various ways in which these legends may be viewed. They were framed to minister to the religious, the heroic, the national, and the historic spirit in a people whose sense of beauty also demanded that all should be offered them in the guise of poetry. How heaven and earth sprung from chaos,—how successive dynasties of gods supplanted one another, crushed the powers of confusion and destruction, and ruled over their favourite cities,—how from them sprung a race of demigods, who cleared the earth of savage monsters and savage men, founded the great families and kingdoms of Greece, and carried their arms to distant shores,—were the first subjects of mythic poetry. The earliest bards began by reciting the race and deeds of the heroic founders of the chief

* *History of Greece*, part i., Legendary Greece. Charming versions of many of the legends, fit for elder as well as young readers, have been published by Niebuhr, Professor Kingsley, and Mr. Cox.

houses, for the honour and pleasure of the kings and nobles who claimed them as ancestors, only incidentally touching on religious and national traditions. This is the stage we see in the Homeric poems, which it must never be forgotten belong essentially to the species of ballad poetry.* Writers addressing themselves to a more general feeling of curiosity, and with a more didactic purpose, like Hesiod, attempted a consecutive account of the origin of gods and men. Lastly, the love of order and completeness tempted poets of a far inferior order to fill up the gaps and string the whole together into that series of legends, extending from the beginning of the heaven and earth to the end of the mythic period, which is called the Epic Cycle. The last class of compositions have deservedly perished, all except a few fragments;† but much of their substance is to be found in the prose mythologies. Their one great use was to supply the Attic tragedians with the materials for those unrivalled dramas which rekindled the spirit of Greek mythology, much as the old chroniclers and early dramatists provided Shakspere with the fragments which he built up into such works as Lear and Macbeth.

The series of legends begins with the Theogony, or origin of the gods. The main elements of the Greek religious system have already been mentioned. The whole Hellenic race recognised the twelve great gods, of whom the chief was Jove, "the father of gods and men." In the earliest times he was worshipped and his oracle consulted at Dodona in Epirus, which seems to have been the sanctuary of the Pelasgians. The Hellenes enthroned him on Mount Olympus, and their leading race, the Æolians, established near Elis that sanctuary of the Olympian Jove which became the centre of unity for the whole nation. Other seats of his worship are found in Crete, at Mount Ida; and among the Thracian tribes of Mysia, where there was also an Ida overlooking Troy, and where the great range which skirts the northern shores of Asia Minor was called Olympus. The Cretan form of religion influenced that of Greece at a very early period. The other deities were specially honoured by particular races: Apollo by the Dorians; Poseidon, Hera, and Athena, by the Ionians. In his prophetic capacity,

* Homer's Hexameter is essentially a ballad metre. Each line forms a ballad couplet, as would be at once seen if the sharp bold ring of the verse were not stifled in our common reading, and that by a double process—an Anglicized perversion of Virgil's cold and solemn imitation.

† Attempts were made long after to replace them by the Alexandrian imitators under the Ptolemies.

Apollo was sought not only by all the Greeks, but by foreign nations too, as we have seen in the example of the Lydian kings. His fabled birthplace was at Delos, the central island of the Ægæan and the navel of the world; but his great oracle was at Pytho, at the foot of Mount Parnassus, better known by the later name of Delphi, which it derived from the people who held it. Much discussion might have been spared concerning the presence of a supernatural power in the Greek oracles, if writers had investigated the alleged facts, instead of assuming their truth. There is no proof of anything more than an ingenious system of priestcraft, founded on the trust of the people in their god, making use of the frenzied utterances of female excitation, and carefully keeping on the safe side by the studied ambiguity of the verses into which they threw the responses. In Apollo's character as the sun-god, in that of his sister Artemis as the moon, and still more in the worship of Aphrodite (Venus), we see points of possible connection with the religion of the East. But there were other and later elements undoubtedly imported from that quarter, which added to the ideal impersonations of the pure Greek religion secret rites and enthusiastic orgies. Such were the Eleusinian and Dionysiac mysteries, of which the Orphic were a modification. What peculiar doctrines were taught to the initiated in the secret celebration of these mysteries, is too wide and doubtful a question for our present purpose; but the open celebration of the Dionysiac worship had the most powerful influence on the Greek mind. In his joyous and enthusiastic festivals, the god, not only of mirth and wine, but of the productive powers of nature, was celebrated in lofty hymns, which gave birth to Tragedy; while the unrestrained joviality of his worshippers, at the vintage in the villages, supplied the germ of Comedy.

As in every system of ancient mythology, the first benefactors and rulers of men were the offspring of the gods. Their exploits and sufferings occupy the Heroic Age of Greece. First come those who performed great works for the benefit of their country: the Argive Hercules, the national hero of Greece, who, while submitting to serve a jealous tyrant, subdued physical and moral evil, brought the choicest gifts from the furthest quarters of the world, and, having expiated by suffering the weakness which marred his strength,* was received among the gods above: Theseus, the national hero of Attica, who cleared the roads of savage robbers,

* Here the moral significance of the legend reminds us irresistibly of Samson.

redeemed his country by self-devotion from foreign bondage, and organized her into a powerful state: Minos, the Cretan legislator, who founded a maritime empire, and cleared the sea of pirates. It is vain, at least with our present knowledge, to attempt to discover the historical traditions which seem to be bound up in the legends of the two latter.

In the age of these heroes tradition placed the first united enterprize of the Greeks, the Argonautic expedition to the distant land of Æa (believed by the later Greeks to be Colchis, on the eastern coast of the Black Sea) in search of the golden fleece, the price of Jason's restoration to his throne in Thessaly.* Both Hercules and Theseus took part in the voyage, which gave rise to several collateral legends, and among them to the grand story of Medea. It is interesting to observe that Jason, the leader of the Argonautic expedition, is an Æolid of Thessaly; but a generation or two later the supremacy of the Greeks is with the Achæan house of Atreus in the Peloponnesus.

In the same and the following generation is placed the legend of the royal house of Thebes, one of the finest in itself, and the inspiring source of the very noblest works of Greek dramatic art, the "King Œdipus" and "Œdipus at Colonus" of Sophocles, and the "Seven against Thebes" of Æschylus. We will take it as a specimen of the spirit which pervades these heroic legends.

Laïus, king of Thebes, having been warned by an oracle that he should be killed by his son, caused him to be exposed on Mount Cithæron as soon as he was born. The infant was saved by a herdsman of Polybus, king of Corinth, and brought up as the king's son. When he was grown up, the taunts of his comrades respecting his birth drove him to consult the Delphic oracle. Horrorstruck at hearing that he should kill his father and marry his mother, he resolved never to return to Corinth, and chose Thebes for his new abode. On the road he met Laïus in a narrow pass, and, provoked by the insolence of the king's attendants, he slew both them and him with his ox-goad, unknowing that he thus fulfilled the first part of the oracle. Arriving at Thebes, he

* The chronographers place the Argonautic expedition about B.C. 1225.

How little these legends will bear historic criticism, is seen by comparing the story, that the Argo was the first ship that ever attempted the sea, with the contemporary establishment of a great naval power by Minos. We have already seen the Egyptians engaged in sea-fights with the Khairetana (Cretans), at what, if the comparative chronology could be trusted, would be just the same time (chap. vii. p. 123). It may be well to observe that the mythical genealogies give no basis whatever for chronological computation.

found the city in the extremity of despair. A monster, called the Sphinx, had propounded a riddle to the Thebans, and devoured a man each day till it should be answered.* Creon, the brother of the queen Jocasta, ruling in place of the murdered king, had promised the crown and the queen's hand to the deliverer of the city. Œdipus won the prize, and thus completed the crime foretold by the oracle. His two sons and two daughters by Jocasta were grown up, when a pestilence devastated the city, and an oracle demanded the banishment of the murderer of Laïus. The eager inquiries of Œdipus, in spite of the warnings of the blind seer Teiresias, unveil the truth: Jocasta hangs herself in her nuptial chamber: Œdipus puts out his eyes, that he may never again see the light polluted by his crimes; his two sons drive him into exile, and he imprecates a curse on them as he departs. Guided by his dutiful daughter Antigone, he finds a resting-place at the village of Colonus, near Athens, in a grove sacred to the Eumenides, the goddesses who avenged such crimes as his. Here he received the rites of expiation at the hands of Theseus; and, summoned thrice by a voice from the recesses of the grove, he departed by a calm and painless death in extreme old age—the "euthanasia" which the Greeks regard as the happiest end of life. The like end was granted to the poet Sophocles, himself a native of Colonus, who celebrated the fate of Œdipus in his two immortal tragedies.

In this story we see the tragic spirit of the Greek heroic legends. A man's arrogance brings down the "Até"—a compound of infatuation, guilt, and punishment, which haunts his house from generation to generation. Crime is heaped on crime, horror on horror, woe on woe, without entirely quenching the noble spirit which the heroes derived from their divine progenitors. At length the curse is fulfilled, the expiation is accomplished, and the tragedy of fear and pity ends with what Aristotle describes as the chief purpose of the poet—"the *purification* of such passions."

But the curse removed from Œdipus remained upon his sons. Their agreement to share the royal authority ends in the usurpation of Eteocles, who expels his brother Polynices. The return of the latter, supported by Adrastus, king of Argos, and five other chieftains, forms the expedition of the "Seven against Thebes." Their attack on the city is made in a spirit of impious arrogance,

* How far this is a point of contact with Egypt, is a riddle much harder than that of the Sphinx herself. The Theban sphinx was female; the Egyptian sphinx is always male.

which is punished by their defeat and death. Eteocles and Polynices fall by each other's hands; and Adrastus (the Inevitable) * alone escapes, to show that the curse is not yet accomplished. The courageous disobedience of Antigone to the edict of Creon forbidding the burial of Polynices involves her and her lover Hæmon, the son of Creon, in the general destruction. At length, in the following generation, the "Epigoni" (*Descendants*) repeat the expedition of their fathers against Thebes; and the doomed city is taken, and razed to the ground.

These Epigoni appear again, with the chieftains of every other part of Greece, as far west as the island of Ithaca,† in the WAR OF TROY, the crowning legend of the heroic age. The well-known story, and the ten years' wanderings of the hero of many devices, who saw the cities and learnt the ways of many men, and suffered much by land and sea, need not be repeated. The questions, historical, topographical, and literary, arising out of it, are too wide to be discussed here. We believe that there was a Troy, and that there was a Homer; but how much of the legend applies to the former, and how much of the Homeric poems belongs to the latter, are questions to be studied afresh by every scholar, and not to be expounded to any but real students of classical antiquity. It is enough to say, as to the event, that some great collision must have taken place between the Greeks and the kindred race who had founded a great kingdom on the opposite coast, which combined the Greek nation in a common effort, and involved a reaction that unsettled most of the Achæan and Æolian states. ‡

And as to the poet—the reader need not fear a repetition of the long controversy, from the first assault of Wolf, to Mr. Grote's most ingenious discovery of the germ of the Iliad in an original "Achilleïd." Rather let us be content to know that such legends as those at which we have now glanced were sung at the courts of the Achæan and Æolian princes, whose subjects, assembled in the colonnade before the palace, might hear them too, by bards, of whom the Homeric poems themselves give us a picture in Demodocus at the Court of Alcinous. We cannot doubt that such a bard, whose perfect art (combined with some internal proofs)

* Comp. chap. x. p. 258.

† The smallest of the seven "Ionian Islands."

‡ We cannot stay to relate the long story of the house of Pelops, its ancient crimes, the murders of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, and the expiation of Orestes—a legend as striking in itself, and as grandly treated by the tragedians, as the story of Thebes.

confirms the story of his origin from Asiatic Greece, the earliest Hellenic seat of letters, wandered, like the minstrels of every age and country that has had bold exploits to tell of and men worthy to hear them, from court to court of the descendants of the heroes who fought at Troy, receiving special honour at those which he has repaid with special fame, Ithaca, Sparta, Pylos. Whether but one such, or whether more, composed the poems we possess, matters but little, so long as we pay to the name of Homer the tribute due to that which, with one sacred exception, is the choicest, as well as the earliest fruit of the human intellect—handed down to us, however imperfectly, first by the memory of reciters, and then by the enduring medium of letters. Thus does the mythical age of Greece bring us down at last to an historic fact the most real, the most abiding, the most fruitful, in the secular history of the world—the existence of such works as the Iliad and Odyssey, for our use in training our minds to the richest graces of imagination. Those other facts which are clearly deducible from these poems concerning the political and social state of the Greeks of the heroic age, we reserve for the next chapter, as they belong to history.*

* The traditional dates for the fall of Troy are various. The two most commonly accepted are B.C. 1184 and B.C. 1127; but they depend on backward computations resting on uncertain data.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HELLENIC STATES AND COLONIES, FROM THE EARLIEST HISTORIC RECORDS TO B.C. 500.

Clime of the unforgotten brave!
Whose land, from plain to mountain cave,
Was Freedom's home, or Glory's grave!
Shrine of the mighty!—BYRON.

CONDITION OF GREECE IN THE HEROIC AGE—POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES AFTER THE TROJAN WAR—DORIAN INVASION OF PELOPONNESUS—ACHÆANS AND IONIANS DISPLACED—COLONIES IN ASIA MINOR, IONIAN, ÆOLIAN, AND DORIAN—CRETE—EXTENSION OF THE DORIAN AND IONIAN RACES—HISTORICAL EPOCH OF THE FIRST OLYMPIAD, B.C. 776—THE GREEK NATION AS A WHOLE—THE AMPHICTYONIES AND AMPHICTYONIC COUNCIL—THE GREAT FESTIVALS—OLYMPIC GAMES—ABSENCE OF POLITICAL UNITY—THE SEPARATE STATES OF GREECE—ARGOS, UNDER PHEIDON—SPARTA AND THE INSTITUTIONS OF LYCURGUS—CONQUEST OF LACONIA AND MESSENIA—LACEDÆMONIAN SUPREMACY IN PELOPONNESUS—THE TYRANTS IN GREECE AND THE COLONIES—EARLY HISTORY OF ATTICA—THESEUS—CODRUS—ABOLITION OF ROYALTY—GOVERNMENT BY ARCHONS—THE SENATE OF AREOPAGUS—LEGISLATION OF DRACO—CYLON AND THE ALCMÆONIDS—LEGISLATION OF SOLON—USURPATION OF PISISTRATUS—EXPULSION OF THE FAMILY—REFORMS OF CLEISTHENES—WARS WITH SPARTA, THEBES, AND CHALCIS—THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY FIRMLY ESTABLISHED—OTHER STATES OF GREECE—COLONIES—IN THE COUNTRIES NORTH OF GREECE—IN ASIA—IN SICILY AND ITALY—IN GAUL AND SPAIN—IN AFRICA—SURVEY OF HELLAS AT THE EPOCH OF THE PERSIAN WARS—PROGRESS OF LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND ART.

AT the close of the mythical age, Mr. Grote recognises a period of intermediate darkness before the dawn of historical Greece: but even before we reach the border land between legend and true history, we find some things in the former that belong to the province of the latter. The external events, though related as facts, are for us mere legends; but they enclose a kernel of real facts relating to the political and social state of the heroic age. The free states of Greece form a spectacle altogether different from the great monarchies of the East. Partly from essential differences of character, but chiefly, it would seem, from the physical causes which divided them into small territories, each lying compactly about its own city, the Greeks resisted the compressing force of empire. Hence, while in Asia the usurping power of some great conqueror crushed the primitive patriarchal constitution of society, in Greece that constitution passed, by a not unnatural transition, into the royalty of the heads o certain families, who are but the first among the whole body o nobles and chieftains. These, as well as the supreme ruler of the state, are called by Homer kings; and, like him, they trace their lineage to the gods, and are literally

"Kings born of Jove, who them this honour gave.

They form the council of the king, but with no power to control his acts, except by their advice. In this council, however, we see the germ of an oligarchic constitution, for the king could only retain his ascendancy by qualities of body and mind answering to his divine lineage. Nor was the popular element altogether absent. The king not only administered justice in public, with or without his nobles for assessors, but he presided among them in full council in the market-place or public square,* where measures were debated before the whole body of the citizens. But these had neither voice nor vote. In such an assembly, in the camp before Troy, Ulysses puts down every attempt at popular oratory with the words so often repeated since :—

> "Bad is the rule of many ; let there be
> One lord, one king, to whom Jove gave the sway ;"

and when Thersites persists in speaking, he sends him out writhing beneath the blows of his sceptre. But the very delineation of such a scene, and the emphasis with which Homer lays down his monarchical doctrine, are proofs that something of the spirit which produced the democracies of later times was already at work among the free citizens. They were for the most part an independent body of proprietors, cultivating their own land; but there was an exceptional class, who were reduced by the loss of their property to work for hire on the farms of others.† The existence of slavery prevented the poorest class of freemen from sinking lower still. Slaves were, however, found only in the palaces of the kings and nobles ;—"captives taken by the spear," themselves often of royal or noble birth, wives and children of slain heroes. Their hapless lot, so pathetically described by Homer, consisted in their reverse of fortune, rather than in those peculiar hardships which were the curse of slavery in the East, and which have been so cruelly inflicted, in all ages, upon races supposed to be inferior to their masters.

It is needful to bear in mind the difference between the Grecian states and those of modern times. While the latter generally embrace extensive countries, the former were usually composed of single cities, each with the land surrounding it to a very moderate distance. Thus in the small district afterwards called Argolis, we find Diomed king of Argos, while Agamemnon rules at Mycenæ.‡

* The Greek word *Agora*, which denotes a place of assembly, describes the open place in the midst of the city, which was used for all public purposes.

† This lowest class of freemen were called *Thetes*.

‡ Hence the twofold sense of the Greek word *polis* (*city*), from which we borrow

Hence the possibility of assembling all the citizens in the agora with the king and nobles, and of working the republics of later times without the device of representation. This limited extent of the state too, combined with the open-air life of the Greeks in their delicious climate, had the greatest influence on their social life. Meeting daily in the agora, the citizens were personally known to one another, and their thoughts and views were exchanged as freely as the current coin of the market. Their life at home preserved a high degree of the patriarchal order and simplicity. The father's authority was the real and supreme law; his blessing was sought like that of Jacob by his children; and the curse of Œdipus was the direst of the woes that befell his sons. The wife held her due place of honour, though she was purchased from her parents with costly gifts, as was the custom also among the Hebrews. The seclusion of the women in their separate apartments * was a later usage, borrowed from the Asiatic Greeks. They were equally in their own sphere, when directing their maidens in private at the spinning-wheel and loom, or coming forth to exercise that hospitality which was a chief grace of the heroic age. The stranger guest was freely welcomed, and if he came as a suppliant, it was a sacred duty to receive him. Not till he was refreshed with the bath and banquet, was any inquiry made about his name or object. Ample room was found for lodging guests under the colonnade surrounding the front court of the palace, which was the most agreeable sleeping-place in a Grecian night, though it bore from its use during the day the epithet of "very noisy." The banquet was plentiful, but simple, free from all intemperance, and enlivened by the strains of the bard, reciting the loves of the gods, or the martial deeds of heroes. It is only by reading Homer that we can form to ourselves a picture of the simple life led even by the kings, or, on the other hand, of the ferocity in war, the frequent homicides, and the unrestrained plundering by land and sea, which allowed no security but to the strong.

Great progress had been made in the arts and appliances of life. The heroic age was one of "well-built cities," palaces, and temples. Of its massive architecture some idea may be obtained from the ruins of Tiryns and Mycenæ.† The "Lion Gate" of the

our leading political terms. It is only in a figurative sense that we speak of a *citizen* of America, but the Greek was literally a *citizen* of his *state*.

* The *Gynæceum*, or *women's house*.

† The so-called "Treasury of Atreus" is now conjectured to be the tomb of Agamemnon.

latter shows one of the earliest specimens of Greek sculpture: and in the former there is a long gallery, exhibiting the first approach to the arch, its form being cut in the face of the huge stones which overhang and meet one another at the summit.* At the site of Orchomenus, in Bœotia, may be seen the immense tunnels constructed to carry off the superfluous waters of the lake Copaïs. A passing allusion may suffice for the war-chariots and ships, the arms of bronze and sometimes of iron (though the latter metal was still rare), wrought with that knowledge of art which is displayed in Homer's description of the shield of Achilles. That commerce was not unknown to the Greeks, is shown by the abundance of gold and silver which adorned the palaces of the kings; while the mention of Sidonian garments and of tin proves that their chief traffic was with Phœnicia. This commerce was, indeed, conducted by the Phœnicians, not by the Greeks, who were as yet ignorant of the use of coined money. It was from the stories of their voyages—the dangers of which we have reason to believe they purposely exaggerated, to deter rival adventurers—that Homer obtained the fables of the Cyclops, the Sirens, and the Lotus-eaters, of Circe, of Scylla and Charybdis, and of the far-distant island of Calypso, the plains of Elysium and the abodes of the dead, by the stream of the earth-encircling river Ocean.

The legends respecting the return of the heroes from the Trojan War—the murder of some by usurpers—the long wanderings of others—and the exile of not a few, to found new cities in Italy,† Crete, and other shores of the Mediterranean—point to a period of general disturbance and movement among the old Achæan and Æolian states. A complete alteration was made in the distribution of the four Greek races over the peninsula; and great changes were effected in the constitution of the several states. Meanwhile the islands of the Ægæan Sea were occupied, and colonies were sent out far and wide over the shores of the Mediterranean. In the west of Asia Minor especially, the Greek colonies settled in such force as to occupy the whole coast of Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, which received new names from the races that formed the

* This is called the false arch. The true arch was not yet known to the Greeks, who, indeed, never used it in their architecture; but it is found in the earliest Roman remains, as in the Cloaca Maxima; and it was perfectly familiar to the Assyrians. Splendid examples are found at Nimrud (Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 162–165).

† We say nothing of the migrations of the Trojans under Evander and Æneas, as they are purely Italian legends.

settlements,—Æolis on the north, Ionia in the centre, and Doris in the south.

These results are well ascertained from the state in which we find Greece and her colonies at the beginning of the historic period. But of the process itself we have only doubtful traditions, in which the mythical element still predominates. The first great fact to be accounted for is the Dorian conquest of the greater part of Peloponnesus.

That peninsula was then held, in the manner already described, by the Achæans in the east and south, the Æolians in the west, the Ionians on the north coast, and the Arcadian Pelasgians in the centre.* The two latter races are as yet of no political importance. The Æolians had the powerful kingdom of Pylos; while those of Argos, Sparta, and Corinth held the precedence over the other Achæan kingdoms. In the legend of Hercules, the hero is deprived of his inheritance of the Argive kingdom by Eurystheus. The Heracleidæ, his descendants, made several efforts to recover their birthright, till their leader, Hyllus, the son of Hercules, fell in single combat with the chieftain of Tegea.† They then bound themselves not to renew the attempt for a hundred years. At the end of that period, the great-grandsons of Hyllus, Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, obtained the aid of the Dorians, who were bound by an old obligation for services rendered by Hercules. They crossed the narrow mouth of the Corinthian Gulf from the port of Naupactus,‡ guided by Oxylus, king of the Ætolians. One decisive victory over Tisamenus, the grandson of Agamemnon, made them masters of the Achæan kingdoms of Peloponnesus. Their conquests were divided into three lots; the kingdoms of Argos and Sparta, and the territory of Messenia, which seems to have been a dependency of the Æolian kingdom of Pylos. Argos fell by lot to Temenus, Messenia to Cresphontes, and Sparta to the twin sons of Aristodemus, who had himself been killed by lightening at Naupactus. It was not till the following generation that Corinth was conquered by the Dorians under an Heraclid prince, who had not taken part in the first invasion. The conquerors gradually subdued most of the surrounding states, and so laid a foundation for the later territorial division of Peloponnesus, which our ordinary maps exhibit; but it would be a gross error to con-

* The Pelasgians seem also to have possessed a considerable portion of the eastern coast.

† From what follows, it is clear that this event was conceived of as anterior to the Trojan War.

‡ So called from their building their ships there.

ceive of their kingdoms as corresponding to Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia. The Æolian kingdom of Pylos was absorbed in the Dorian state of Messenia; but the northern part of the western coast remained Æolian. This district was given to the Æolian Oxylus, as the reward of his services; and his followers, who expelled or absorbed the old Epeans, became known by the name of Eleans. This conquest, which is known in history as the Return of the Heraclids, or the Dorian Migration, is placed by Thucydides eighty years after the Trojan War.* The epoch probably depends entirely on the calculation of generations, and it cannot be regarded as of any authority. The legendary tale is the dress which national pride gave to a real conquest effected by the Dorian race, probably in the course of several generations; and the part taken in it by the Heraclids is a device to connect the new possessors with the ancient glories of the Achæan kings and heroes.

The legend represents the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus as the cause of the other great changes in the Hellenic world. The Achæans, expelled from the south and east of Peloponnesus, fell back upon the northern coast, driving out the Ionians, and formed a confederacy of twelve cities, which only emerged into political importance in a later age.† The dispossessed Ionians found refuge with their brethren of the same race in Attica, a country which also gave asylum to other peoples driven out from their homes by the Dorian conquests in northern Greece. The rugged peninsula of Attica was unequal to support its increased numbers, and a great migration was organized under the sons of Codrus, the last king of Athens.‡ The emigrants planted colonies upon most of the Cyclades, and finally settled on the shores of Lydia, from the Hermus to the Mæander. In this fertile region, upon a coast abounding with fine harbours, they established a confederacy of twelve cities, with a common centre of union at the Panionium, or Temple of Poseidon, on Mount Mycale. Their settlements

* B.C. 1104, according to the common reckoning.

† It is obvious that the small territory on the coast could scarcely receive all the expelled Achæans; and, accordingly, the legends carried some of them to the coast of Asia Minor. From the correspondence between the twelve Ionian cities on this coast and the twelve Achæan cities that succeeded them, as well as from other indications, it is still a question whether we may not regard the Achæans as representing the old inhabitants of the country, before the distinction into the Achæan and Ionian races had been established.

‡ The change by which the monarchy expired with Codrus will be related presently.

included the large islands of Chios and Samos. The complete establishment of these colonies is placed by the chronologers sixty years after the Dorian migration, and 140 after the Trojan War;* but we have no means of calculating the period it really occupied.

The Ionians had been preceded by another body of colonists, who had settled further to the north, along the coast of Mysia. These are called Æolians; but the tradition represents them as, to a great extent, Achæans, driven out of Peloponnesus by the Dorian invasion, under princes of the house of Agamemnon. They betook themselves first to Bœotia, where a great revolution had taken place twenty years earlier; the Bœotians, who were a Thessalian people, of the Æolian race, having expelled the older Æolian inhabitants, and given their own name to the country. Many both of the old and new inhabitants joined in the expedition, which sailed from Aulis in Eubœa, first to the island of Lesbos, where they founded six cities, and then to the opposite mainland. In the district from the foot of Ida to the mouth of the Hermus, the Æolians formed a "dodecapolis," like that of the Ionians; but always vastly inferior in political power, and ultimately subordinate to the latter.† The Æolians of Lesbos, however, achieved the supreme distinction of founding the school of lyric poetry, which boasts the names of Sappho and Alcæus.

In harmony with the preceding legends, the Dorian colonies in the south-western corner of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands are said to have been founded by Dorian chieftains, who, in the general unsettlement naturally connected with the conquest of Peloponnesus, either obtained no sufficient share of the spoil, or were led onward by the spirit of adventure. Althæmenes, a prince of Argos, led a body of colonists composed both of Dorians and of the conquered Achæans, first to Crete, and then to the island of Rhodes, where they built Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus. These three cities, with that of Cos, on the island of the same name, and Cnidus and Halicarnassus on the mainland, formed the Dorian Hexapolis of Caria. These Dorian colonies were of little importance in comparison with the Ionian and Æolian; and we have already seen that Halicarnassus and Cnidus became in a great degree Carian. Crete is said to have been colonized from Sparta, as well as from Argos, by a mixture of Dorian and Achæan settlers; and to this is attributed the likeness of the Cretan institutions to those

* B.C. 1044 of the common computation.

† Smyrna, the greatest of the twelve Æolian cities, was early transferred from the Æolian to the Ionian confederacy, leaving only eleven cities to the former.

established at Sparta by Lycurgus. Of the other colonies planted on the shores of the Mediterranean, it will be more satisfactory to speak when we come to take a survey of the Hellenic world in the historic times.

These legends, however imaginary in their details, exhibit an actual result which may be described as follows. At the beginning of the mythical age, the two dominant races of the Hellenic world were the Achæans and Æolians, the Dorians being but a small tribe in Northern Greece, and the Ionians being politically eclipsed, or nearly so, by the Achæans. At its close these relations are reversed. The Dorians, repeating the part of their Hellenic ances tors, conquered the greater part both of Northern Greece and the Peloponnesus. The Æolians, who remained in both divisions of the country, were either so hemmed in or so far distant (as in Thessaly) from the chief centres of activity, as to have little weight in the politics of Greece. The Achæans, excepting the twelve cities along the coast of the Corinthian Gulf, had been so completely absorbed into other races, as almost to lose their very name. The Ionians had extended their name in a manner which augured their future greatness. Laying hold of the continent by the land of Attica, which projects into the sea, their maritime possessions extended in a sort of belt encircling the Ægæan, across to their Asiatic colonies; and how completely these gradually came to take the lead also of the Asiatic Æolians we have seen in relating the conquest by the Persians.* The energetic and mobile temperament of the Ionians disposed them to use these advantages, by pursuing commerce and maritime adventure and learning the arts and refinements of life from the more cultivated Asiatics. Here were the materials of that great maritime empire, which was afterwards founded under the supremacy of Athens. Thus, even at this early age, the state of the Hellenic world seemed to portend the time when it would be divided and convulsed by a great contest for supremacy between the Dorian and Ionian races. How this inevitable struggle was brought on by the peculiar institutions and tempers of the two peoples, will soon become apparent; and we shall see how the catastrophe was postponed by the glorious and successful union of nearly all Greece in defence of the common liberty against the ambition of Persia. Meanwhile we have to pass from the darkness of the mythical, and the twilight of the traditional age, to the full light of that real history which is recorded by credible witnesses.

* See chap. x., pp. 273–4.

For reasons which we cannot stay to discuss, the beginning of the historical age of Greece is now placed at the *First Olympiad*, or the midsummer of B.C. 776. This epoch is the beginning of that consecutive chronology, which the Greeks reckoned by the series of victors in the foot-race at the quadrennial festival of Olympian Jove near Elis.* The very fact of this record being regularly kept would suggest, as in the case of other annals, a further record of the most memorable events of each successive year; and the knowledge that exact chronological computation was now established among the Greeks gives us a new ground of confidence in their statements of historic facts. Of course it is not meant that all alleged events preceding the precise date of B.C. 776 are to be discredited as being mythical, or that the mythical element disappears suddenly from history at this date; but simply that this is the epoch at which we begin to have a new security for historical accuracy. And it may be well, in passing, to remind the reader how entirely the point of division between the mythical and historical periods differs in different countries. Our own country has a mythical period between the departure of the Romans in A.D. 446 and the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms; and, so far as this one consideration goes, a sceptical historian has no more right to discredit all primeval history before the first Olympiad, than an Englishman would have to reject all ancient history before the time when that of his country becomes trustworthy. It remains for us to collect into one condensed view what is known of the Grecian states and colonies down to the period of that collision with Persia, which was begun by the revolt of the Ionian colonies from Darius in B.C. 500.

And first, to speak of the nation as a whole, it must not be supposed, from the stress we have laid on the independence of the several states, that they were so many disconnected units scattered over the surface of Greece. It is true that they had not

* In the language of the Greeks themselves, the Olympic games were said to recur every *fifth* year: for instance, the Olympic festival of B.C. 776 at midsummer began the *first* year of the first Olympiad; the midsummer of B.C. 775 began the *second* year of the same Olympiad; that of B.C. 774, the *third* year; that of B.C. 773, the *fourth* year: then the following Olympic festival, at midsummer B.C. 772, began the *fifth* year of the whole series, which was also the *first* of the second Olympiad. So in Greek "every third year" means what we express by "every other year," or "every two years." Even in English it is more exact to say that the Olympic festival recurred *every four years* than *every fourth year*. It is of great importance, in translating Greek chronological reckonings, to remember that the years began at midsummer. The first year of the first Olympiad corresponds, not to B.C. 776, but to B.C. $77\frac{6}{5}$; and so of the rest.

yet discovered the grand device of federalism, which they were long after the first to develop in the celebrated Achæan League. But we know of no period at which they regarded themselves otherwise than as one nation. They prided themselves on their common Hellenic blood, and the expressive name *barbarian* marked their aversion for all who did not speak their own beautiful language.* Their common religion was a still closer tie, and developed institutions which may be said to have made the Hellenic nation a social though not a political federation. These were the Amphictyonies, and the four great national festivals, with their public games. The Amphictyonies † were associations of neighbouring cities or tribes for the performance of common religious rites. The many lesser meetings of this kind were gradually eclipsed by the renowned Amphictyonic Council of Northern Greece, which was also one of the most ancient. Among its twelve tribes we find most of the great Hellenic races, Thessalians, Bœotians, Dorians, Ionians, Achæans, on a par with those afterwards of the second order, Locrians and Phocians, and with others which sank into complete insignificance. Its great centre was the temple of Apollo at Delphi, of which the Amphictyons were the sworn guardians. They met at Delphi in the spring, and in the autumn at Thermopylæ, at the temple of Demeter, the impersonation of the teeming earth in the old mythology. It was from the wealth of the Delphian temple, and the fame of its oracle, that the Amphictyons derived their importance in Grecian history. The public action of the Amphictyons, in early times, related only to matters of religion, but their union tended to mitigate that ferocity which war is sure to assume when it is waged between neighbouring states of the same race. It was a part of their oath, that "they would not destroy any city of the Amphictyons, nor cut off its streams in war or peace."

Of the working of the Amphictyonic Council in peace we know but little. When the Delphic temple was burnt, in B.C. 548, they contracted with the wealthy Attic family of the Alcmæonids for its rebuilding. At the beginning of the sixth century, they

* The word seems from the first to have signified one who spoke not merely a foreign, but an uncouth tongue; and to a Greek ear all foreign tongues were more or less uncouth. In Latin, the word naturally acquired an application to the nations beyond the confines of the Roman empire: and as these were, for the most part, wild and savage, the term easily passed into its modern sense.

† The most probable derivation is from a word signifying *neighbours* or *those dwelling round* some particular centre.

waged a ten years' war against the port of Cirrha, on the Corinthian Gulf, on account of the exactions to which the Delphic pilgrims who landed there were subject. They at last took the city by the aid of the Athenians, razed it to the ground, and consecrated the rich Crissæan plain to Apollo, with curses on any one who should cultivate it. This was the "First Sacred War" (B.C. 595—585). In the crisis of the Persian wars, the Amphictyons came forward as the representatives of Greece, but still only in their religious character, by setting a price upon the head of Ephialtes, the betrayer of the pass of Thermopylæ. When they reappear in the last and fatal crisis of Greek freedom, in the Second* and Third† Sacred Wars, it was but to sacrifice liberty to the Macedonian. Their election of Philip to conduct the war of all Greece against Persia forms the one great instance of their assuming to act politically for the whole country. And thus the Amphyctions only attained the position of a political council as the last step in preparing Greece for subjugation. Well might the free Hellenic states be jealous of centralized authority.

Of the games connected with the four great religious festivals of Greece, the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean, there is no need to speak at length: their general character is so well known, and their details belong to works on Greek antiquities. The Olympic and Pythian festivals were celebrated every four years,—the former at Olympia, the temple and demesne of Olympian Jove near Elis, under the presidency of the Eleans. The date of their foundation is lost in the darkness of the mythical age: that of their revival by Iphitus, king of Elis, forms the era of Greek chronological reckoning (B.C. 776). The Pythian games were held in the third year of each Olympiad, on the Crissæan plain, where they were founded by the Amphictyons in honour of Apollo, after the destruction of Cirrha (B.C. 585). The other two were held every two years; the Isthmian by the Corinthians, on the Isthmus, in honour of Poseidon; the Nemean by the Argives,‡ in the valley of Nemea. The great feature of all these festivals was those "Games," or, as the Greeks called them "Contests," in which prizes were awarded to the victors in athletic exercises, in foot and horse and chariot races, in music and poetry. The prizes were of no intrinsic value, a mere garland placed as a crown on the victor's

* Also called the Phocian War, B.C. 350—346.

† B.C. 339—338.

‡ They succeeded the citizens of Cleonæ in the presidency.

head, of various materials at the different games. The Olympic crown was of wild olive, cut from the sacred tree which was said to have been planted by Hercules. But this simple chaplet carried with it deathless fame. The Greek who was proclaimed a victor at Olympia ranked at once as the greatest man of the whole Hellenic race. His statue was erected in the sacred grove called Altis; his praises were sung by poets; he was conducted in procession to his own city, where special honours and immunities awaited him; his fellow-citizens added substantial rewards to the olive wreath; and he was held to have conferred the truest nobility on his family. The royal and noble houses throughout Greece were as ambitious of these honours as the humblest citizens; and they were alike open to all, from every part of the world where the Hellenic race existed. As a means of national union, the Olympic games were scarcely less powerful than the great Jewish feasts.* In addition to the community of sentiment cherished by the games themselves, the concourse that they brought together afforded the means of commercial, social, and literary intercourse, the more effective because directly personal. Even newspapers cannot speak with a living voice, exchange question and answer while the thought is still fresh, and look face into face. In the booths around the plain of Olympia, merchants exchanged the rude wares they had brought from the banks of the Tanais and the Rhone against the rich products of Asia and Africa. The social and political condition of the various states of the mother country, of her farthest colonies, and of the barbarian nations around them, might be compared. Teachers of philosophy discussed the theories which sprang up in Athens and Italian Greece. Poets and historians read aloud, in all their freshness, the immortal works, which we only half admire for want of such a hearing. Such intercourse, too, must have tended powerfully to maintain that likeness in manners and modes of thought, which formed another bond of Hellenic union. With all this, however, as has been said before, there was no political unity throughout Greece; there was scarcely even the sentiment of patriotism for Greece as a land. The devotion of the Greek was to his city, the interests of which were often permitted to outweigh the common welfare of the nation. We shall soon see how difficult and how imperfect was the union even against the pressing danger of subjugation by Persia; how soon it was

* The same may be said, in a somewhat lesser degree, of the other festivals, especially the Pythian.

dissolved; and with what an internecine strife the leading states and different races contended for the mastery, till they sank together under the Macedonian supremacy.

Turning from the whole nation to the separate states, we must be content with a brief survey of their progress to the condition in which we find them at the epoch of the Persian Wars. To trace the annals of each in detail is the province of a special history of Greece. Homer describes the Argives, whose capital was then at Mycenæ, as the dominant Achæan state of Peloponnesus, the next being Lacedæmon under a king of the same family. This order of precedure lasted after the Dorian conquest. Argos was the first state; Sparta the second; Messenia, which had absorbed the Æolian kingdom of Pylos, the third. Argos was at the head of a powerful confederacy of cities in the north-east of Peloponnesus, including also the island of Ægina. She emerges to our view, near the beginning of the historic age, under a powerful king, the Heraclid Pheidon, the first of those rulers who set up the irresponsible governments which the Greeks called Tyrannies. To him is ascribed the first coinage of silver and copper money in Greece, and the introduction of the earliest standard of weights and measures, which was called the Æginetan, probably because it became generally known through the commerce of the island.* Having been called in to aid the people of Pisa in a contest with those of Elis for the presidency of the Olympic games, Pheidon assumed that dignity to himself. Sparta resented the usurpation; and the defeat of Pheidon in the ensuing conflict seems to have entailed the fall of the Argive supremacy. He flourished about the eighth Olympiad (B.C. 747).

Sparta, which succeeded to the supremacy, had been trained for the eminence which she so long held among the Dorian states by the institutions of Lycurgus. Though the great legislator's public appearance is assigned to the epoch of the Olympiads (B.C. 776), the events of his life have something of a mythical complexion, besides a suspicious resemblance to the details of the life of Solon. These incidents, however, are quite unimportant, in comparison with the institutions which bore his name. Their great object was to convert the citizens of Sparta into a sort of military family, united by the closest social bonds, trained in the severest discipline,

* The other early standard was the Euboic, on which the Attic was founded. Respecting the relations of these systems to each other, and their probable derivation from Babylonia, see the articles on weights, measures, and money, in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, 2nd edition.

and governed by a close oligarchy, though still under the form of the ancient monarchy. The first object of this constitution was to maintain the power of the small body of Dorian invaders, whose successes had made them masters of a much more numerous population. Its effect was to build up a state which resisted those usurpations of tyrants and those advances of democracy, by which all the other Grecian cities were revolutionized one after the other, and to form a military power fit to gain, and, so far as mere force could do it, to hold the supremacy of Greece.

The foundation of political rights at Lacedæmon was laid in the original conquest by the Dorian invaders. Their descendants, the *Spartans*, alone possessed the citizenship, and were originally equal in their personal rights. They possessed the greater portion of the land, which was tilled for them by the Helots; for they disdained alike the pursuits of agriculture and commerce. Residing in the city, they passed their lives together according to the discipline of Lycurgus, and ate at the common tables to which each contributed his share. We need not stay to describe the well-known discipline by which, from early boyhood, the Spartans were trained to endure hunger, cold, and pain, and hardened in heart as well as body by the most cruel sufferings. That discipline was the very type of Stoicism, long before the name was used for a system of philosophy,—the concentration of human power by a self-sacrifice involving the extinction of some of the highest virtues.

> "To suffer as to do
> "Their strength was equal;"

but to strength they sacrificed all that was graceful and amiable, and much of what was truly beneficent. Even in its best aspect, the fruit of their discipline was only for themselves. They have left to after times the admiration which self-sacrifice always demands, the renown of their warlike exploits, and above all the glories of Thermopylæ; their example has fanned the flame of heroic self-devotion in every age; and this is no small praise. But their influence has been next to nothing on the progress of civilization, arts, letters, and free political life. Hard and rude in manners and temper, proud, overbearing, and despotic, all the suffering that they endured and inflicted ended in the possession of power and the praise of heroic fortitude; but the heart beneath was hollow. The Spartan boy, who with unflinching courage suffered the concealed fox to gnaw out his vitals, was no bad emblem of the state itself.

No place was allowed in the Spartan discipline to the graces of literature, for the very reason that "they soften men's manners, nor suffer them to be fierce." Oratory was held in special contempt, as a waste of time and breath, and philosophy was superseded by those sententious maxims, the brevity of which we still describe as *Laconic*. Music indeed formed, as throughout all Greece, an essential part of education; but it was confined to the religious hymns, the heroic poems of Homer, and war-songs like those with which Tyrtæus animated their courage in the second Messenian War. It was at Sparta that Terpander founded the earliest school of Greek music; but when he ventured to convert the ancient tetrachord into a heptachord, the Ephors are said to have cut the new strings off his lyre. Commerce was forbidden to the Spartan citizens, equally with the luxuries procured by it. Iron money alone was allowed for their few trading transactions; but the prohibition of the precious metals only excited the avarice of the Spartans, whose public men were the most venal in all Greece.

Besides the Spartan citizens, the Lacedæmonian name embraced the *Periœci*,* or inhabitants of the country districts of Laconia, who are supposed to have been chiefly the remnant of the old Achæan population, but mixed with Dorians of a class inferior to the full citizens. Though excluded from political power, they were free. They possessed a portion of the land, and were the only class engaged in commerce and manufactures. Below them were the *Helots*, a class whose unfortunate condition passed into a proverb. The intensely bitter feeling between them and the Spartans was a gradual growth, though its seeds existed in their relations from the first. They were pure Greeks, reduced to servitude by conquest, as the penalty of their obstinate resistance, when the other Achæans submitted to the Dorian invaders. Their condition was that of serfs bound to the soil, like the *villeins* of the middle ages, dwelling with their families on the lands which they farmed at a rent under the Spartan proprietors. They attended their masters to the field as light-armed troops, and they seem never to have been bought or sold as slaves. They were regarded as the property of the state, and could obtain freedom by good service in war; but, in that case, they formed a separate class, under a distinctive name, the effect of which on their condition may be compared to the mark of colour on a free negro in America. Their fixed position as cultivators of the soil

* The name, which was not peculiar to Laconia, signifies "dwellers round" the city.

made their lot better than common slavery; but their haughty masters could not refrain from heaping wanton insults upon their rustic serfs, whose resentment was inflamed by the recollection of their former condition as free Greeks. Hence came all the atrocities of servile revolts on the one hand, and on the other the cruelties prompted by an ever-present fear. The Spartan "Crypteia" is no solitary example in the history of the world of the attempt to find some relief from such fears in a system of indiscriminate massacre.* Sometimes, however, it was found convenient to use their services in war as full-armed soldiers, and they were then usually emancipated. The existence of such a class of serfs in a free state is always found to react upon the character of their masters, enhancing, it may be, their pride in their own freedom, but preventing that freedom from rising to the highest type of genuine liberty.

The government of Sparta was framed in the same jealous and exclusive spirit as her social institutions. All political power was in the hands of the Spartans, who are said to have amounted, in the time of Lycurgus, to about 9000 men.† They formed the *Ecclesia*, or assembly of the people, a body possessed of as little power as in the heroic age. The Senate, or body of Elders, composed of thirty members, not under sixty years of age, and elected for life, replaced the Council of the Homeric kings. They were a real deliberative assembly, and were also judges in all capital charges against a Spartan. At the head of the state, at least nominally, were the two kings, who were also numbered among the thirty senators. They performed the functions of the heroic kings, commanding the armies, and offering the public sacrifices; and, long after their power was restricted, as we shall presently see, they retained its form, and were held in high reverence as the descendants of Hercules. We have seen that the existence of two kings at Sparta was explained by the tradition of their descent from Eurysthenes and Procles, the twin sons of the Heraclid Aristodemus. However this may have been, the division of the

* The *Crypteia* was a *secret service*, entrusted by the Ephors to chosen Spartan youths, who went forth with a dagger and their necessary food, hiding during the day, and in the night stabbing any Helots whom they met in the roads.

† The statement that Lycurgus divided the land of Sparta into 9000 equal lots for the Spartans, and the rest of Laconia into 30,000 for the Perioeci, however incredible as to the main facts, implies a traditional estimate of the relative numbers of the two classes. The Spartans declined rapidly in number. In the time of Aristotle there were only 1000, and in that of Agis only 700 full citizens, of whom 100 possessed all the land.

royal power paved the way for that new authority which is the peculiar characteristic of the Spartan polity. The institution of the Ephors is ascribed to Lycurgus, but it was probably a later encroachment, which only superseded the royal power by gradual steps. The Ephors were a Committee of Five, elected annually by the assembly of the people, and exercising the whole executive power, at home and abroad, secretly and without responsibility. They even arrested the kings, and fined them at their own pleasure, or brought them to trial before the Senate. Two of the Ephors accompanied the king in war, and formed a complete check upon his authority. The Spartan government must not be confounded with those aristocracies or oligarchies, in which the power resides with the nobles as opposed to the citizens in general, or with the few great families as opposed to the popular Many. As there were no other citizens but Spartans, so there were no other nobles than these citizens; and the institution of the Ephors was the very means by which the popular body obtained the power which had formerly resided with the kings. The exercise of that power by a small committee ensured secresy, dispatch, and a complete check on the kings and every other officer; while the annual election of the Ephors made them the real representatives of the popular will. The government of Sparta was a true republic; but, in relation to the great mass of the unenfranchised Lacedæmonians, it was a republic of the aristocratic type.

The Spartans, as we have already said, were a mere handful of conquerors in the midst of a hostile population. They trusted to the strength developed by their peculiar institutions, and never took up a defensive attitude. It is said that Lycurgus forbade the fortification of the city, which in fact was never enclosed by walls till the time of the Romans. It derived some protection from its site. The "hollow Lacedæmon," as Homer calls it, lay on the right bank of the Eurotas, about 20 miles above the sea, in a valley shut in by Mount Menelaium on the east and Taygetus on the west. Its houses were scattered over the plain in several distinct groups, or villages, never united into a regular town. This mode of building, together with the inferiority of its public edifices, will account for the insignificance of its ruins as compared with those of Athens. Those ruins, consisting chiefly of the agora and theatre, and some relics of the temples, strikingly fulfil the conjectures of Thucydides as to its state when destroyed.

It was only after a long struggle that the Spartans became masters of the country thenceforth called Laconia. The Achæans

long maintained themselves at Amyclæ, the ancient city of Tyndarus, the fall of which gave rise to the proverb:—"More taciturn than Amyclæ." The tradition went that the people, worn out with false alarms, passed a law forbidding any one to speak of the enemy; so that at last no one dared to announce their approach, and the city was surprised. The condition of the Helots was a permanent memorial of the resistance of many of the Achæans. We have already seen the Spartans engaged in successful war with Pheidon of Argos, soon after the beginning of the historic period; but their chief enterprise, in that early age, was the reduction of Messenia. This was effected in two great wars, the exact date of which is uncertain. The first Messenian War is usually placed at B.C. 743—724, the second at B.C. 685—668.

The details of these wars must be left to the historians of Greece. They abound in romantic incidents, often turning upon the ambiguous responses of the Delphic oracle. The hero of the first war, on the Messenian side, was Aristodemus, who devoted his daughter to death to fulfil an oracle, and, when his country's cause proved hopeless, slew himself upon her tomb. The conflict was begun, after provocations on both sides, by the Spartans, who surprised the fortress of Ampheia without a declaration of war. From the fifth year of the war the Spartans had the superiority in the field, but the Messenians maintained themselves in their stronghold of Ithome for fifteen years more. They were at length compelled to abandon this fortress, which was razed to the ground. Many of the Messenians escaped to Arcadia and Attica. The rest were reduced to the state of Helots, and were compelled to pay half the produce of their land to their new masters. Other Peloponnesian states took part in the war, the Corinthians on the side of Sparta, the Arcadians and Sicyonians on that of the Messenians.

After thirty-nine years of submission, the Messenians found a new leader in Aristomenes, a hero who ranks in history with the Saxon Hereward, William Wallace, and other props of a falling state. The story of his exploits, which we owe chiefly to the traveller Pausanias, in the time of the Antonines, is doubtless founded on patriotic ballads of slight historic value. He began his career by proving that a Messenian force could meet a Spartan army on equal terms; and followed up the success by entering Sparta at night and hanging up a shield in the temple of Athena of the Brazen House, with an inscription declaring it to be dedicated by Aristomenes from the Spartan spoils. All Peloponnesus

became involved in the war; and it is significant of the jealousy inspired by the growing power of Lacedæmon, that Argos, Arcadia, Sicyon, and Pisa sided with the Messenians, while Corinth alone joined the Spartans. The latter, however, had a more effective ally in the Athenian poet, Tyrtæus. The story goes that the Spartans, discouraged at the first exploits of Aristomenes, consulted the Delphic oracle, which bade them seek a leader from Athens. The Athenians, too jealous to render any effectual aid, sent them a lame schoolmaster. But his martial ballads did more to urge on the Spartans to victory than the highest military talent could have done. We still possess some fragments of the war-songs of Tyrtæus. Of two great battles between the allied forces on both sides, the first, that of "the Boar's Tomb," gave a signal victory to the Messenians, but in the second, the battle of "the Great Ditch," they were utterly defeated through the treason of the Arcadian chief, Aristocrates. Like Aristodemus in the first war, Aristomenes now abandoned the open field, and collected the remnant of his forces in a new stronghold upon Mount Ira. Here he maintained himself for eleven years, repeatedly sallying forth to ravage Laconia, while the Spartans were encamped at the foot of the mountain. At length Ira was taken by surprise. Aristomenes, with a few brave comrades, cut his way through the enemy, and escaped into Arcadia, and thence to Rhodes. His sons led some of the Messenians to Rhegium; but the rest were reduced again to serfdom. Messenia became a part of the territory of Laconia (B.C. 668), and it is not till three hundred years later that the Messenians reappear in history. The Lacedæmonian power was next extended northwards at the expense of the Arcadians; but that primitive people kept the greater part of their country free. The long resistance of Tegea, the story of which involves the curious legend of the finding of the bones of Orestes, ended in the submission of the Arcadian city to become a subject ally of Lacedæmon, about B.C. 560. The aggrandisement of Sparta was completed by an accession of territory from Argos, including the eastern seaboard of Laconia and a district on the northern frontier. The possession of the latter was staked on the issue of a combat between three hundred champions on either side, of whom only one Spartan and two Argives survived. The victory was claimed by both parties, and a general battle ended in the defeat of the Argives (B.C. 547). Thus the Spartans became masters of the whole southern portion of the Peloponnesus at the very time when Cyrus, having overthrown the Lydian Empire, was subju-

gating the Greeks of Asia Minor. How fully they were recognized as the leading people of Greece is seen by the application of the Ionian Greeks to them for aid: their proud sense of their own power was shown by the mandate to the Persian conqueror, not to touch any of the Grecian cities, for they would not allow it.

The other states of Greece, and Athens in particular, were in no condition to dispute the pre-eminence of Sparta. Nearly all of them were suffering from those revolutions from which Sparta had been saved by the institutions ascribed to Lycurgus. While she alone had preserved the old kingly government of the heroic age, modified into a new constitution, they had abandoned it only to plunge into the conflict between the Few and the Many for political ascendancy, or rather they had been drawn into that conflict by the natural progress of events. It is this that gives the states of Greece their vast importance in the political history of the world. On their narrow stage, and in a brief space of time, they passed through those experiments in government which other nations are still trying, and which some have scarcely yet begun. Their history, chronologically ancient, is really modern in respect of the principles it developes.

The patriarchal monarchies of the heroic age could not survive any great advance of the whole body of the citizens in wealth and intelligence; and we have ample evidence of such an advance about the beginning of the historic period. In the Dorian states, especially, the chief families were at once aggrandized by the possession of the conquered land, and by their prowess in effecting the conquest. How powerfully such causes act in raising a nobility to rivalry with the crown, is proved by the history of the medieval feudal monarchies. But in these, the large extent of the kingdoms, and the necessity of union for external war as well as internal supremacy, were powerful motives for preserving kingly government. In Greece there was no wide territory to defend or govern; no jealous nobles disposing of large forces, whose mutual discords might be turned to the profit of the crown. Within the narrow bounds of a Greek city, each step of progress brought the nobles nearer to the king; and he had no scope for placing his power on a wider basis. Thus the royal dignity seems to have died out without any violent revolutions, and the government passed into the hands of the nobles, who had formed, in the heroic age, the council of the king. A remnant of the more ancient form was preserved in the presidency of a chief magistrate, who bore various names, and this honour was in some cases

given first to the old royal family. The office soon became elective, and tenable for a limited period, under a complete responsibility to the body of the nobles. By some such process as this, the steps of which differed little in the different states of Greece, the patriarchal monarchies were transformed into Oligarchies, based on birth and property in the land.

This advance in the power of the nobles could not leave the body of free citizens as they were. When the right of the "Jove-born king" was once called in question, the door was opened to the claims of the free-born citizen. Here, again, the narrow limits and compact structure of the Grecian states simplified the problem. There was no room for elaborate systems of representation or for ingenious varieties of franchise. Excepting the lowest class of rural labourers, and a few others, all were present in the city, or within easy reach of it, ready to take a personal share in the government as soon as the opportunity should offer. The class consisting of the smaller landed proprietors, the artisans, and the traders, were growing in wealth, intelligence, and numbers, whilst the nobles were becoming subject to that steady decay which is the doom of all exclusive aristocracies. All things tended to the substitution of democracy for oligarchy, a change which, all history proves, can hardly be effected without a violent revolution.

Meanwhile, however, a new power appeared upon the stage, to break the force of the transition. The greatest danger to an oligarchy is the certainty that some of its members will break away from the traditions and system of the body, and assume the character, either of usurpers in their own strength, or of champions of popular rights. So it was in Greece: as the aristocratic governments lost strength, the supreme power was seized by that class of adventurers whom they called *Tyrants*. This word implies an illegal assumption and arbitrary exercise of power, but not necessarily any cruelty or harshness. The inevitable tendency of despotic power to be thus abused gave rise to the common meaning of the word. The very possession of such power hardens the heart and stimulates self-will. Every appearance, or even fear of opposition, is a new motive for cruelty and oppression. The power first seized from the nobles, often in the name of public liberty, and with the consent of the people, was maintained by the support of foreign mercenaries; and the people saw their old nobles driven into exile, without any gain of liberty to themselves. In spite, therefore, of great material improvements in the cities they governed, and of their patronage of literature and art, the

Tyrants grew not only unpopular, but detested; and even their assassination was regarded as a glory instead of a crime. The Lacedæmonians were not slow to take advantage of this feeling, and to aid in overturning the despots as a step towards the restoration of oligarchy. Their policy was more successful in the means than in the end; and the fall of the Tyrants was generally succeeded by a struggle between the Many and the Few, the latter being supported, wherever it was possible, by the power of Sparta.

The age of the Tyrants may be defined generally as extending over the century and a half from B.C. 650 to B.C. 500. We shall soon see how, at Athens, their expulsion precipitated the Persian war. Meanwhile their rule in other cities demands some notice. The most powerful states of the Peloponnesus, after Sparta and Argos, were Corinth on the isthmus, and Sicyon to the west of it. In both, the power of the Tyrants lasted longer than in any other Grecian state, probably for the reason that they sprang from the people, and not from the Dorian nobility. In Sicyon, Orthagoras, of the old Achæan race, overthrew the Dorian oligarchy, and established a dynasty which lasted from about B.C. 676 to about B.C. 560. It ended with Cleisthenes, the most distinguished of the line, who only left a daughter, and her marriage with the Athenian Megacles added the traditional fame of the house of Sicyon to the pride of the Alcmæonidæ. This lady, Agarista, became the mother of Cleisthenes, who founded the Athenian democracy.

Corinth furnishes the best example of a tyranny, both in its brilliant and its hateful features. Cypselus, a man of the people, whose mother belonged to the ruling house of the Bacchiadæ, but had been treated as an outcast because of her lameness, overthrew their oligarchy, and ruled as the champion of popular rights (B.C. 655). His son, Periander, reigned for forty years (B.C. 625 to 585) with cruel despotism at home; but he made Corinth the great maritime and commercial state of Greece. To this rank she seemed destined by her position on the isthmus, commanding all the land traffic between Peloponnesus and northern Greece, and communicating with the eastern and western seas by the ports of Cenchreæ and Lechæum. The first of those ships of war which were called *triremes*, from their three banks of oars, are said to have been built at Corinth. As early as B.C. 700, she had founded a colony on the island of Corcyra (*Corfu*), a name most memorable in Grecian history from that day to our own. Corcyra soon

acquired, under the Dorian settlers, the maritime fame which she was believed to have possessed as Scheria, the island of Homer's Phæacians.* In her turn she colonized Leucas, another of the Ionian islands, besides Ambracia, Anactorium, and Epidamnus, on the mainland. According to Grecian law, these were colonies of the mother city; but the Corcyræans were powerful enough to maintain a practical independence, and they met the Corinthians in the first sea fight recorded in Greek history (B.C. 664). The renewal of the conflict at a later period was a chief cause of the Peloponnesian war. Meanwhile, it is a striking proof of Periander's power, that all these colonies in the Ionian Sea were subject to his sway; but the story of his son Lycophron's retirement in anger to Corcyra, and his murder there by the Corcyræans, seems to show that they were quite ready to resume the independence which we soon find them asserting. Periander's patronage of art and letters is rendered memorable by the case of the dithyrambic poet, Arion of Lesbos, whose romantic story proves that we are not yet entirely clear of the atmosphere of legend. The poet had left the court of Corinth for a musical contest in Sicily, and was returning victorious, in a Corinthian ship, when the rich presents he had with him tempted the cupidity of the sailors. Though deaf to his prayers for life, they accepted his offer to play them one last strain upon the harp. The poet placed himself in festal dress at the ship's prow, sang an exquisite hymn to the gods, and then cast himself into the sea. The charm of his music had attracted a shoal of dolphins round the ship, and one of them took up the poet and carried him safe to Tænarus. Returning to Corinth, he was welcomed with delight by Periander, who punished the sailors as they deserved. The power of Periander was only retained for three years by his successor, who is said to have been put down by the Lacedæmonians.

The neighbouring state of Megara, also situated on the isthmus, between Corinth and Attica, affords an interesting example of the party conflicts which followed the fall of the Tyrants. A tyranny was set up by Theagenes, in the name of the popular party, about B.C. 630; but he was expelled about B.C. 600. The Many then rose against the Few, amidst the wildest excesses of social, as well as political revolution. Property was confiscated, debts were cancelled, and creditors were compelled to refund the interest already

* The identification, though commonly made by the ancients, is wholly conjectural.

paid; the poor feasted at the expense of the rich; and, as was usual in such revolutions, the leaders of the defeated party were driven into exile. These outrages prove the intolerable oppression that provoked them, and we have the testimony of the poet Theognis, himself a member of the aristocratic party, to the real improvement which the revolution made in the condition of the people, whom poverty and debt had reduced virtually to serfdom. After a long struggle, the oligarchy was restored in Megara.

The like revolutions took place in the Hellenic colonies; and a greater poet, the renowned Alcæus, reveals to us the fierce spirit of the contest at Mytilene, in the island of Lesbos, where he himself belonged to the party of the nobles. This state furnishes an interesting variety of the despotic form of government. The chief popular leader was Pittacus, one of the Seven Sages of Greece, who had joined with the aristocratic leaders in expelling the tyrant Melanchrus (B.C. 612), and who had afterwards commanded in a war against the Athenians in the Troad. When, in the civil war that followed, the people were hard pressed by the exiled nobles, they appointed Pittacus to the office of Æsymnetes, or Dictator, which he resigned after holding it for ten years (B.C. 589—579), having by his wisdom and moderation carried the state safely through the passage to a free republic.

Most of the Greek cities of Asia had their tyrants, whose usurpation was favoured by Persia; and we shall soon have to recur to their relations to the empire. A citizen of a free state might be the tyrant of a colony:—

> "The Tyrant of the Chersonese
> Was freedom's best and bravest friend;
> That tyrant was Miltiades!"

The most splendid and successful of these Asiatic Tyrants, rivalling the fame of Periander, was that Polycrates, of Samos, who has been already mentioned as the friend of Amasis, king of Egypt.* About the end of the reign of Cyrus, he usurped the government of the island, with the aid of his brothers, one of whom he soon murdered, and banished the other. He adorned Samos with splendid buildings, and patronized artists and men of letters, the most distinguished of whom was the poet Anacreon. By means of his powerful fleet he conquered most of the neighbouring islands, and even some towns on the mainland, and repulsed a joint attack by the Spartans and Corinthians. Long after the submission of

* Chap. viii., p. 137.

the other cities and islands, he defied the power of Persia, till Orœtes, the satrap of Lydia, treacherously enticed him to the mainland, and crucified him on the sea-shore (B.C. 522). We shall speak of the celebrated Tyrants of Sicily, in describing the Greek colonies in that island.

The one state which exhibits, most strikingly of all the rest, the political changes of the age; the one which pushed democratic liberty to its utmost bounds; bore the brunt of the conflict with Persia, founded a maritime empire, and achieved the more lasting intellectual supremacy of Greece, was ATHENS. It is needless to describe the well-known site,

> "Where on the Ægæan shore a city stands,
> Built nobly; pure the air and light the soil;
> Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
> And eloquence, native to famous wits."

The great Ionian families of Attica claimed to be Autochthones, or children of their own land; and their traditions spoke of a time when the rugged soil barely supported a rude and scanty population, and the Acropolis was still a naked rock. The Egyptian Cecrops, as we have seen, was said to have first imported the arts of civilization, and to have taught the people to build cities. He collected the scattered natives into twelve states, each with its city and petty king, and built the city, which was called after him Cecropia, on the rock afterwards so famous as the Acropolis * of Athens. The contest which ensued between Poseidon, the great deity of the Ionian race, and Athena, the goddess of arts and arms, for the possession of the new city, was one of the most favourite Attic legends, and formed the subject of the sculptured group in the western pediment of the Parthenon. Jove and the other deities presided over the trial, which depended on the production of the gift most useful to mankind. Poseidon struck the earth, and called forth the war-horse; Athena bade the olive spring out of the ground, and so won the city, which was henceforth called after her name. The myth is doubtless significant, and it seems to imply a modification of the old religion of the Ionians by some new element, not only of worship but of civilization. That same element, whatever it may have been, appears to have given Athens

* The name, though used commonly in this specific sense, is properly generic, signifying the Summit City. Such rocks were often chosen as the sites of Greek cities; and, as the plain beneath was gradually occupied with houses, the original fortress became at once the citadel, for purposes of defence, and the sacred enclosure containing the chief temples of the gods.

the pre-eminence over the rural communities, and ultimately these were merged into one state, with Athens for the capital. This change, which was antecedent to recorded history, is expressed by the mythical tradition, that Theseus caused the citizens of the other cities to remove to Athens, in which all political rights became centred; the rustic population alone remaining behind, to till the land.

The whole period of monarchy at Athens lies within the mythical age, and tradition connects its end with the great Dorian migration. After achieving the conquest of Peloponnesus, the Dorians made repeated inroads into Attica. An oracle promised them the victory, if they spared the life of the king; but their hopes were frustrated by the self-devotion of the king, Codrus, who entered their camp in disguise, provoked a quarrel, and was slain.* Resolving that the royal title should never be borne by one less worthy, the Athenians substituted for it that of *Archon* (*Ruler*), which remained hereditary in the family of Codrus for thirteen generations. The last of these Perpetual Archons was Medon (B.C. 752). Upon his death, the duration of the office was limited to ten years, but it remained in the family of Codrus till B.C. 714, when it was thrown open to all the nobles.

At length, in B.C. 683, the executive of Athens was cast into its final form. Nine archons were elected year by year from the nobles. The first was called, by way of dignity, simply *Archon*, and also *Archon Eponymus*,† because, in the Athenian reckoning, each year was distinguished by the name of its chief magistrate. Besides presiding over the whole body, he had jurisdiction in all matters relating to the families of the citizens. Another relic of the old patriarchal monarchy was preserved in the functions and title of the *Archon Basileus* (*King*), who had the direction of religious affairs and ceremonies, including the trial of homicides. The third, or *Polemarch*, besides the command of the troops, had the decision of all causes between citizens and foreigners, and was a sort of foreign minister. The other six were called *Thesmothetæ* (i.e., *Law-givers*); not that they had what we now call legislative power, but because their judicial decisions fixed the traditional unwritten law, which they administered. The body of Archons continued as long as the republic; but, as we shall presently see, their functions were in a great degree superseded under the democracy.

* The chronographers place the date of Codrus about B.C. 1045, sixty years after the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus.

† That is, "giving his name to" the year.

Such is the traditional account of the transition from monarchy to oligarchy in the Athenian state, which seems to have been effected without any violent revolution. The Council of the heroic age was replaced by the Senate, afterwards called Areopagus, from its place of meeting.* This Senate was composed entirely of the Nobles, or *Eupatridæ*, and its ranks were filled up by the Archons, as they retired from office. The whole body of citizens was organized on the basis of the family constitution. There were four Tribes, each divided into three *Phratriæ* (Brotherhoods); each *Phratry* into thirty *Gentes* (Clans), and each *Gens* into thirty Families. Thus there were 4 Tribes, 12 Phratries, 360 Gentes, and 10,800 Families, numbers which of course could not have been exactly maintained. In each of these divisions there was a common organization for social and religious purposes. Throughout the whole constitution the ruling principle was that of birth; and none were prouder of their birth than the Athenian aristocracy.

The want of written laws placed an almost unlimited power in the hands of the Archons, which was naturally used in favour of their own class; and the sanguinary legislation of Draco (B.C. 624), instead of affording any relief, seems only to have perpetuated the severe interpretation of the law by the Archons. Death was made the penalty for almost every offence, and it was well said that the laws of Draco were written in blood. The people found a champion in one of the nobles, named Cylon, who, encouraged by an ambiguous oracle, and aided by Theagenes, the Tyrant of Megara, whose daughter he had married, seized the Acropolis at the time of the Olympic festival (B.C. 612). The insurrection failed; but it led to important consequences. Megacles, the Archon, enticed the comrades of Cylon from their sanctuary at the altar of Athena by a promise of safety, and then put them to death. The stain of his sacrilege was imputed to the whole of the great family of the Alcmæonidæ, to which Megacles belonged, and, after some delay, they were banished as a polluted race (B.C. 597). The city was purified by the Cretan seer, Epimenides (B.C. 596).

These events were followed by the greatest constitutional change yet made at Athens, the legislation of Solon. Most readers are

* The "Hill of Ares (Mars)" is one of the isolated rocks which rise from the plain of Athens. Its site is between the Acropolis and the Pnyx; the latter being the hill on the slope of which was the place of meeting for the Popular Assembly. The name *Areopagus* was first given to the ancient Senate when Solon established the Council of Four Hundred. When it afterwards lost its legislative functions, it retained the highest dignity as a court of religious judicature.

familiar with the story of the sage's first appearance in public life, to give, under the disguise of madness, advice which wisdom was not permitted to utter, and thereby to effect the important conquest of Salamis* (B.C. 600). He is said to have moved in the Amphictyonic Council the resolution against Cirrha, which began the First Sacred War ;† but the story that he effected the reduction of the city by poisoning the water of the river Pleistus is probably a late invention. A poet as well as a philosopher, at a time when wisdom chose the medium of poetry, Solon not only invoked the Muse to stir up the spirit of patriotic conquest, but described in his verses the wretched disorganization of his country. Still he was trusted by the Eupatrids, among whom he held high rank, as the descendant of Codrus. It was by his advice that the Alcmæonidæ were induced to submit to trial on the charge of sacrilege. Weakened by their exile, the nobles preferred entrusting Solon with the reform which had become inevitable, rather than to be swept away by the impending revolution. In the year B.C. 594 they chose him Archon, with full power to make new laws. It was on this occasion that Solon gave the memorable warning against lawless ambition, which has been illustrated by all history down to our own times. Urged by his friends to make himself Tyrant of Athens, and even taunted with madness for refusing to haul up the net when the fish were caught, he replied that "tyranny might be a fair country, only *there was no way out of it.*" The answer says as much for his far-sighted discernment of political wisdom, as for his plain sense of political honesty.

The evil relations that had grown up, as in the rest of Greece, between the rich nobles and the poorer citizens were complicated in Attica by other elements. The very formation of the peninsula‡ had a marked influence on the social divisions of its population. The rugged limestone mountains, which cover the northern and eastern parts, enclose, where they approach the sea, especially towards the western coast, plains of comparatively large extent and of considerable fertility. These plains were the possessions of the Eupatridæ, while the poorer proprietors had to content them-

* The Athenians soon wrested the island from the Megarians; but they were only secured in its possession by a decision of the Lacedæmonians, B.C. 596. The loss of Salamis gave rise to a lasting feud of Megara against Athens.

† B.C. 595. See above, p. 329.

‡ Its decided shape of a triangular promontory, like Cornwall, ending in "Sunium's marble steep," was expressed by its most ancient name of *Acté*, i.e., the Promontory.

selves with the sterile highlands. But, besides this, the large seaboard of Attica, and the adventurous character of her people, gave rise to a commerce which, while adding to the wealth of the nobles, created also an independent maritime population, dwelling on the coast. Hence had arisen, not as elsewhere two, but three divisions of the citizens, the *Lowlanders*, or rich proprietors of the plains; the *Highlanders*, or poor cultivators of the hills; and the *Parali*,* or mercantile people of the sea-shore. The existence and growing prosperity of the last class heightened the social contrast between the other two, and their free spirit threatened the power of the oligarchy. The gulf between the rich and poor was of necessity always widening. The poor borrowed of the rich, pledging their persons as well as their property; and then, under the severe laws of debt, they became their serfs. Some were even sold into foreign slavery. Such a state of things, recurring as it does in the history of aristocratic republics and monarchies, tends to prove the wisdom and mercy of the Mosaic law of the jubilee. A similar remedy was adopted by Solon for the emergency in his celebrated ordinance of the *Seisachtheia*, or shaking off of burthens. This law set free all the estates and persons that had been pledged to creditors, and means were taken to ransom those who had been sold abroad as slaves. At the same time, Solon is said to have reduced the standard of the coinage, by increasing its nominal value, to assist creditors who had suffered loss by the former measure in meeting their own engagements.†

Having thus removed the chief source of enmity between class and class, and having repealed the sanguinary laws of Draco, Solon was called, by the united voice of the Athenians, to remodel their politieal constitution. He adopted an entirely new principle for the adjustment of political rights, the first working of which did not materially disturb the existing balance of political power. The basis of his system was what the Greeks called *timocracy*—a distribution of power to the citizens according to their wealth.

As the Eupatrids were by far the wealthiest class, they were not suddenly deprived of their ascendancy; but the way was open for the other citizens, and especially those enriched by commerce, to

* The Greek word is borrowed for want of a single English term: the two other classes were called in Greek *Pedieis* and *Diacrii*.

† Respecting the details of these measures, the points of political economy involved in them, and their effect in obviating the recurrence both of similar evils and similar remedies, see the masterly discussion of Mr. Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. chap. xi.

political power. Solon made an assessment of the landed property of all the citizens, taking the medimnus of agricultural produce (about a bushel and a half) as the standard of value, and as equivalent to a drachma in money;* and he divided them into four classes, according to their annual income. The first class were named, with careful avoidance of all aristocratic titles, from the amount of their income (500 medimni and upwards) *Pentacosiomedimni*. They alone were eligible for the Archonship and other high offices; and, as we shall presently see, they bore by far the largest share of the public burthens. The second class were called the *Horsemen* (or *Knights*), because they were bound to serve as cavalry, providing and equipping their horses at their own expense. They filled the inferior offices in the state, farmed the revenue, and had the commerce of the country for the most part in their hands. Their activity and intelligence combined with their secondary rank to place the balance of power very much in their hands. The third class were called *Zeugitæ* (Yokesmen) from their ability to keep a yoke of oxen: the name marks them as small farmers. They served in the heavy-armed infantry; and, in common with the two higher classes, were subject to a property-tax, which was assessed at a graduated rate.† All whose annual income fell short of 200 medimni formed the fourth class, called *Thetes*. They served as light-armed troops, were exempt from the property-tax and disqualified for public office. But they were not excluded from all political power: they had a vote in the popular assembly, where their numbers would give them an influential voice in the election of the Archons and other officers, and in the judgment passed upon their conduct at the expiration of their year of office. This direct responsibility of all the magistrates to the popular assembly was the most democratic of the institutions of Solon; and though the government was still in the hands of the oligarchy, Solon clearly foresaw, if he did not purposely prepare for, the preponderance of the popular element. As a security against the adoption of hasty measures by the assembly, he instituted the Senate of Four Hundred, chosen year by year from the

* The Athenians used a silver currency, the purity of which was proverbial throughout Greece. Its principal unit was the drachma, a coin nearly equal in value to the French franc. Its worth, computed by the present value of silver, is 9¾*d.*; but how little idea such computations give of the real value of ancient money, in exchange for the most necessary commodities, is seen by the statement in the text.

† The details of Athenian taxation are far too intricate and important to be explained here. They are fully discussed in the *Histories* of Bishop Thirlwall and Mr. Grote, and in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*.

four old Ionic tribes by the people, to whom they were responsible. Their office was to prepare all business for the popular assembly, to regulate its meetings, and to give effect to its resolutions. The Areopagus retained its ancient functions, to which Solon added a general oversight over the public institutions and over the private life of the citizens. Solon enacted many other laws for the administration of justice, the regulation of social life, and the encouragement of commerce, which cannot here be described in detail. His whole legislation tended to cultivate a patriotic public spirit, and an energetic development of the resources of the state; and it prepared the way for a safe transition to a more popular form of government. How fully Solon comprehended the true principle of legislation is proved by the saying attributed to him, that his laws were not the best he could have made, but the best that the Athenians were able to receive. One of the most interesting parallels in history is furnished by the contemporary legislation at Rome by Servius Tullius, whose constitution was likewise based on a census of the citizens according to their property.

To secure a fair trial for his constitution, and to avoid importunities for its amendment, Solon took his departure from Athens for the period of ten years, during which he bound the Athenians by an oath to make no alterations in his laws. He visited Egypt and Cyprus, and probably Asia Minor; but the beautiful story of his interview with Crœsus is usually rejected on chronological grounds. He returned to Athens about B.C. 562, to find his work at the point of destruction by the ambition of a kinsman and friend of his own, the associate of his labours for Athens. The old dissensions had broken out afresh during his absence, and the party of the Highlands had found a leader in a noble named Pisistratus, who traced his descent from Pisistratus, the son of Nestor, and whose mother was first cousin to Solon. His wealth and liberality, his eloquence and fame in war, secured the favour of the popular party, which a bold stratagem stirred up to fury against his enemies. One day he drove into the crowded agora, bleeding from self-inflicted wounds, and declared that he had been waylaid and nearly murdered in the country. An assembly hastily convened voted him a guard of fifty citizens, armed with clubs; he increased its number; and soon ventured to seize the Acropolis (B.C. 560). Solon alone had the courage to upbraid the citizens with their weakness in permitting this usurpation, from which he had already tried in vain to dissuade his kinsman. Pisistratus bore with magnanimity an opposition which met with no

support: and Solon died peacefully within two years at the age of eighty. He is said even to have been consulted by Pisistratus, whose first government was conducted with no further violation of the law than the outrage of the usurpation itself. A combination of the parties of the Plain and the Shore soon drove him into exile; but their mutual hatred broke out afresh; and Megacles, the leader of the faction of the Shore, formed an alliance with Pisistratus, giving him his daughter in marriage. Pisistratus re-entered Athens in his chariot, with a woman chosen for her great stature, and clad with the ægis and helmet of Athena, and the people welcomed him as restored to them by the goddess. He took the daughter of Megacles for his wife, but in name only, as he would not mingle his blood with the accursed race of the Alcmæonids. This insult drove Megacles to renew his alliance with Lycurgus, the leader of the party of the Plain; and Pisistratus was expelled for the second time. He spent ten years at Eretria in Eubœa, using his great wealth to collect forces for his restoration. When at length he landed at Marathon, his enemies were taken by surprise: a victory in one battle was followed up by an amnesty to all who would submit; and the leaders of the other parties left the country.

Having no mind to risk a third expulsion, Pisistratus hired a body of Thracian mercenaries, and sent the children of the citizens whom he suspected as hostages to the island of Naxos. Like the Roman Cæsars, he veiled his despotic power under the forms of the constitution, and even submitted himself to the judgment of the Areopagus on a charge of murder; but his accuser did not venture to appear. He maintained his popularity by mingling generosity with affability, opened his gardens to the citizens, adorned the city with splendid edifices, and extended a munificent patronage to art and letters. He was the first Greek who founded a public library; and it was by his care that the Homeric poems were first collected into one volume. In short, Pisistratus used his power in a manner only paralleled by Julius Cæsar; and if the plea of benefit to his subjects, so often advanced to cover worse usurpations, could ever avail the despot, it might have been said with truth that

> "Such chains as his were sure to bind."

He died thirty-three years after his first usurpation (B.C. 527).

His sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, succeeded to his principles of government; and we have the decisive testimony of Thucydides,

that they cultivated wisdom and virtue. Hipparchus, in particular, imitated his father's patronage of art and letters; and the great lyric poets, Anacreon and Simonides, were among those entertained at his court. But his sensual passion supplied the test which sooner or later reveals the insecure basis of a Tyranny. The celebrated story of Harmodius and Aristogeiton compels us for the first time to notice that hateful practice which the Greeks called pæderastia, and which forms the deepest shade in Paul's dark picture of the heathen world.* Harmodius, a beautiful youth, beloved by a citizen of moderate rank, named Aristogeiton, rejected the temptations of Hipparchus, who took his revenge by publicly excluding the sister of Harmodius from the honour of carrying one of the sacred baskets in the procession of Athena. Incensed by this insult, Harmodius plotted with Aristogeiton the death of both the Tyrants. Only a few were admitted to the plot; and its execution was fixed for the great feast of the Panathenæa, when those who had to take part in the procession could appear in arms without suspicion. The day came; the conspirators assembled with hidden daggers in addition to their other arms; and Hippias was arranging the procession in the Ceramicus, when Harmodius and Aristogeiton were alarmed at seeing him in familiar conversation with one of the conspirators. Thinking themselves betrayed, they resolved at all events to be revenged upon Hipparchus; and rushing into the city, with their daggers concealed in the myrtle boughs which they carried in honour of the goddess, they slew him where they found him. Harmodius was at once slain by the guards; Aristogeiton was rescued by the crowd, but was afterwards taken, and died under the torture. They were honoured ever after as the first martyrs to the principle of Tyrannicide, and

"The sword in myrtle dressed"

became a household word with the Athenians. Meanwhile Hippias's presence of mind disarmed the rest of the conspirators. The guilty and the suspected were put to cruel deaths. The whole spirit of the government was changed; arbitrary taxes were imposed; and the worse features of a Tyranny were developed. Hippias took measures to secure aid from Persia for his government, or a refuge in case of his expulsion (B.C. 514).

For four years he maintained his power against the discontent of the people and the attacks of the banished Alcmæonids. These had secured the favour of the Delphic oracle by their liberality in

* Romans i. 26, 27.

executing their contract for rebuilding the temple;* and its voice was heard, like that of Cato in the Roman Senate, reiterating the same response:—"Athens must be liberated." The Lacedæmonians, now at the height of their power, and proud of having put down the rest of the Tyrants throughout Greece, resolved to obey the oracle. After a brief struggle, Hippias retired to Sigeum in the Troad (B.C. 510). He afterwards repaired to the court of Darius, became his adviser in planning the attack on Greece, and himself guided the expedition of Datis and Artaphernes to the plain of Marathon. Some said that he fell in the battle, others that he died at Lemnos on his return. The family of the Pisistratids were doomed to perpetual banishment, and were ever afterwards excepted from acts of amnesty. Their rule had lasted exactly fifty years, reckoning from the first usurpation of Pisistratus. Its whole story forms one of the most instructive lessons in all history against the usurpation of a private citizen, on whatever pretext, and however his power may be used.

The Lacedæmonians retired from Athens after the departure of Hippias, but not till their king, Cleomenes, had established close relations of friendship with Isagóras, the leader of the aristocratic party. Opposed to him was Cleisthenes, the head of the Alcmæonids, who found themselves in a strange position between their claims of high nobility and the ban that rested on their family. After some struggles, in which Isagoras got the better, Cleisthenes threw himself upon the people, and effected a change in the constitution, which formed the true establishment of the Athenian democracy. Herodotus says, "He took into partnership the People, who had before been excluded from everything," proving how little importance the historian attached to the germs of popular power in the constitution of Solon.

Cleisthenes began by remodelling the basis of citizenship, which had hitherto rested on the old patriarchal system of the four Ionic tribes, with their brotherhoods, clans, and families. But, as was natural in a prosperous commercial and maritime state, Attica contained a large free population which had no place in these corporations, and so no franchise. Cleisthenes divided the whole country into *demes*,† each of which managed its own local affairs;

* The temple was burnt in B.C. 548. Party spirit attributed the conflagration to the Pisistratids.

† These divisions may be compared to *parishes*. The word signifies *peoples*, as if each deme were a miniature of the whole body of the people. The number of demes was afterwards 174; the original number under Cleisthenes is unknown.

and he grouped the demes into ten new tribes. The demes composing each were not contiguous, lest the old local factions should preponderate in particular tribes. All freemen, including some at least of the resident foreigners and emancipated slaves,* were enrolled in the demes, and so became members of the tribes, which entirely superseded the four old Ionian tribes.

Solon's Senate of Four Hundred became now a Senate of Five Hundred, fifty members being elected from each tribe. The mode of election was by lot; but it is uncertain whether this was the case from the first.† To this body Cleisthenes committed the chief functions of executive government. It sat in permanence; and its business was arranged on a curious artificial system. The senate was divided into ten sections, or committees, one for each tribe, called the *Prytanies;* and a similar division was made of the year, thirty-five days each being allotted to six of the prytanies, and thirty-six days each to the other four. These made up the common year of twelve lunar months, or 354 days. Each prytany had the presidency of the Senate and Ecclesia during its term, in an order decided by lot. Every prytany of fifty members was subdivided into five committees of ten, each of which held the presidency for seven days with the title of *Proëdri* (Presidents); and out of these a chairman (*Epistates*) was chosen by lot every day, to preside in the Senate and the Ecclesia, and to keep the keys of the Acropolis and Treasury, as well as the public seal. How great a power the office of Epistates put into the hands of its holder for the day, is seen in the case of Socrates, who refused to put an illegal question to the vote, in the case of the ten generals accused for their conduct at Arginusæ.

The Ecclesia, or Assembly of the People, gained a great extension of power, from being regularly and frequently summoned; and it became the arena for debating all important public measures. The Archons were elected as before, and with the same exclusion

* Aristotle, *Polit.* iii. 1, § 10; vi. 2, § 11. See Mr. Grote's discussion of the meaning (*History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 170).

† The practice of choosing public officers by lot is one of the most curious developments of democratic equality at Athens. It was of course open to the ridicule heaped upon it by Socrates, as having nothing to do with the fitness of the persons chosen, but it did not, like some systems of patronage, give a preference to men known to be unfit. It had the advantage of avoiding the evils of some popular elections, in which bitter faction and unbounded corruption often leave a result as unsatisfactory as the lot could have turned out. It may be as well to caution some readers against confounding election by *lot*, which depends entirely on chance, without any voting at all, with election by *ballot*, which is a device to insure secresy in voting.

of the lowest of Solon's four classes from this and the other chief offices of the state. Their political power was transferred to the Senate and the Ecclesia; and a beginning was even made of that transference of their judicial functions to the people which was afterwards effected. The third Archon retained the title of Polemarch, or Commander-in-chief, but he was associated with a body of ten Generals (*Strategi*), elected annually by the people, one from each tribe. Besides the command in war, the Strategi had the direction of foreign affairs. They thus became the most important executive officers in the state. The first Strategus was in fact the Prime Minister of the people; and Pericles, for example, governed in this character.

As a safeguard against new attempts to set up a Tyranny, Cleisthenes devised the remarkable institution of *Ostracism*, the nature of which has been obscured by much thoughtless declamation, especially in relation to Aristides,

> "Him whom ungrateful Athens could expel,
> At all times Just, save when he signed the shell."

It was a plan for nipping in the bud any danger that might seem to threaten the state from the too great influence of a powerful citizen. Without subjecting him to any accusation or casting any stigma upon his character, it removed him from the city for a period nominally of ten years (afterwards reduced to five), but often abridged by a vote of recal, which was sure to be passed when his services were needed by the state. When the banishment was not of long duration, it probably involved no great hardship beyond the exclusion from power, the inevitable penalty of defeat in the party struggles of a popular government. The retirement of Aristides to the island of Ægina, the travels of Themistocles among his Argive and other friends, were to them what "the cold shades of opposition" are to our party leaders; only they lost neither salary nor pension, for they served their country without pay. The exile's property remained intact, and his rights as a citizen revived on his return, with his political influence probably increased by reaction. How little any idea of disgrace was involved in the sentence, is proved by the fact that the Athenians disused ostracism as having been degraded by its application to the worthless demagogue Hyperbolus. The institution was fenced with securities against abuse. No vote of ostracism could be taken except by the direction of the Senate and the Ecclesia at a fixed period of the year. When they had

declared that such a vote was needful for the safety of the state, it remained for the people to designate its object, for the person was as yet unnamed. Every citizen wrote a name on an oyster-shell or tile,* or got it written for him, as in the well-known story of Aristides. The Archons and presidents of the Senate collected the votes in the agora, and the citizen designated by not less than 6000 votes had to withdraw from the city within ten days. It should be observed that ostracism was not only a direct check on the too great power of any one citizen, but a means of averting civil discord, when threatened by the even balance of parties, as in the rivalry of Aristides and Themistocles. The efficacy of the remedy is proved by the fact, that no tyrannical usurpation occurred at Athens after that of Pisistratus, though there were not wanting men, like Alcibiades, quite disposed to make the attempt.†

As compared with the constitution of Solon, the measures of Cleisthenes were a democratic revolution; and the aristocratic party did not submit without a struggle. Isagoras called in the aid of the Lacedæmonians. They had recourse to the religious pretext which they afterwards used against Pericles, and required the expulsion of the accursed race of the Alcmæonids. The time had not yet come when such a demand could be disregarded, and Cleisthenes retired from Athens. But the violence with which the counter-revolution was begun roused the people to resistance. Isagoras and Cleomenes, blockaded in the Acropolis, were forced to surrender for want of provisions: they themselves were dismissed, but their Athenian adherents fell victims to the rage of the people: and Cleisthenes was recalled. Thus began the long rivalry between Athens and Sparta, as the representatives of democracy and oligarchy in Greece.

Both parties prepared for war, and both gave proofs of the fatal influence of such discords on Greek patriotism. Cleisthenes sought the alliance of Persia; but the Athenians indignantly repudiated the consent of his envoys to send earth and water, the customary tokens of submission, to the Great King. The Spartans, who boasted of having put down the tyrants throughout Greece, marched into Attica with their Peloponnesian allies, and the forces of Thebes and of Chalcis in Eubœa, to set up Isagoras as tyrant at

* Hence the word *ostracism*, from ὄστρακον, a *tile* or *shell*.

† See further the discussion of the whole subject by Mr. Grote, who has for the first time explained the real nature and working of ostracism (*History of Greece*, vol. iv. c. xxxi).

Athens. This was the object proposed by Cleomenes; but it was defeated by the opposition of the allies, and even of his own colleague Demaratus. A like scheme on behalf of Hippias was rejected at a congress of the allies, chiefly through the bold remonstrances of the Corinthians. In these proceedings we see the Peloponnesian confederacy already established, and meeting for consultation and action, under the leadership of Sparta, but with the Corinthians as a check on her preponderance.

Meanwhile the Athenians took vengeance on the Thebans and Chalcidians, and established their dominion in the island of Eubœa. On this occasion we first meet with their celebrated system of colonizing conquered states. The lands of Chalcis were divided into 4000 portions (*cleri*, i.e. *lots*), which were distributed by lot among 4000 poor citizens of Athens, who were called *Cleruchi* (*lot-holders*).* Thus began the dominion of Athens in the islands of the Ægæan. During these campaigns the people of the island of Ægina, which was at this time a great maritime power, were induced by the Thebans to ravage Attica; and thus began the internecine hatred between the Athenians and Æginetans. The democratic constitution was now firmly established; and, whatever seeds of abuse it might contain, the first-fruits of popular liberty were seen in the glorious part taken by Athens in the Persian Wars.

Having thus traced the rise and progress of the principal Hellenic states, and having fully described the political condition of the two which became the leaders of all the rest, a few words will suffice concerning the others. The belt of land forming Central Greece was occupied by races chiefly of Æolian descent, but with a strong intermixture of the Dorian element. Next to Attica, the large district of Bœotia contained fourteen independent cities, united in a confederacy, of which Thebes was the head. The common affairs of the league were directed by magistrates named Bœotarchs, who were elected annually—two by Thebes, and one by each of the other cities. The governments were for the most part *oligarchies;* and it was the constant policy of Thebes to support the aristocratic party in the other states, as a means of strengthening her own ascendancy. This policy was resisted by a few of the cities, and especially by Platæa, whose firm attachment to Athens, at the cost of the severest sufferings, forms one of the most interesting episodes in Grecian history. Phocis lay west of

* By one of those curious concatenations which often make up the history of a word, this term reappears in the vocabulary of the Church as *Clergy*.

Bœotia, with a small territory reaching to the Corinthian Gulf, and was chiefly remarkable for its possession of the oracle of Delphi. Its people, who were of Achæan origin, had as yet played no part in Grecian history, except in the First Sacred War, which has already been related.* The little state of Doris, northwest of Phocis, was no otherwise of consequence than for its fame as the cradle of the Dorian race. The Locrians were parted into two divisions, differing in dialect and manners; but both were regarded as mixed races, whose infusion of Hellenic blood had but partially tempered the rudeness they inherited from the Leleges. The Eastern Locrians,† on the coast north of Phocis and opposite Eubœa, were the more civilized of the two. They appear in Homer under their king Ajax, the son of Oïleus: part of them were afterwards subject to Phocis. The Western or Ozolian Locrians, who inhabited the rugged country between the mountains of Corax and Parnassus and the Corinthian Gulf, were little better than mountain robbers. The like character was borne by the people of Ætolia, which was still only partially colonized by the Hellenic race. This country had obtained some celebrity in mythical history; and its mountain range of Calydon was the scene of the famous hunt of the Calydonian boar by the heroes of the Argonautic age.‡ As civilization advanced, its cities formed a federation, which became renowned in the latest age of Grecian independence for its antagonism to the Achæan League. West of all lay Acarnania, divided from Ætolia by the Acheloüs, the largest river of Greece, and having an extensive sea-coast opposite to the Ionian islands. It was peopled of old, like Ætolia, by the Leleges, Curetes, and other wild races, among which Achæan colonists from Argos were said to have settled; but they were still only a half Hellenic people, living by robbery and piracy.

North of the isthmus between the Maliac and Ambracian Gulfs, lay the extensive regions of Thessaly and Epirus, of which only the former belonged to the political aggregate of the Hellenic states. Thessaly is a great plain, enclosed on every side by lofty

* See p. 329.

† These included the two tribes of the Locri Epicnemidii (so-called from Mount Cnemis) and the Locri Opuntii, named from their city of Opus.

‡ One of the stories connected with this hunt was that of Ancæus, an Arcadian chieftain. He was about to taste a new vintage, and the cup was already in his hand, when news was brought that the hunt was up. He set down the cup untasted, took up his boar spear and rushed out, and was killed by the boar. Hence an old hexameter verse, which says—"There are many things between the edge of the cup and of the lip."

mountains, and watered by the river Peneius. It was thus fitted by nature for a great state, and comparatively severed from the rest of Greece. The earliest inhabitants were of various races. The original Thessalians are said to have been a Pelasgian people from Thesprotia in Epirus; but the Æolian race predominated in historic times. The inhabitants, like those of Laconia, were divided into three classes; the Thessalian conquerors, the subject population, and the Penestæ, whose condition resembled that of the Helots. In the earliest age they were governed by kings, who claimed a descent from Hercules; but, as in the other states of Greece, these monarchies were transformed into aristocratic republics. Some of the noble houses, as the Aleuadæ at Larissa and the Scopadæ at Cranon, rivalled the tyrants of Southern Greece in power and magnificence, and attracted the greatest artists and poets to their courts. The great Thessalian plain was divided into four districts, called tetrarchies (besides four others in the mountains); and these were united in a federation, chiefly for military purposes. When occasion required, they elected a military chief, or dictator, with the title of *Tagus* (Marshal), whose authority was supreme in all four districts. The Thessalians were represented in the Amphictyonic Council. Their conduct in the Persian War proves how little interest they had in the commonwealth of Greece.

To the north-east of Thessaly, along the sea-coast at the foot of Mount Olympus, lay Pieria, a district connected by tradition with the earliest intellectual culture of the Greeks. As the Hellenic Deities had their home on the summit of Olympus, so the Muses had theirs at its foot; and this too was the country of Orpheus.* In the historic times Pieria formed a part of Macedonia, which lay beyond the boundaries of Greece, and was peopled by Thracian and Illyrian tribes. Hellenic settlers, however, migrated into the southern part of Macedonia, and intermarried with the barbarians, forming a race who spoke a rude dialect in which Doric forms predominated. This dialect, transported into Syria and Egypt by the followers of Alexander, became a chief element in the Hellenistic Greek, which was spoken throughout the East, and which has been handed down to us in the Septuagint and New Testament. The Macedonian monarchy is said to have been founded about the seventh century B.C.; but its history is altogether obscure till the epoch of the Persian Wars, when the reigning king was Amyntas I. The royal house claimed to be Greeks of the

* As Pieria belonged geographically to Thrace, the later legends transported Orpheus into the heart of that country, where the people were entirely barbarians.

Heraclid family; and Alexander I. was not admitted to contend at the Olympic games till he had proved his descent from Temenus the king of Argos. This resemblance to the position of the house of Romanoff is only one point of the curious parallel between the relations of Macedonia to Greece and those of Russia to Western Europe.

West of Thessaly and Macedonia lay Epirus, that is, the *Mainland*, a name evidently applied to the region by the Greeks of the Ionian islands. Here, as we have already seen, the Pelasgians of Molossus preserved the most ancient worship of the Dodonæan Jove, whose oracles were uttered from a grove of sacred oaks. The country was occupied by a number of different tribes under their own princes; till at length the kings of Molossus, who claimed their descent from Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, founded the monarchy which shook the power of Rome. Lastly, the chain of islands (now called Ionian, from the ancient name of the sea which washes the western shores of Greece), stretching from Corcyra off Epirus to Zacynthus off Elis, had already been peopled by the Achæans and Æolians in the heroic age, and were now occupied, in part, by flourishing Dorian colonies, the offspring of the maritime enterprise of Corinth. We have already had occasion to speak of Corcyra as the most important of these colonies, and of others which were founded by the Corinthians and Corcyræans jointly along the same shores: Leucas, on the island off Acarnania, and Anactorium on the opposite shore, near the cape long after renowned under the name of Actium; and further north, on the coast of the wild Illyrians, Apollonia, a great seat of commerce and learning under the Romans, and Epidamnus, famous among the causes of the Peloponnesian War.*

The relations between these colonies and Corinth exhibit to us in practice the principles of Greek colonization. A colony was no mere body of outcasts thrown off from a state to find a home where and how they could, at one time the refuse of society, got rid of alike for poverty or for crime, at another, the exiles for conscience sake, of whom their country was not worthy. The former home of the colonists was truly named their "mother city" (*metropolis*);† the colony was a "removal of their homes" (*apœcia*); they went

* Under its other name of Dyrrachium, which the Romans adopted to avoid the ill-omened sound of Epidamnus, it became the chief landing-place for voyagers from Italy to Greece.

† Few inaccuracies of language are more striking than the application of this word to the capital of a nation, unless perhaps the calling the country districts *provinces*.

forth under a duly appointed leader (*Œcist*, that is, one who forms a settlement or home), who, in the oldest times, was generally a prince of the royal family, carrying with them their country's gods, their city's laws, and the sacred fire which always burnt on the hearth of the Prytaneum. When a colony grew strong enough to send out new settlements, an Œcist was sought from the mother city; and the new colony regarded this city as their metropolis. The bond between a mother city and her colonies was most sacred, and a war such as those between Corcyra and Corinth had the nature of sacrilege. The colonists sent deputations to the great festivals of the metropolis, and received her citizens with the highest honours. The Œcist was deified after his death as the representative of the mother city.

On the opposite side of Northern Greece, Corinth planted the colony of Potidæa, which became another cause of the Peloponnesian War. It stood on the isthmus of the westernmost of the three long and lofty promontories that jut out from the peninsula between the Thermaic and Strymonic Gulfs, at the north-western corner of the Ægæan. This region, called from its position, "the parts adjoining Thrace," was also named Chalcidice, from the numerous colonies planted there by the Eubœan city of Chalcis, as well as by her neighbour Eretria. It became the scene of some of the greatest events, both in the Peloponnesian War and in the contest with Philip of Macedon. Other colonies extended all along the coasts of Thrace, on the Ægæan, the Hellespont, the Propontis and the Euxine, as far as Istria, near the mouth of the Danube, a settlement of the Milesians. Of these we can only stay to mention the cities which made the Thracian Chersonese entirely Greek, the Samian colony of Perinthus on the northern shore of the Propontis, and the Megarian settlement of Byzantium, at the entrance to the Thracian Bosporus, long afterwards the capital of Constantine.* The commercial enterprise of the Ionians led them as far as the inhospitable shores of Scythia. Miletus planted the colony of Olbia on the Hypanis (*Bug*),† which became a great port for the corn of the Ukraine. The Dorians of Heraclea in Pontus founded the city of Chersonesus on the cape of the same name, which terminates the peninsula, now so well known to us, of Sebastopol in the Crimea.‡ The wild spot was

* Byzantium was colonized from Megara in B.C. 658.

† Its ruins are still to be seen at *Stomogil*, about twelve miles below Nicholaev.

‡ This peninsula was called, from its colonizers, Chersonesus Heracleotica, and also the Little Chersonese, in contradistinction to the Crimea itself, the Chersonesus Taurica.

already celebrated in the legend of Orestes as the seat of the savage worship of the Tauric Artemis, with her human sacrifices. Other settlements were planted on the north-eastern shore of the Euxine, chiefly by the Milesians, who founded Phasis, at the mouth of the river of the same name. The southern shore of the Euxine, along the north coast of Asia Minor, was studded with Greek colonies, the chief of which were Cyzicus, on the Propontis, Chalcedon, opposite Byzantium, and Heraclea Pontica,* both founded by the Megarians; Sinope,† which was twice colonized from Miletus, having been destroyed in the great Cimmerian invasion, and which, after being long the greatest seat of Greek commerce in the Euxine, became the splendid capital of Mithridates; and Trapezus (*Trebizond*), planted by Sinope on the confines of Armenia. We have been particular in noticing these colonies on the Euxine, to show how firm a hold the Greeks had gained, in the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries B.C., of regions till recently little known to ourselves. The remains of Hellenic civilization, of the kingdoms of Pontus and the Bosporus, and of the Roman Empire, may be traced like successive deposits beneath the deluge of barbarism which overwhelmed those shores.‡

Concerning the great colonies on the western shores of Asia Minor, little need be added to the traditions already related of their first foundation in the heroic age.§ At the beginning of the historic period, we find them further advanced in civilization than most states of the mother country. The fresh free life of a new colony always favours the popular element in a state; and the aristocratic governments were abolished in these settlements at a very early period, while the federal bond between those of the same race was maintained more closely than in Greece. Their relations with the Asiatic nations seem to have been peaceful from the first;‖ the Asiatics perceiving the advantages they could gain from the maritime activity of the Greeks; and the Greeks being stimulated to commerce by the wealth of the Asiatics. Moreover, the ancient civilization of Asia was imparted to a people fitted, above every other race, to give it a new and energetic development; and music, poetry, and art made their first great advances among

* Now *Harakli.*

† Now Sinoub.

‡ The latest example of such barbarian ruin was the destruction of the beautiful Greek remains at *Kertch*, the ancient capital of Bosporus, in the Crimean war.

§ See pp. 324—326.

‖ The war of Troy cannot be considered an exception, as we are ignorant of its real character, and it precedes the age of colonization.

the Asiatic Greeks. The Ionians rapidly outgrew the other colonists in wealth and enterprise, and Miletus, their most powerful city, is said to have planted no less than eighty colonies. The greatness of Ephesus was a later growth, due to the extensive territory which she obtained from the Lydians, and to the splendid temple of Artemis, which was built and enriched by the contributions both of Greeks and Asiatics. It is enough to refer to the colonies along the shores of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, as far as the Gulf of Issus and Cyprus. We have already seen how the colonies on the west coast were subjugated, first by Crœsus, and more completely by Cyrus. Their condition under Darius forms the starting point of the history of the Persian Wars.

Colonization was almost equally active beyond the sea that washes the western shores of Greece, on the coasts of Sicily and Southern Italy, regions occupied in the earliest times by the barbarian Sicani and Siceli. The south of Italy, originally known to the Greeks as Hesperia (the Land of the Evening Star), obtained the name of Magna Græcia, or Great Greece. This was the scene of the fabled golden age, under the rule of the ancient deities expelled by Jove,

> "And who, with Saturn old,
> Fled over Hadria to the Hesperian fields,
> And o'er the Celtic roamed the utmost isles."

Here, too, were placed those colonies, founded by the heroes who had fought at Troy, of which Fenelon has made so ingenious a use. Passing over these legends, the earliest known settlement was the Æolic colony of Cumæ, on the northern promontory of the Bay of Naples, founded jointly by Cyme in the Asiatic Æolis, and by Chalcis in Eubœa. It was the northernmost of the colonies which fringed the whole coast down to the straits of Messina, and up again round the Bay of Tarentum to the Iapygian promontory. A few only of these can be noticed:—Parthenope, a colony from Cumæ, famous to the present day under its later name of Neapolis (*i.e.* the *New City*, *Napoli*, *Naples*); Posidonia (Pæstum), a colony of Sybaris, renowned for its temples of pure Doric architecture; Elea, already mentioned in the story of the migration of the Phocæans;* Rhegium, on the strait of Messina, a Chalcidian colony; then, on the eastern side of the "toe," Locri Epizephyrii, built on Cape Zephyrium by a body of Locrian freebooters (B.C. 683), to whom the legislator Zaleucus gave the first written

* Chap. x., p. 277.

code enacted in any Greek state (B.C. 664).* Croton and Sybaris deserve more particular attention. They were among the oldest Achæan colonies on this coast, Sybaris having been founded in B.C. 720, and Croton in B.C. 710. Both obtained dominion from shore to shore of the Calabrian peninsula. The wealth of Sybaris tempted it to a luxury which has given the word *sybarite* to the European vocabulary. Croton enjoys the better fame of its physicians and Olympic victors, including

"Him who of old would rend the oak,"

and was caught by its rebound, a prey to the wild beasts; and the far higher honour of having been the chosen residence of the Samian philosopher Pythagoras (about B.C. 540—510). The rivalry between the two cities broke out into a war, in which the forces of Croton were commanded by the athlete Milo, and which ended in the utter destruction of Sybaris (B.C. 510). The Spartan colony of Taras, or Tarentum, at the head of the gulf named after it, became now the most powerful city of Magna Græcia. But the destruction of Sybaris proved a fatal blow to the power of the Greeks in general, and the Samnites and Lucanians, advancing from Central Italy, took some of the cities, and deprived the rest of their inland territories. Our epoch of B.C. 500 coincides fairly with the beginning of their decline.

The Greek colonies of Sicily are of special interest for the length of time that some of them maintained their power, chiefly under the despotic form of government. The island which Homer calls Thrinacria† was already famous in the mythical age. All know the adventure of Ulysses with the one-eyed Cyclops, Polyphemus. The volcano of Etna, which would be a striking object to mariners, was imagined to be both the forge of the god Hephæstus, and the scene of the punishment of the giant Typhœus, who lay stretched out beneath the whole volcanic region of Calabria. The earliest credible account represents it as occupied by the Sicani or Siceli,

* The code of Zaleucus vied in severity with the laws which Draco gave the Athenians forty years later. It was observed so strictly, that the mover of an alteration had to speak literally with a rope round his neck, and was forthwith strangled if his motion failed. Zaleucus is said to have paid the penalty of an eye, to save his son from losing both eyes, in accordance with the law; and at last to have put himself to death on discovering that he had committed an offence which his own law made capital.

† Other early forms are Trinacria and Trinacris, all signifying the land of the Three Capes. So the Roman poets call it Triquetra, *i.e.*, triangular.

probably a Celtic people.* With the light thrown on Homer's fable of Polyphemus by the character of the peasantry in the historic age, we may perhaps conclude that the earliest Sicilians were a pastoral people; at all events, they seem to have given but little trouble to the Greek settlers. Sicily was colonized by the same states, whose activity in this work we have before witnessed, the Chalcidians, Megarians, and Corinthians; but one of the most famous cities, Gela, was a joint colony from Rhodes and Crete. The preponderance of the Dorian element had much to do with the subsequent history of the cities. On the east coast were the Achæan and Æolian settlements of Zancle, afterwards Messana, founded by the Chalcidians and Cumæans; Naxos, the oldest of all, founded jointly by the Chalcidians and Megarians, under an Athenian œcist (B.C. 735); Catana and Leontini, colonies of Naxos (B.C. 730); and Hyblæan Megara, founded by Megara (B.C. 728). On the southern part of the same coast was the famous Syracuse, founded by the Corinthians only one year later than Naxos (B.C. 734). The remaining Dorian colonies occupied the southern coast; the chief of them being Gela (B.C. 690), its colony Acragas or Agrigentum (B.C. 582). On the same coast westward was Selinus, a colony of the Hyblæan Megara (B.C. 630). The only Greek settlement on the north coast was Himera, a colony of Zancle; west of which lay the Phœnician colony of Panormus (*Palermo*), and the Tyrrhenian cities of Egesta and Eryx. The free scope given to the settlers by the retirement of the Sicels inland, and the vast fertility which caused the island to be sacred to Demeter,† led to the rapid growth of these colonies; but their connection with the general history of Greece only begins with the usurpation of Gelon at Syracuse, in B.C. 485, immediately after which began their first hostilities with the Carthaginians, who had meanwhile occupied the western portion of the island. Agrigentum alone had as yet become famous, and that chiefly for the cruelties of its tyrant, Phalaris, who caused his victims to be roasted alive in a brazen bull. His usurpation must have followed close upon the foundation of the colony in B.C. 582, as he was contemporary with Pisistratus. His victories over his neighbours made Agrigentum the first state of Sicily; but he met his well merited fate in an insurrection of his subjects. The truth of the story of the

* Some writers distinguish the two tribes, placing the Sicani in the west and the Siceli in the east. The Siceli or Itali of Southern Italy were the same race.

† Hence the scene of the abduction of her daughter Persephone (Proserpine) by Pluto was placed in Sicily.

brazen bull is proved by the contemporary authority of Pindar, and the figure itself was preserved at Agrigentum.*

To the west of Italy and Sicily the shores of the Mediterranean were occupied by numerous Phœnician colonies; the fleets of Carthage commanded the sea; and her jealous policy left little room for the intrusion of other nations. But for all this, the enterprise of the Ionian Phocæa had founded on the coast of Gaul, east of the mouth of the Rhone, the famous city of Massalia,† which in its turn planted several settlements along the Ligurian coast, and at the eastern foot of the Pyrenees. Firmly united under the lead of Massalia, and possessing a powerful navy, these distant colonies held their own against the attacks of Carthage, extended the commerce of Greece to the Pillars of Hercules, and brought the Celts of Gaul and Spain in contact with a civilization which they could never have learned from the Carthaginians. We have already noticed the Phocæan colony of Alalia, or Aleria, in Corsica.

Of the Mediterranean coast of Africa, the Carthaginian dominion extended over the western half, from the straits to the bottom of the Greater Syrtis, while Egypt claimed the coast of the Libyan Desert west of the Delta.‡ But between the two empires the Dorian Greeks had established themselves on the beautiful peninsula directly opposite to Peloponnesus, which received from their chief city the name of Cyrenaïca. A body of settlers from the island of Thera, itself a colony of Sparta, were led thither by Battus, who built Cyrene (about B.C. 630), and founded a royal dynasty, which reigned for eight generations.§ Cyrene enjoyed one of the fairest sites on the face of the earth; standing about ten miles from the sea, and 1800 feet above its level, it is sheltered by the table-land behind from the hot blasts of the Sahara, and is open on the north to the breezes of the Mediterranean, over whose

* The spurious "Letters of Phalaris" gave rise to one of the interesting literary controversies of modern times. In his masterly "Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris," the great scholar, Dr. Bentley, not only proved them a forgery of later date, but threw a flood of light on the literary history of the age, and especially upon the origin of Greek dramatic poetry.

† In Latin Massilia, now *Marseilles*. The date of its colonization was B.C. 600.

‡ Concerning the Greek settlements in Egypt under Psammetichus and Amasis, see chap. vii. pp. 131, 137.

§ The kings with their probable dates were as follows:—(1) Battus I., B.C. 630—599; (2) Arcesilaus I., B.C. 599—583; (3) Battus II., the Happy, B.C. 583—560; (4) Arcesilaus II., the Oppressive, B.C. 560—550; (5) Battus III., the Lame, B.C. 550—530; (6) Arcesilaus III., B.C. 530—510; (7) Battus IV.; (8) Arcesilaus IV. from before B.C. 466 to B.C. 450.

blue waters it commands a glorious prospect. It was well supplied with water from the fountain of Cyre, which ran down to the sea through a beautiful ravine, along which a well-paved road led to the port of Apollonia. The terraces descending from the mountain to the shore, on one of which Cyrene stood, were covered with the richest variety of luxuriant vegetation; and the different harvests lasted for eight out of the twelve months. Thus favoured, the colony attracted settlers from different parts of Greece, and obtained a wide dominion over the Libyan tribes. To the west her territories met those of Carthage at the bottom of the Great Syrtis, the boundary being marked by the "Altars of the Philæni," concerning which Sallust relates a curious legend. The two states had agreed to settle their boundary at the spot where two parties should meet, having started at the same time from either city. The Carthaginian envoys, two brothers named the Philæni,* made the better speed, and performed much more than half the distance. The Cyrenæans accused them of having started before the appointed time, but proposed to abide by the place of meeting if the others would consent to be buried alive there in the sand, or else that they themselves would advance as far as they pleased, and then suffer the same fate. The Philæni sacrificed their lives for their country, which rewarded them with divine honours.

Cyrene reached the height of her prosperity under the third king, Battus the Happy, who repulsed the attack of Apries, king of Egypt, B.C. 570.† But the tyranny of Arcesilaus II. drove out a large party under his brothers, who founded the new city of Barca, and separated the western part of the peninsula from the territory of Cyrene (about B.C. 560). The popular party found leaders, who put restrictions on the royal power: civil war ensued: Arcesilaus III. tried to keep his crown by submitting as a tributary to Cambyses (B.C. 525), but he was forced to fly to his father-in-law Alazir, the king of Barca, and both were killed there by the Barcæans and the Cyrenæan exiles. Pheretima, the mother of Arcesilaus, who was reigning at Cyrene, sought the means of vengeance from Aryandes, the satrap of Egypt under Cambyses. He sent his whole army against Barca, under Amasis, who, after a long siege, took the city by a strange fraud. Summoning the people of Barca to a parley, he agreed to withdraw his

* Evidently no Punic name, but a Greek epithet, signifying "lovers of praise."

† Comp. Chap. vii., pp. 134—5.

army on payment of a fair sum to the king, and an oath ratified the capitulation, "as long as the ground beneath their feet stood firm." Now Amasis had so contrived that the parties to the treaty stood over a hidden trench; and, the moment the gates of Barca were thrown open, the props that supported the covering of the trench were removed, and with them the sanction of the oath! The revenge of Pheretima was glutted with unheard of cruelties, but she afterwards perished by a death like that of Herod Agrippa. The great body of the Barcæans were carried off to the city of the same name in Bactria, and Cyrene itself narrowly escaped a sack by the retreating Persians (B.C. 510). Thus, at the epoch of the Persian Wars, the colonies of Cyrenaica were under the supremacy of Darius, who assigned them to the satrapy of Egypt. The tie, never close, was dissolved by the rebellion of Egypt. Two more of the Battiadæ reigned at Cyrene; Battus IV., whose name only is known to us; and Arcesilaus IV., whose victory in the Pythian chariot race is celebrated by Pindar (B.C. 466). Upon his death, about B.C. 450, a democracy was established. Cyrenaica became again of consequence under the Ptolemies.

Such was the wide extent, not of the Hellenic *empire*, for it was the peculiar distinction of Hellas from the other great powers of the earth, that it had neither the outward unity and force, nor the inner vices, of a great empire. From the central seat of the nation's life in Attica and the Peloponnesus, the Greeks looked eastward over the Ægæan, and westward over the Ionian Sea, to shores peopled with their offspring, who were already before them in the gentler arts of life. Commanding the centre of that great inland sea, which was for many ages the highway of commerce and civilization, they had planted their settlements on its shores from Cyprus to Marseilles, and from the Crimea to Cyrene. All these states formed the one great whole called HELLAS, and no map of Hellas deserves the name which does not include them all.* They not only spoke the same language, and practised the same customs and religious rites, but they preserved, as we have seen, a real union, by means of their great festivals and their active intercourse. The philosopher of Samos teaching at Croton,—the exiles of Phocæa seeking new abodes in the Tyrrhenian Sea,—the lyric poet of Thebes celebrating the Pythian victory of an African prince,—the citizen first of Halicarnassus, then of Athens,

* For the best representation of the Grecian lands, in whole and in detail, the reader is referred to Kiepert's great *Atlas von Hellas*.

and then of Thurii in Italy, wandering to the furthest colonies and the nations beyond their bounds, to collect the information which delighted all who could read Greek, whether they heard him read it at Olympia or not;—these are a few of the practical signs of Hellenic union. These wide regions were occupied by a number of small states, each forming, within its narrow limits, a complete political microcosm; and nearly all had wrought out for themselves the series of political experiments which lead from the simple order of a patriarchal monarchy to the energetic freedom of democracy. To have welded Hellas into an empire would have stifled her true life, and frustrated the part she had to play in the history of the world. For the performance of that work she was truly, what we have just called her, a great power, a power mightier than any of the eastern empires. Her domain was the mind and heart of man; and to cultivate that, the first necessity was to keep herself free from the repressing force of empire. To cultivate the imagination by poetry, the understanding by philosophy, the taste by art;—to work out the great problems of social life and government, and to try if liberty and order could be reconciled;—all this required a freedom of the very kind which was enjoyed in the Greek republics. If that freedom proved dangerous to themselves, it bore precious and lasting fruits for all the world. It must never be forgotten that, ranking next to, though immeasurably below, the higher source of spiritual culture, Hellas was the parent of intellectual and æsthetic life for all subsequent ages of the world. It is her alphabet that has become the prevailing medium of knowledge; her poetry has inspired the muse of successors who have never been able to surpass it; her first great historian is still called the father of all history; her philosophy has prescribed the modes of intellectual enquiry, and has exerted a vast influence in the higher province of religion; her art reached the standard of perfect beauty, and helped to form even those styles which are often regarded as the most opposed to it in principle. In a word she was the source and pattern of the highest forms of life to which man can attain by his own free energies; and her faults and vices do but prove that a still higher influence is needed for the perfection of humanity.

But to suppose that even this higher influence was entirely absent from such vigorous forms of life, would be to take a view of history narrower than that of the Apostle, when he quoted the testimony of a Greek poet, that all men are the offspring of God, and declared to the Athenians that the Unknown God whom they

worshipped was the true Lord of heaven and earth. Viewed in this light, their intellectual gifts to us acquire a double value: they are an inheritance, as a living poet has suggested, like that which the heathens of Palestine left for the chosen people to enter on:—

"And now another Canaan yields
To thine all-conquering ark;—
Fly from the 'old poetic fields,'
Ye Paynim shadows dark!
Immortal Greece, dear land of glorious lays,
Lo! here the unknown God of thine unconscious praise.

"The olive wreath, the ivied wand,
'The sword in myrtles drest,'
Each legend of the shadowy strand
Now wakes a vision blest:
As little children lisp, and tell of Heaven,
So thoughts beyond their thoughts to those high bards were given.

"There's not a strain to memory dear,
Nor flower in classic grove;
There's not a sweet note warbled here
But minds us of thy love:
O Lord, our Lord, and spoiler of our foes,
There is no light but thine: with Thee all beauty glows." *

It belongs to the province of more special histories to trace in detail the advance of Grecian literature, philosophy, and art down to the epoch of the Persian Wars. We have already noticed the early progress of Epic Poetry, both of the heroic type of Homer, and the didactic type of Hesiod. Whatever doubts exist about the former, the latter was a real personage, and his poems tell us something of his history. He was a native of Ascra, in Bœotia, but his father came from Cyme in Æolis, so that in him too we may trace the Asiatic influence. His probable date is about B.C. 735. The chief literary product of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. was Lyric Poetry, using the term in that wide sense which includes nearly all the forms of poetry that are not epic and dramatic. We ought, however, to distinguish the form called *Elegiac*, a term commonly associated with mourning for the dead, but really embracing a much wider range. Its beautiful antiphonal rhythm, the direct offspring (unless it be rather the parent) of the Homeric Hexameter,† fitted it for every composition requiring

* Keble: *Christian Year.*

† The Elegiac couplet is in fact a pair of Hexameters, the second of which wants those unaccented syllables which give the common verse its *continuous* rhythm, and so becomes fit for a rest or termination. This is both described and illustrated in Schiller's couplet, translated by Coleridge:—

In the Hexameter ri|ses the |fountain's silvery col|umn,
In the Pentameter aye| |falling in melody back|.

sententious brevity or effective point; and it was used, in a vast variety of applications, by a long series of poets, from Callinus, at the beginning of the 7th century B.C., to the latest epigrams contained in the Greek Anthology. Lyric poetry is essentially the offspring of music. It is only in a later age, when reading has gone far to supersede hearing, that music is employed as an ornament superadded to poetry. The sweet Thracian singer, Orpheus, was the mythical father both of music and of poetry; and the first historical cultivators of music were the teachers of the first lyric poets. The earliest native music of the Greeks was traced back by tradition to that Pieria of which we have before spoken,* the home of Orpheus and the Muses. Its character was probably preserved in the stately "Dorian mode;" and its original instrument was the lyre of four strings, forming a *tetrachord*. Terpander of Lesbos, the real father of Greek music,† invented the seven-stringed lyre. The addition of the eighth string, to complete the octave, is often ascribed to Pythagoras. The Dorians cultivated that form of lyric poetry, in which hymns were sung by a Chorus in honour of the gods and heroes; and hence the choral odes of the Attic tragedians preserved the Doric dialect. But, as in the case of epic poetry, the first great development of the art came from the Ionian colonies. The names of the Phrygian and Lydian modes, which co-existed from time immemorial with the Dorian, are a sufficient proof of Asiatic influence. From the same quarter the Greeks borrowed the many-stringed harp and the more impassioned music of the flute. These innovations were not unresisted; and the well-known tale of the contest between Apollo and the Phrygian flutist Marsyas, who was flayed alive as the penalty of his defeat, seems to represent the conflict between the Greek and Asiatic styles. Asiatic Greeks were among the chief cultivators even of the Dorian choral poetry; nay, the earliest distinguished composer in this kind, the Spartan Alcman (B.C. 670—611), is said to have been originally a Lydian slave. Arion, its improver, who has been already mentioned, was a native of Methymna in Lesbos. Stesichorus, who perfected its form, was a genuine Dorian, but a colonist of Himera in Sicily.‡ Lasus, of Hermione in Argolis, who, like Arion, was a great improver of the form of choral poetry called the Dithyramb (a hymn

* See p. 358.

† He flourished about the beginning of the seventh century.

‡ He lived about B.C. 632—560, and invented the Strophe, Antistrophe, and Epode.

in honour of Dionysus), lived under the patronage of Hipparchus at Athens; where also Simonides of Ceos, one of the two great masters of the *Epinicia*, or Odes in praise of victors in the Grecian games, passed the greater part of his long life (B.C. 556—467). Pindar, his great rival, whom alone of all these poets we have the means of appreciating by his extant works, was a native of Thebes, was trained at Athens under Lasus, and, like Simonides, visited the courts of the princes whose victories he celebrated, in Macedonia, Thessaly, Sicily, and Cyrene. Born in B.C. 522, he had just begun his career at the epoch of the Persian Wars.

That other form of lyric poetry, which consists in odes for a single performer, generally shorter than the choral pieces, and divided into regular stanzas, was chiefly cultivated by the Æolian and Ionian Greeks of Asia, who formed two separate schools. The style of their poems is generally known best through the exquisite imitations of Horace and Catullus; but the few fragments we possess suffice to show how far the originals surpass the copies. The island of Lesbos was the home of the Æolian school, immortalized by the "manly rage" of Alcæus,* and the passionate strains of the "dark-haired, spotless, sweetly smiling Sappho." The term "school" may be applied literally to these poets, for in Greece every art was regularly taught, and became a tradition in certain families, and we know that Sappho surrounded herself with a circle of female friends and pupils. The most famous poet of the Ionian school was Anacreon of Teos, in whose praises of love and wine "we see the luxury of the Ionian inflamed by the fervour of the poet." He was courted both by Polycrates and Hipparchus. The story that he was choked by a grape-stone seems to be one of many like inventions in which the scholars of antiquity indulged their fancy, to make the deaths of great poets worthy of their lives.†

Contemporaneously with the earliest lyric poetry there sprung up the form of composition called *Iambic*,‡ the light and pointed measure of which was first used as a vehicle of fierce satire by

* The phrase is Pope's, who doubtless had in mind the "Alcæi minaces Camenæ" of Horace. Much of the poetry of Alcæus referred to the civil contests in which he bore a part (see p. 342), but much of it was of another character; as, for instance, the amatory addresses to Sappho, from which the line in the text is quoted. Alcæus and Sappho both flourished about B.C. 606—580.

† The Greek "Anacreontics," known by name to English readers by Moore's imitations, are the productions of a much later age. We possess very few genuine fragments of Anacreon.

‡ *Iambus*, from a verb signifying to *fling* or *pelt*, expresses at once the character of the metre and the uses to which it was applied.

Archilochus of Paros (about B.C. 700), and in a gentler spirit of satire and moral sentiment by his contemporary, Simonides of Amorgos. By inverting the rhythm of the last foot of the verse, Hipponax of Ephesus (B.C. 546—520) produced the *Choliambus* or "Lame Iambic," the grotesque effect of which gave point alike to satire and to fables such as Æsop's.* The familiar rhythm of the Iambic verse caused it to be adopted for the conversational parts of dramatic poems. This highest form of the art had already begun to develope itself at Athens in the hands of Thespis, Chœrilus, and Phrynichus (B.C. 535 and onwards), but its perfection was reserved for that great intellectual movement which followed the Persian Wars.†

Nor was this exuberant growth of the imagination inconsistent with the culture of the understanding. The same age that bore these rich fruits of poesy laid the solid foundations of Greek Philosophy. This word now appears in our story almost for the first time. The wisdom of the earliest ages expresses itself for the most part in the form of practical precepts, bearing on the duties and affairs of common life. It was by throwing such precepts into a terse proverbial form, rather than by speculating on the sources of knowledge and the reasons of things, that men acquired the reputation of being wiser than their fellows. Such are the sayings that have been current in the East in the earliest times, and of which we have the great example in the Proverbs of Solomon. Such were the maxims that were repeated throughout Greece as the utterance of certain distinguished men who obtained the title of the Seven Sages, about the epoch of B.C. 600. Among these were Solon, Thales, Bias, Pittacus, and Periander, whose names have already occurred in our work; the list was filled up variously; but the two generally included in it were Cleobulus, the tyrant of Lindus in Rhodes, and Chilo, an Ephor of Sparta. Many maxims, which passed current throughout Greece as their sayings, have been handed down to us; and the joint product of their wisdom is said to have been embodied in the mottoes inscribed on the temple at Delphi:—"Examine thyself:" "Nothing in excess:" "Know thy opportunity."

But there were some who, besides cultivating this practical wisdom, had begun to investigate those questions of physical

* In the latter application it was used by Babrius, a Greek poet of the Augustan age, whose recently discovered version of Æsop's Fables was edited by Sir George Cornewall Lewis.

† We possess several fragments of Iambic poetry by Solon.

and abstract science, which always formed a favourite part of Greek philosophy. Thales of Miletus is said to have predicted the solar eclipse which broke off the great battle between Alyattes and Cyaxares,* and electricians claim him as the father of their science, because he is said to have observed the attraction of light bodies by amber† when it is rubbed. He was one of the earliest cultivators of geometry. A discrepancy has been often noticed between the very elementary character of the propositions he is said to have demonstrated and the knowledge needed for calculating an eclipse. But Greek science in this age does not profess originality. Like Solon, Thales visited Egypt, and may have there learnt, with the elements of geometry, enough of the results of Egyptian astronomy to enable him to predict the eclipse, though he had not calculated it himself. Thales is said moreover to have ventured on the vast field of speculative science, propounding the doctrine that water, or matter in a liquid state, is the element from which all things are generated, and into which all things will be resolved. How far Thales acted as a teacher we do not know; but at all events his doctrines found disciples, and so he ranked as the founder of the first school or sect of Greek philosophy, the Ionic. He lived from B.C. 640 to B.C. 550. The Ionic school rapidly attained high distinction under Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Anaxagoras. The first (B.C. 610—547) devoted himself to science. He is said to have introduced into Greece the sun-dial, an instrument long known to the Babylonians and Egyptians.‡ As the author of a geographical description of the earth, he is one of the earliest Greek prose writers; and the work was illustrated by the first map which is known to have been constructed. This was probably the map, engraved on a tablet of bronze, which Aristagoras, the tyrant of Miletus, exhibited at Sparta at the time of the Ionic revolt.§ Anaximenes, on the other hand, pursued his master's speculations upon the origin of

* See chap. x., p. 256. † In Greek *electron*.

‡ It is impossible for us to do more than glance, from time to time, at the very interesting subject of the History of Inventions. The work of Beckmann, with that title, contains a vast mass of information, and the reader may also consult the articles in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, under the guidance of the Index.

§ The map of Anaximander, as corrected by the logographer Hecatæus, is ridiculed by Herodotus, for affecting to show the form of distant regions, of which the map-maker could know nothing. The modern writers, who retort upon Herodotus the charge of ridiculing the true doctrine of the earth's globular figure, have not perceived that he is speaking of nothing of the sort, but of the exhibition of the earth as a plane circle, with the river Oceanus flowing all around it, a view which he justly refers to the imagination of the poets.

the universe, which, however, he referred not to water but to air, while his contemporary, Heraclitus of Ephesus, made fire the all-producing element. His successor, Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ, who raised the Ionian school to its highest pitch of fame, and whose teaching influenced some of the greatest minds of Athens,—Pericles, Socrates, and Euripides,—was not born till B.C. 499. He belongs to that second stage of philosophy,* in which the enquirer looks beyond the material world in search of some incorporeal principle or power, to the action of which all things owe their being. This, Anaxagoras found in the NOUS, that is, Mind or Intellect, which he conceived of as independent of matter, but also as impersonal. The Nous was not the creator, but a force which acted upon self-existent matter, reducing it from chaos into order, and uniting with it to form intelligent beings, in whom the Nous alone perceives reality and truth, the senses being always deceptive. This view was understood to imply disbelief, not only in the received Greek Pantheon, but in any personal god, and Anaxagoras was accused of atheism. We shall see hereafter how this charge was used against Pericles. A different mode of solving the problem of the universe was suggested by Xenophanes of Colophon, who taught the doctrine which has since received the name of Pantheism, that all nature collectively is God. From his residence at Elea in Italy, after the Persian conquest of Ionia, his school was called the Eleatic. It became especially famous for its subtile dialectics.

The greatest name in early Greek philosophy is Pythagoras, but much of the doctrine called Pythagorean is to be ascribed to later followers of the school. Pythagoras was born at Samos about B.C. 580, and travelled to Egypt and other countries of the East, probably as far as Babylon. The result is seen in three elements which entered into his philosophy, the physical, the psychological, and the religious, as well as in the mysticism affected by his followers; but, as no genuine writings of his have been handed down to us, we can only form a very general notion of his doctrines. He advanced the sciences of mathematics and astronomy considerably beyond their former limits. In geometry he is said to have solved the celebrated proposition, which lays the basis for the application of number to magnitudes of space.† In arithmetic

* Perhaps more properly called the third, the first being that of practical ethics.

† Euclid I. 47. The square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the other sides.

he framed certain theories respecting the connection of harmony with proportion, which entered more or less into his philosophical doctrines. Not only musical intervals, not only the distances of the planets, but the whole constitution of the universe was conceived by Pythagoras to be based upon the arithmetical laws of harmony. In astronomy there seems good reason to believe that he or his disciples held, in part at least, the true theory of the solar system, which was revived two thousand years later by Copernicus. But the chief distinctive doctrine of Pythagoras was that of the transmigration of souls from body to body both of men and animals, which, as we have seen, was held by the Egyptians from a remote period. This doctrine was used to account for those strange phenomena of consciousness which Plato represents Socrates also as referring to knowledge acquired in a former state of existence. Pythagoras found it useful too for acquiring religious ascendancy over his disciples. He did not disdain the arts by which intellectual reformers have often appealed to the imaginations of common men. He declared that he himself had lived on earth in the person of the Trojan hero Euphorbus, whom Menelaus had slain and dedicated his shield in the Temple of Hera near Mycenæ; and, in proof of the assertion, Pythagoras took down the shield from the midst of all the other votive offerings. The man who can make good such a claim might well be supposed a favourite of the gods, endowed with the gifts of prophecy and divination. He was reverenced by his disciples as a superior being. Their unquestioning faith in his teaching has passed into the proverb, *Ipse dixit* —"*He* has said it." It was at Croton in Italy,—whither he probably retired because Samos, under the despotism of Polycrates, allowed his system no free scope,—that his most attached disciples were formed into a secret society, and initiated in peculiar religious mysteries. This Pythagorean brotherhood numbered 300 members of the chief families of Croton; and there were similar societies in other cities of southern Italy. They passed through a probationary discipline, in which the power of keeping silence formed the great test of that serene self-control which was the great object of the whole discipline. They practised an ascetic purity of life; but it is doubtful whether Pythagoras enjoined abstinence from animal food.* They were bound to keep secret all that passed within their pale; and the Pythagorean maxim, that everything was not

* It has been observed that such a restriction was impossible for the athlete Milo.

to be told to everybody, gave rise to the celebrated and often abused distinction between esoteric and exoteric—inner and outer—teaching. But in what the esoteric doctrine of Pythagoras consisted, we have no certain information: it was probably a system of religious doctrine developed from a mystical exposition of certain parts of the old mythology, perhaps with additions imported from the East. Little information can be gained on these matters from the later Pythagoreans, who were inclined to trace back to their founder some part of all the truth and wisdom they found throughout the world.

The Pythagorean brotherhood, consisting almost entirely of the richer class of citizens, and looking with scorn upon those beyond its pale, became an object of jealousy to the democratic party, whose views were certainly not favoured by the teaching of Pythagoras himself. It is not improbable that they incurred great odium from the destruction of Sybaris, the war having been advised by Pythagoras, and conducted by his disciple Milo. The athlete's house was assaulted and burnt in a popular tumult; many of the members who met there perished; and the brotherhoods were suppressed throughout Magna Græcia. Pythagoras himself is said to have fled for his life to Tarentum, and thence to Metapontum, where his tomb was visited by Cicero. According to one account, he starved himself to death. His school survived the suppression of the secret societies; and its influence may be especially traced in the philosophy of Plato. Among its most celebrated members were the mathematician and mechanician Archytas, and Damon and Phinthias (not Pythias), who have furnished one of the proverbial examples of devoted friendship. All three lived under Dionysius I., tyrant of Syracuse, about B.C. 400.

Among the products of Hellenic genius, none are more wonderful than their perfect works of art. Though the paintings of the Greek masters have perished, the descriptions which are preserved leave no doubt of their surpassing excellence. In sculpture, not to speak of other examples, it is the glory of our country to possess, in the Elgin marbles, the unapproachable standard of perfect beauty. If in architecture, as in poetry, the majestic harmony of the classic school has been rivalled by the bold variety of the romantic, it is none the less true that the former is perfect of its kind; and sober criticism shrinks from awarding the palm between the Parthenon and Westminster Abbey, any more than between Sophocles and Shakspere. Both styles possess the merit of perfect adaptation to the climate, the spirit, and the uses, for which

each was first designed; and both must be judged by this standard of fitness.

What was the source of imitative art among the Greeks, and how far their first efforts may have been influenced by Egyptian or other models, is too wide and difficult a question to be discussed in the present work; nor shall we attempt to trace those steps of progress, which belong to the special history of art.* We can only glance at the state of art at this epoch, as an evidence of the intellectual state of Hellas, and an essential element of Hellenic life and strength. In Greece, as in every other nation, the fine arts had their origin in religion. Their first productions were the temples and statues of the gods; their next, the tombs and monuments of great men and memorable events. These became works of architecture and sculpture, while cities and houses were still only buildings, in the lower sense of mere utility. Colour was used to enrich form before painting arose as an imitative art.

Thus architecture preceded sculpture, and sculpture painting; and the two latter arts were but the handmaids of the former. At the epoch of the Persian Wars, sculpture and painting were both in a state of transition from the archaic stiffness which marks, not only the imperfect skill of the earlier artists, but the fetters imposed on them by tradition. But the rapid development of both arts before the middle of the next century proves how much had been done to prepare the way for Phidias and Polygnotus. From the beginning of the sixth century, schools of statuary flourished in several Grecian cities; usually in families, which had handed down the traditions of the art from the old carvers of wooden statues of the gods, who are represented by the mythic names of Dædalus in Attica and Smilis in Ægina. About the same time artists among the Asiatic Greeks, especially in Chios and Samos, began to employ the mechanical processes of metal working, such as casting, soldering or welding, chasing and embossing. Of the progress made in the last-named art the great bowl dedicated by Crœsus is an example; while the ring of Polycrates proves the skill attained in gem-engraving. It would be absurd to doubt that these artists had learnt much from that earlier Asiatic art, the fruits of which we have seen in the sculptures and engraved seal-rings of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings. An impulse was given to the art about the middle of the

* The writer may be permitted to refer to the articles on art and artists in Dr. Smith's *Dictionaries*, as furnishing a general guide to the subject.

sixth century B.C. by the erection of the statues of victors in the games. The ancient Greek works in metal have perished, with comparatively few exceptions, but of their sculpture we have remains dating from the mythical age, to which belong the rude but bold lions rampant carved over the gates of Mycenæ. The archaic sculptures of the temple at Selinus, in Sicily, belong to the beginning of the sixth century. A most decided advance in the imitation of natural forms is shown in the figures in the pediment of the temple of Ægina, casts of which may be seen in the British Museum. The Æginetan school of sculpture was at its acmé during the last half of the sixth century.

Greek architecture may be said to have attained its perfection, in all the essentials of form, at the epoch of the Persian Wars. The prevailing order was the majestic Doric, splendid specimens of which are seen in the two magnificent temples at Pæstum, and in the less perfect temple of Jove Panhellenius in the island of Ægina. The comparison of the larger and older temple of Pæstum with the Parthenon at Athens is the most instructive commentary on the progress made between the middle of the sixth and of the fifth centuries. The great Doric temples of Hera, at Samos, built about B.C. 600, and of Apollo at Delphi, rebuilt after the fire of B.C. 548, have entirely perished. The Doric seems to have been the true native Hellenic order. The graceful Ionic had its origin in Asia; and it is most interesting to find its characteristic ornament, the capital with its double volute, several times repeated among the Assyrian monuments.* Like the Doric, it was perfected at Athens in the time of Pericles. The chief early example of the style in Ionia itself was the immense temple of Artemis at Ephesus, begun about B.C. 600, and reckoned one of the wonders of the world. The temple standing at Ephesus in the Roman age was a still more splendid edifice, erected by contributions from all the states of Asia Minor, after the former temple had been burnt by the maniac Herostratus on the birth-night of Alexander the Great (B.C. 356). The third order of Greek architecture, the beautiful Corinthian, dates from the latter part of the fifth century B.C.; but the earliest known example, the choragic monument of Lysicrates, is still a century later (B.C. 335). This order is often regarded as only a modification of the Ionic.

No new order of classic architecture has since been invented; nor have these ever been modified without injury, as in the Roman

* Layard: *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 119, 444, 648.

Doric, and its variety the Tuscan, and in the Composite, which is a hybrid between the Ionic and Corinthian. It needed those other original elements, which were supplied by the Arabian and Gothic races, to form new styles at all worthy to be placed in competition with the Greek.

Of Greek painting the earliest remains are the vases of Corinth, the city which shares with Sicyon the fame of being the earliest seat of the art (about B.C. 600). They are in the stiff archaic style, and the figures are mere outlines in profile or *silhouettes*. The earliest painter of eminence was Cimon, of Cleonæ in Argolis, who was contemporary with Pisistratus. He is said to have invented the art of foreshortening the figure, and to have been the first who indicated the muscles and veins, and gave drapery its natural folds. About the same time the art must have made considerable progress in Ionia; for there were paintings among the goods which the Phocæans carried with them when they left their city (B.C. 544). Near the close of the same century we hear of a picture representing the passage of the Hellespont by Darius. This work was preserved in the Heræum at Samos, the chief seat of the art after the Persian conquest of Ionia.

The moral effect of all these great political and intellectual movements, especially upon the Athenians, is summed up in the words of Herodotus:—"Liberty and Equality of civic rights are brave spirit-stirring things; and they who, while under the yoke of a despot, had been no better men of war than any of their neighbours, as soon as they were free, became the foremost men of all; for each felt that, in fighting for a free commonwealth, he fought for himself, and, whatever he took in hand, he was zealous to do the work thoroughly."*

* Herodotus V. 87, as quoted by Sir E. S. Creasy (*Fifteen Decisive Battles*, p. 30), who compares the sentiment with the beautiful lines in Barbour's *Bruce*:—

"Ah, Fredome is a noble thing:
Fredome makes man to haiff lyking.
Fredome all solace to men gives,
He lives at ease, that freely lives."

See also the admirable conclusion of the 31st Chapter of Mr. Grote's *History of Greece*.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PERSIAN WARS, FROM THE IONIAN REVOLT TO THE BATTLES OF THE EURYMEDON. B.C. 500—466.

"Age shakes Athena's tower, but spares gray Marathon.
* * * * * *
Preserves alike its bounds and boundless fame,
The battle-field, where Persia's victim horde
First bow'd beneath the brunt of Hellas' sword,
As on the morn, to distant glory dear,
When MARATHON became a magic word;
Which utter'd, to the hearer's eye appear
The camp, the host, the fight, the conqueror's career,

"The flying Mede, his shaftless broken bow;
The fiery Greek, his red pursuing spear;
Mountains above, Earth's, Ocean's plain below;
Death in the front, Destruction in the rear!"—BYRON.

CAUSES OF THE IONIAN REVOLT—MILTIADES AND HISTIÆUS—AFFAIR OF NAXOS—REVOLT OF ARISTAGORAS—AID SOUGHT FROM SPARTA AND ATHENS—SARDIS BURNT BY THE IONIANS AND ATHENIANS—DEFEAT OF THE IONIANS AND CAPTURE OF MILETUS—HIPPIAS AT THE PERSIAN COURT—FAILURE OF THE EXPEDITION UNDER MARDONIUS—HIS CONQUEST OF MACEDONIA—PREPARATIONS OF DARIUS—ATHENS AND SPARTA ALONE REFUSE EARTH AND WATER—EXPEDITION UNDER DATIS AND ARTAPHERNES—CONQUEST OF THE ISLANDS—PREPARATIONS AT ATHENS—BATTLE OF MARATHON—FATE OF MILTIADES—THE ÆGINETAN WAR—FOUNDATION OF THE MARITIME POWER OF ATHENS—THEMISTOCLES AND ARISTIDES—XERXES PREPARES A THIRD INVASION—PROGRESS OF THE EXPEDITION—THERMOPYLÆ—LEONIDAS AND THE THREE HUNDRED SPARTANS—EVENTS PRECEDING THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS—DEFEAT OF THE PERSIAN FLEET—RETREAT OF XERXES—BATTLE OF HIMERA IN SICILY ON THE SAME DAY—MARDONIUS IN BŒOTIA—BATTLES OF PLATÆA AND MYCALE—AFFAIRS OF THEBES—LIBERATION OF THE ISLANDS, THRACE, AND MACEDONIA—THE WAR TRANSFERRED TO ASIA—CAPTURE OF SESTOS—THE LEADERSHIP TRANSFERRED FROM SPARTA TO ATHENS—TREASON AND DEATH OF PAUSANIAS—OSTRACISM OF THEMISTOCLES—CIMON AND PERICLES—CAMPAIGNS OF CIMON ON THE ASIATIC COAST—DOUBLE VICTORY OF THE EURYMEDON—UNSUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN OF THE ATHENIANS IN EGYPT.

WHEN Darius the son of Hystaspes invaded the land of the Scythians, under the pretext of punishing their inroad upon Western Asia, the tyrants of the chief cities of the Hellespont and Ionia followed in his train. As their power was maintained by his support, he reposed in them the greatest confidence. On plunging into the wilds of Scythia, he entrusted to their charge the bridge of boats by which he had crossed the Danube. If he did not return within sixty days, they might conclude that the expedition had perished, and consult their own safety. The sixty days had expired, when a body of Scythians brought the news that Darius was in full retreat. They urged the Greeks to break the

bridge, and so to ensure the destruction of the Persian army and the recovery of their own freedom. Among the Grecian chieftains was Miltiades, the tyrant of the Chersonese. He belonged to a noble family at Athens, and was the second owner of his deathless name. The first Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, had been induced by an oracle, and by the desire to escape from the tyranny of Pisistratus, to lead a colony to the Thracian Chersonese.* He established his authority over the whole peninsula, and built a wall across its narrow isthmus. Himself childless, he had a half brother, Cimon, whose two sons were Stesagoras and Miltiades. Stesagoras succeeded his uncle, but on his death the tyranny was in danger of overthrow. The young Miltiades was sent from Athens by Pisistratus to secure the inheritance. By a stratagem he seized and imprisoned the popular leaders, raised a force of mercenaries, and gained the friendship of the neighbouring Thracians by marrying the daughter of their king Olorus. Such was the early career of the man who inflicted the first decisive defeat on the power of Persia. He held his power in the Chersonese without that support from Darius by which the Ionian tyrants were upheld, and he had nothing to lose by the course his patriotism dictated. His proposal to break the bridge was approved by the other despots, till Histiæus, the tyrant of Miletus, reminded them that such a blow to the Persian power would recoil upon themselves. To get rid of the Scythians, and perhaps to keep the final decision in their own hands, the wily Ionians adopted the course of severing the further end of the bridge. It was night when the Persian army reached the river, and found no traces of the boats. Thereupon Darius ordered a loud-voiced Egyptian to stand upon the bank and call Histiæus, the Milesian, who at the first summons brought forward the fleet to restore the bridge. By this means Histiæus obtained all the credit of saving Darius and his army. We have seen how he was rewarded, and how he again lost the royal favour.†

Darius returned to Susa, leaving the western provinces in profound peace under the government of his brother Artaphernes. A trifling incident lighted the flame of rebellion. One of those political conflicts, which we have seen occurring throughout Greece, broke out in Naxos, an island of the Cyclades (B.C. 502).

* The district so often mentioned in Greek history by this name is the long and narrow peninsula which forms the north side of the Hellespont (Dardanelles). "Chersonesus" means an island attached to the mainland.

† Chap. x., p. 293.

The exiles of the oligarchical party applied for aid to Aristagoras, the tyrant of Miletus, who persuaded Artaphernes to send an expedition against Naxos. The Persian commander, incensed by the interference of Aristagoras on a point of discipline, warned the Naxians, and so caused the failure of the expedition and ruined the credit of Aristagoras, who saw no course open to him but revolt. Meanwhile, his father-in-law, Histiæus, was plotting to revenge himself for his detention at Susa. He shaved the head of a trusty slave, and having branded on the scalp a message calling on Aristagoras to revolt, kept him till the hair grew again, and then sent him to Miletus. With the consent of the Milesian citizens, Aristagoras seized the tyrants who were on board of the fleet that had returned from Naxos; he laid down his own power; popular governments were proclaimed in all the cities and islands; and Ionia revolted from Darius (B.C. 501).

Aristagoras went to Sparta, carrying with him the bronze map of which we have have already spoken,* and tried to tempt the king, Cleomenes, by displaying the greatness of the Persian empire; but his admission that Susa was three months' journey from the sea ruined his cause. He had better success at Athens; for the Athenians knew that Artaphernes had been made their enemy by Hippias. They voted twenty ships in aid of the Ionians, and the squadron was increased by five ships of the Eretrians. Having united with the Ionian fleet, they disembarked at Ephesus, marched up the country, and surprised Sardis, which was accidentally burnt during the pillage. Their forces were utterly inadequate to hold the city; and their return was not effected without a severe defeat by the pursuing army. The Athenians re-embarked and sailed home, while the Ionians dispersed to their cities to make those preparations which should have preceded the attack. Their powerful fleet gained for them the adhesion of the Hellespontine cities as far as Byzantium, of Caria, Caunus, and Cyprus; but this island was recovered by the Persians within a year. The Ionians protracted the insurrection for six years. Their cause was early abandoned by Aristagoras, who fled to the coast of Thrace and there perished. Histiæus, who had lulled the suspicions of Darius by promising him not only vengeance on the rebels, but the conquest of Sardinia, returned to Ionia only to be repulsed from Miletus and to have his treachery detected at Sardis. After some further adventures, he perished by crucifixion. The fate of the revolt turned at last on the siege of Miletus. The city was protected

* Chap. xii., p. 373.

by the Ionian fleet, for which the Phœnician navy of Artaphernes was no match. But there was fatal disunion and want of discipline on board, and the defection of the Samians gave the Persians an easy victory off Ladé (B.C. 495). Miletus suffered the worst horrors of a storm, and the other cities and islands were treated with scarcely less severity. This third subjugation of Ionia inflicted the most lasting blow on the prosperity of the colonies (B.C. 493).

Throughout his narrative of these events, Herodotus declares his opinion of the impolicy of the interference of the Athenians. The ships they voted, he says, were the beginning of evils both to the Greeks and the barbarians. When the news of the burning of Sardis was brought to Darius, he called for his bow, and shot an arrow towards the sky, with a prayer to Auramazda for help to revenge himself on the Athenians. Then he bade one of his servants repeat to him thrice, as he sat down to dinner, the words, "Master, remember the Athenians." Upon the suppression of the Ionian revolt, he appointed his son-in-law Mardonius to succeed Artaphernes, enjoining him to bring these insolent Athenians and Eretrians to Susa. A great fleet started from the Hellespont, with orders to sail round the peninsula of Mt. Athos to the Gulf of Therma, while Mardonius advanced by land. His march was so harassed by the Thracians, that when he had effected the conquest of Macedonia, his force was too weak for any further attempt. The fleet was overtaken by a storm off Mt. Athos, on whose rocks three hundred ships were dashed to pieces, and twenty thousand men perished. Mardonius returned in disgrace to Asia with the remnants of his fleet and army.

This failure only added fury to the resolution of Darius. While preparing all the resources of his empire for a second expedition, he sent round heralds to the chief cities of Greece, to demand the tribute of earth and water as signs of his being their rightful lord. Most of them submitted: Athens and Sparta alone ventured on defiance. Both treated the demand as an outrage which annulled the sanctity of the herald's person. At Athens the envoy was plunged into the loathsome Barathrum, a pit into which the most odious public criminals were cast. At Sparta the herald was hurled into a well, and bidden to seek his earth and water there. The submission of Ægina, the chief maritime state of Greece, and the great enemy of Athens, entailed the most important results. The act was denounced by Athens as treason against Greece, and the design was imputed to Ægina of calling in the

Persians to secure vengeance on her rival. The Athenians made a formal complaint to Sparta against the "Medism" of the Æginetans; a charge which is henceforth often repeated both against individuals and states. The Spartans had recently concluded a successful war with Argos, the only power that could dispute her supremacy in Peloponnesus;* and now this appeal from Athens, the second city of Greece, at once recognised and established Sparta as the leading Hellenic state. In that character, her king Cleomenes undertook to punish the Medizing party in Ægina "for the common good of Greece;" but he was met by proofs of the intrigues of his colleague Demaratus in their favour. There had long been a feud between the royal houses of the Eurysthenids and Proclids, and we have already seen the invasion of Attica under Cleomenes frustrated by Demaratus.† This second check, in Ægina, sealed the fate of Demaratus. Cleomenes obtained his deposition on a charge of illegitimacy, and a public insult from his successor Leotychides drove Demaratus from Sparta. Hotly pursued as a "Medist," he effected his escape to Darius, whose designs against Athens and Sparta were now stimulated by the councils of their exiled sovereigns, Hippias and Demaratus. Meanwhile, Cleomenes and his new colleague returned to Ægina, which no longer resisted, and having seized ten of her leading citizens, placed them as hostages in the hands of the Athenians. Ægina was thus effectually disabled from throwing the weight of her fleet into the scale of Persia: Athens and Sparta, suspending their political jealousies, were united when their disunion would have been fatal: their conjunction drew after them most of the lesser states: and so the Greeks stood forth for the first time as a nation prepared to act in unison, under the leadership of Sparta (B.C. 491). That city retained her proud position till it was forfeited by the misconduct of her statesmen.

It was time for Greece to be united. In the spring of B.C. 490, the preparations of Darius were complete. A vast army was collected in a plain upon the Cilician shore, whence a fleet of six hundred triremes convoyed it to the rendezvous at Samos. The Ionians and Æolians were compelled to serve on board their own ships as a part of their conqueror's navy. Like the Spanish Armada, the fleet carried fetters to bind the Athenians and Eretrians, who were to be brought back as slaves, when their cities

* B.C. 496—495. † Chap. xii., pp. 355—6.

had been burnt to the ground. The expedition was commanded by Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, son of the former satrap of Lydia. The exiled tyrant, Hippias, undertook to guide them to a convenient point of descent on the shores of Attica. The failure of Mardonius had suggested a wiser plan for the new campaign. The armament sailed across the Ægæan, reducing the Cyclades on the way, and meeting with no resistance till it reached Eubœa. The people of Carystus, the southernmost town of the island, yielded on seeing their fields ravaged, and the Persians landed without opposition before the devoted city of Eretria. Such was the despair and dissension within its walls, that the four thousand Athenian *cleruchi* of Calchis,* who had been sent to aid the defence, received timely warning that treason was meditated, and retired to Attica. Yet the Eretrians made a brave defence for six days. On the seventh, the traitors opened the gates, and the doom pronounced by Darius was executed to the letter. Herodotus says that the Persians, as before at Chios and at Samos, joined hands so as to form a chain across the territory of Eretria, and made a clean sweep of every living creature.† The Eretrian captives, with the spoils of their city, were placed in security on the little island of Ægileia, while Hippias guided the Persian fleet down the channel of the Euripus, to the spot on the Attic coast he had chosen for their debarkation—the bay of Marathon. Flushed thus far with success, he might well deem it a favourable omen that he had performed with his father this same voyage from Eretria to Marathon, when Pisistratus was finally restored. The night before, he had dreamed that he was lying in his mother's arms; and he thought the gods had promised him a quiet old age of secure power in his native land. But, as he directed the landing, there occurred one of those trivial incidents which were supposed to fulfil a dream to the letter, only to cheat more substantial hopes, and he exclaimed, "After all, the land is not ours, and we shall never be able to bring it under." He knew his countrymen well enough to have a better ground for despondency than even an omen could supply to the superstition of a Greek. It was early in September, B.C. 490, that the Persian host disembarked at Marathon.

Athens now alone remained to fulfil the object of the expedition,

* See p. 356.

† The impression produced may be mainly correct, but the statement is not to be accepted to the letter. A sufficient number of the Eretrians were left behind to build a new city, which was already flourishing ten years later.

and Athens had to bear the brunt of the danger by herself. There is no reason to suppose that Sparta evaded her obligations; but the direct movement of the Persians across the Ægæan had probably taken all Greece somewhat by surprise; and when the crisis came, a religious scruple caused a delay which might have been fatal. The courier, Phidippides, despatched from Athens as soon as Eretria had fallen, performed the journey of 150 miles, on foot, in forty-eight hours.* He laid before the Ephors an urgent request for aid, which was readily promised. But it wanted nearly a week to the full moon, and religious scruples would not permit a march during the interval. That this was no mere excuse, is proved by the rapid march of the two thousand Spartans, who, having started as soon as the moon had changed, reached the frontier of Attica on the third day. But on the day before, the fate of Greece had been decided, and immortal glory gained by Athens.†

We can hardly, indeed, believe that Sparta would have perilled her influence in Greece by holding back at such a crisis. But, in the ferment of agitation at Athens, and within twenty years of the Spartan invasion to restore Isagoras, such a suspicion would naturally be felt, and it must have added to the indecision which divided the counsels of the Athenians. Besides the terror inspired by the threats of Darius, the fate of Ionia, the submission of the Cyclades, and the fall of Eretria,—it should be remembered how lately the city had been rent by opposing factions, and how short had been the trial of the institutions of Cleisthenes. Hippias was keeping up a correspondence with his partisans in Attica and in Athens itself. The plan of vesting the military command in ten generals, with

* "Mr. Kinneir remarks that the Persian Cassids, or foot messengers, will travel for several days successively at the rate of sixty or seventy miles a day."—*Geographical Memoirs of Persia*, p. 44; quoted by Mr. Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 460.

† It was on the ninth day of the moon that Phidippides arrived at Sparta. The moon would be full on the 15th day. The Spartans marched on the following day, the 16th, and reached Athens late on the 18th. They marched on and saw the battle-field with the bodies still unburied, which would hardly have been the case in that climate more than two days after the battle. These calculations, from the data supplied by Herodotus, confirm the statement of Plato, that the Spartans arrived at Athens the day after the battle, which would thus be fought on the 17*th of the moon*. The month, as we learn from Plutarch, was Boëdromion, which corresponds nearly to September. Plutarch says that the day of the battle was the 6th of Boëdromion, which is evidently inconsistent with the months being strictly lunar. We are indebted to the kindness of the Astronomer Royal for the information, that the moon was full on September 9th, about four o'clock in the morning. The date of the battle of Marathon may therefore be fixed, with great probability, to the 11th of September.

the Archon Polemarch, had to be tested for the first time in the presence of the whole force of Persia; and at the critical moment the generals were equally divided. But among them was one man who saved Athens by the ascendancy of his genius.

Miltiades had retained his government of the Chersonese, either because his advice to destroy the bridge over the Danube was not betrayed, or because Darius chose a prudent magnanimity. He availed himself of the confusion of the Ionian revolt to subdue the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, with the aid of an Athenian force, a service never forgotten by his countrymen, and an act of open hostility to Persia. Then came the suppression of the revolt, and the appearance of the Phœnician fleet off the Hellespont. Hastily embarking his property and nearest friends, Miltiades fled, so hotly pursued that one of his five ships, carrying his son Metiochus, was taken before he reached a haven of safety in Imbros, whence the remaining four got safe to the port of Athens. Miltiades had now to stand his trial on the capital charge of tyranny, but his recent services procured him an honourable acquittal. His bold career had established his reputation at Athens,* and he was chosen the general of his tribe, in prospect of the Persian invasion. Among his colleagues was Aristides, and probably Themistocles, names which will soon fill their due space in our narrative.†

Under such leaders the whole force of Athens marched out to meet the invaders, and beheld from the heights of Pentelicus the plain and bay of MARATHON crowded with their tents and ships. The story of the battle is told by Herodotus, who heard it from the men who fought there, with his usual fondness for striking incidents.‡ But this brief account leaves several questions undecided, and it is entirely wanting in those details which enable a reader to look down upon a battle-field as if spread out beneath his sight, and so to understand the movements of the combatants. That unchanged aspect of the scene, on which the poet dwells in the lines at the head of this chapter, helps us to supply what the historian has left untold. At this day, just as twenty-three centuries and a half ago—

> "The mountains look on Marathon,
> And Marathon looks on the sea."

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* Herod. vi. 132.

† Themistocles was certainly at Marathon, though it is doubtful whether he was a general. He had been archon in B.C. 493.

‡ Æschylus, who himself fought at Marathon, throws some light upon the battle by allusions in his play of "The Persians," which was written to celebrate the victories of Salamis and Platæa.

Just below the great headland commanding the southern entrance to the channel which separates it from Eubœa, the eastern coast of Attica is indented by a fine bay. It is enclosed on the north

PLAN OF THE PLAIN OF MARATHON.

A A. Position of the Greeks on the day of the battle.
B B. Position of the Persians on the day of the battle.

1. *Mt. Argaliki.*
2. *Mt. Aforismó.*
3. *Mt. Kotróni.*
4. *Mt. Koráki.*
5. *Mt. Dhrakonéra.*
6. Small Marsh.
7. Great Marsh.
8. Fountain Macaria.
9. Salt Lake of *Dhrakonéra.*
10. Heracleium.
11. Temple of Athena Hellotia?
12. Village of *Lower Súli.*
13. *Soró:* tumulus of Athenians.
14. *Pýrgo:* tomb of Miltiades.

Roads:—

aa. To Athens, between Mts. Pentelicus and Hymettus through Pallene.
bb. To Athens, through Cephisia.
cc. To Athens, through Aphidna.
dd. To Rhamnus.

by the long rocky promontory, called, from its shape, Cynosura (the Dog's Tail), and on the south by a lesser spur of Mount Brilesus, or Pentelicus. The limestone hills sweep round from

cape to cape, leaving at their feet a plain of a crescent shape, about six miles in length and less than three miles wide in the centre. It was the ancient site of a tetrapolis, forming one of the twelve Attic districts before the time of Theseus; and one of its four villages was called, from a local hero, Marathon. The name occurs in Homer; the place was sacred to Hercules, and associated with some of the oldest Attic legends. Here Xuthus, the father of Ion, had reigned; and here the Athenians had helped the Heraclid refugees to defeat their persecutor Eurystheus. "The pleasant mead of Marathon," as it is called by Aristophanes, is a grassy level,* almost entirely free from trees, terminated at both ends by marshes, dry in summer, but flooded in the autumn, that on the north being much the larger. These marshes confined the ground available for an army to a length of between two and three miles; but a strip of firm land extends between the marshes and the sea, along the whole length of the beach, upon which the Persian galleys were drawn up, or, as some suppose, remained at anchor close to it. The ships of burthen and the horse-transports were anchored in the bay, and the Persian army lay encamped upon the plain. On the land side, the hills are crowned with cedars, pines, and olive-trees; and their lower slopes are covered with "the myrtle, arbutus, and the other low odoriferous shrubs that everywhere perfume the Attic air."

Through the passes of these hills, three roads lead up to Athens. The central and most direct is that through *Vrana*, the supposed site of Marathon. The small Athenian army, on arriving at the heights, is presumed to have taken up its position so as to command this road; equally ready to fall back and meet the enemy behind the ridge, if they penetrated it by the more circuitous route through Œnoë or, if the Persians attempted to pass to the left, over the spur of Pentelicus, the Athenians might have fallen on their exposed flank.† The position was alike strong for defence, and commanding for attack; and weighty arguments might be urged for either course.

It is not easy to place ourselves in the position of the Athenian

* As at Waterloo, the surface of the ground is now broken, though far more worthily, by the mound which was raised over the Athenian slain.

† In ancient warfare, an attack on the right flank was considered far more perilous than one on the left, because the left side was covered by the shield. This was one reason why the right of the line was the post of honour, as being the post of danger.

generals. Our minds are dazzled by the glories of the event, and of the many similar victories down to the days of Plassy and Meeanee. With a small united band of disciplined freemen opposed to a host of Asiatic slaves, it would seem that the resolution to attack was at once the pledge of victory. One bold swift charge upon the unwieldy host, who are now paralysed with astonishment at the daring of their foes—one vain effort of resistance by their best troops—and then a confused scene of panic flight and fierce pursuit:—such is the conception often formed of Marathon and the like battles. But the Greeks who fought at Marathon could be sure of no such easy victory. The army before them was no mere horde of effeminate barbarians, whose very numbers ensured their confusion and defeat. They represented the power which, little more than half a century ago, had overthrown the three empires of Western Asia, subdued the Asiatic Greeks, and conquered Egypt;—the power which, newly organized by their present warlike king, had quelled the rebellions of Media and Babylon, extended the frontiers of the empire, crushed the revolt of Ionia, and subjected the islands of the Ægæan. The Persians were the conquerors of Greeks, and not only of barbarians. Their unbroken course of victory had reached the shores of Hellas itself in the sad example of Eretria. The strangeness of their dress and arms had not yet come to be regarded as signs of weakness. The rhetorical exaggeration of Herodotus shows at least that the Persians were not an enemy to be despised. The Athenians, he says, "were the first of the Greeks who dared to look upon the Median garb, and to face men clad in that fashion. Until this time, the very name of the Medes had been a terror to the Greeks to hear."*

It is one of the strange omissions of Herodotus, that he gives no account of the strength of either army, telling us only the numbers of the slain. Plato makes the Persians half a million; and other authorities vary from 200,000 to 600,000. A careful calculation, based on the known strength of the fleet, 600 triremes, seems to prove the last number to be not far from the truth.† The crews of the triremes are estimated at 120,000, and of the horse-transports at 40,000; the Persian and Sacian warriors, who were the flower of the army, at 30,000; the cavalry at 10,000;

* Herod. vi. 112.

† All these points of details are fully discussed in the following works:—Leake, *Demi of Attica*, pp. 99, foll.; Creasy, *Fifteen Decisive Battles;* Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Notes to Book vi., and Appendix, Essay i.

besides about 10,000 Greeks, pressed into the service, from the conquered islands. It is assumed that about half the crews would be required to remain on board; * and, making some allowance for the sick, the actual numbers on the field of Marathon would be from 100,000 to 120,000. Among these, the only heavy-armed troops were the 30,000 Persians and Sacians.

Of the Athenian force we have no earlier enumeration than in the writers of the Augustan age, who make it 9,000 or 10,000 men. Looking at what we know of the number of the Athenian citizens, and the force they sent to the battle of Platæa, we may accept the 9,000 as the complement of heavy-armed soldiers, adding an equal number of light-armed slaves; for we know that great efforts were made to enrol this class.† But this little army was reinforced in a manner which forms one of the most affecting incidents of ancient history. They were already encamped on the heights above Marathon, when they were joined by the Platæans, who had marched out with their whole force, to requite the Athenians, in the hour of their extremity, for their protection against the tyranny of Thebes. For this noble act the Platæans were rewarded with a certain share of the Athenian citizenship, and they were henceforth included in the public prayers of Athens. The like attachment involved the destruction of their city in the Peloponnesian War; and to the latest age of Greek freedom it was told how the Platæans, alone of all the Greeks, had stood by the Athenians in the fore-front of the danger at Marathon.

The total force of the Greeks was thus raised to 20,000 men; and the disparity between the two armies was five or six to one—about the same proportion as afterwards at Platæa. The heavy-armed, on whom the brunt of the battle would depend, were about three to one. Battles have often since been gained against even greater odds; but at Marathon the Persians were truly formidable as soldiers, and still more formidable from their unbroken course of victory. It was not, perhaps, impossible, by a bold advance, to have passed over the bodies of their foes along the road to Athens; but Hippias was there to tell the Persian generals how dear such a victory would be bought; and Darius had not sent them to purchase it by the blood of his best troops. He

* This is on the assumption that the fleet remained at anchor. If the triremes were drawn up on the beach, nearly all their crews would be available as combatants.

† Pausanias I., c. 32, § 3. The Athenians had neither cavalry nor archers.

looked to see the Athenians driven like a flock of sheep before his throne, and there was reason to hope for a bloodless conquest through the intrigues of the Pisistratids. Those same intrigues, on the other hand, rendered delay most dangerous to the Athenians, while the answer brought by Phidippides from Sparta caused fresh discouragement. But was it not better to wait in their strong position above Marathon for the arrival of the Spartan succours? To march down to battle on the plain would involve, besides the unequal conflict, the danger of being outflanked by the enemy's numbers and cut to pieces by his cavalry. So the Ten Generals were equally divided; and the decision hung on the casting vote of the polemarch Callimachus. We should have liked to know the parts taken by Aristides and Themistocles. The latter would probably be found on the side of action; but history reserves for him the palm of council at Salamis; that of Marathon belongs to Miltiades alone. Of all the generals, he only had experience to discern those elements of Oriental weakness which were yet to be revealed, and the skill to suit his plan of battle to the enemy. He saw, not only that safety lay in victory, but that the very isolation of Athens opened a boundless prospect to her ambition. He implored Callimachus to earn for himself a name more glorious than that of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, by at once saving his country from the fate prepared for her under Hippias, and raising her to become the first state in Greece. If they delayed to fight, the disturbance of men's minds at Athens would soon end in submission; but if the battle were fought before unsoundness revealed itself in the city, and while Heaven still granted them fair play, they were well able to overcome the enemy. Callimachus gave his vote for battle, and the four generals who had supported Miltiades in the debate gave up to him their turn of command.*

Miltiades, however, waited for his proper day of command before engaging. It would be wise to leave no ground for jealousy, or for the charge of having assumed undue responsibility. His turn may have been close at hand, and his preparations might

* Each of the Ten Generals commanded for a day in rotation. It is an error to suppose that all the generals joined in the renunciation of the four. (See Herod. vi., 110). As to the time of the debate, the testimony of Herodotus seems quite to outweigh Mr. Grote's reasons for placing it at Athens before the march. The case only fairly arose when the armies were in sight of each other; and the allusions to the influence of the course taken by the army on the state of feeling *in the city* seems quite decisive.

well occupy the interval. The decision to fight once taken, there was the less need for haste; and he seems to have had a special reason for choosing his opportunity. Hippias had selected the plain of Marathon especially on account of its fitness for cavalry evolutions; and yet no mention is made of cavalry in the battle. The only satisfactory explanation—though others have been proposed—is, that the cavalry had been sent away to find forage, and that Miltiades seized the opportunity of their absence to make the attack.

On both sides the order of battle was the extended phalanx, or line several men deep, which seems to have been the only array in use up to this time. The Persian line was drawn up about a mile from the sea, with the heavy-armed Persians and Sacæ in the centre, which has always been in Oriental armies the post of honour; the contingents of the satrapies were posted on either wing, in all their picturesque variety of arms and dress. Their front extended about three miles between the two marshes that here bound the plain—a space which might be nearly filled by their best troops, in their customary order of four deep. The light-armed troops and archers were placed, as usual, in the rear.

To match the extended front of the enemy and guard against their sweeping round his flanks, and so taking him in the rear, Miltiades made a new disposition of the Grecian phalanx. Its usual array was eight deep, and, so drawn up, the 10,000 hoplites would have covered, at the most, little more than two-thirds of a mile—enough to block up the valley of Vrana while they remained on the defensive, but sure to be outflanked when they descended into the plain. Miltiades extended his front by weakening the centre, rightly deeming the wings the critical points. If the wings were only as much as four deep for a space of two hundred yards, the centre must have consisted only of one file; so that Miltiades ventured on the extreme of that formation in *line*, which is the peculiarity of British tactics, as opposed to the phalanx or column of almost every other nation.* The light-armed troops would doubtless be employed chiefly as supports to

* This calculation is taken from Professor Rawlinson. Making every allowance for the probability that Herodotus states the equalizing of the fronts too literally, the central line could not have been more than two deep. The usual English line is two deep, with a third line of subalterns and other supernumeraries. At Inkerman, during the heat of the battle, the "thin red line" of the Guards formed only a single rank.

this weakened centre. The men of each tribe stood together in the array, securing mutual encouragement and emulation. The polemarch Callimachus held the post of honour on the right; the second place, on the left, was given to the phalanx of the Platæans; while the centre was entrusted to the steady calmness of Aristides and the daring courage of Themistocles.

All now depended upon the vigour of the onset. Had the Greeks advanced across the plain with their wonted steady pace, singing the pæan—the war-hymn to Apollo—they must have been galled by the Persian archery, and perhaps easily surrounded. So, when Miltiades had sacrificed, and the omens were pronounced favourable, the whole Greek line crossed the mile of ground that divided them from the enemy at a run, and fell upon them while astonished at this novel charge.* But the battle was not yet gained; the front ranks joined in furious conflict, and the cloud of arrows from the Persian rear darkened the heavens above them.† The phalanx of Greek spearmen on the wings, protected by their shields and armour, found no match in the light bucklers and scimetars of the Asiatics; but in the centre, where spears were opposed to spears, and the Athenians were met by the Persian veterans, the force of numbers prevailed. How far the Greek centre gave way is one of the problems of the battle. Herodotus represents them as flying in full rout up the valley, either of Marathon or Œnoë, pursued by the main body of the Persians. But the victorious wings fell upon the flanks of the crowded column; the fugitives rallied in its front; the tide of battle turned; and the Persian host fled for refuge to their ships. The Greeks pursued them to the water's edge, and many were entangled in the marshes that lay between them and the beach. Eager efforts were now made to capture or burn the ships, and the combat that ensued recals the attack of the Trojans on the fleet of the Achæans.‡ Cynægirus, the brother of the poet Æschylus, had seized a ship by the feathery ornament that crowned its stern,§

* The athletic training of the Greeks removes all wonder from this exploit. The French Zouaves traverse miles together at a swingeing trot, little slower than the "double." The idea that the Athenians were disordered by the mode of their advance is opposed to the express statement of Herodotus.

† Aristoph., Vespæ, 1082.

‡ Homer, *Iliad*, xiii.

§ The *aphlaston*, or, in Latin, *aplustre*. It was formed of several curved pieces of board set in the same plane (see the figure in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, art. *Navis*). The ancient ships were drawn up with their sterns to the beach, ready to put to sea.

when his right hand was severed by an axe; nor was his a solitary case. The chief loss of the Athenians was suffered in this conflict at the ships; here fell the general Stesagoras, and here the polemarch Callimachus received, in a glorious death, the fittest recompense of his heroic decision.

A few ships only were detained, and the successful embarkation proves the military qualities of the Persian army, as well as the skill of their commanders. They had spirit left to attempt to snatch a triumph that would have outweighed their defeat. Instead of bearing off for Eubœa, they sailed down the coast of Attica, intending to double the promontory of Sunium, and surprise Athens before the army could return. Miltiades saw the meaning of their course; and, on a neighbouring promontory, an uplifted shield, flashing in the rays of the setting sun, betrayed a treasonable signal from the shore. For the second time on the same day the prompt energy of Miltiades saved his country. He left Aristides and his tribe to keep watch in the field covered with the slain and the Persian spoils, and led his army by a rapid night march back to Athens.* He arrived but just in time. The Persian fleet appeared in the morning off the coast of Phalerum; but the sudden return of Miltiades overawed the partisans of Hippias, who took his last tantalizing view of the heights of the Acropolis. Finding no encouragement to disembark, Datis put out again to sea; and, having gathered up his spoils, with the Eretrian prisoners from the island of Ægileia, threaded his backward course among the Cyclades. The tyrant Hippias did not long survive the defeat of his last hopes. One account is that he fell in the battle; another, that he died on one of the islands of the Ægæan, on his return to Asia. The fate of the Eretrian captives demands a passing word. They arrived at Susa, with their numbers thinned by the toils of the march up through Asia, and were placed before Darius. Their sad plight stirred his compassion, even in the first bitterness of his disappointment. He settled them at a spot not far from Susa, on the road to Sardis, where they were visited by Herodotus. Before saying more of the

* Among his other unfortunate omissions, Herodotus gives no certain indication of the time of day when the battle was fought. Plutarch makes Miltiades return to Athens on the day after the battle. From all the indications, it seems most probable that the morning was occupied by the tactical arrangements of Miltiades, the battle fought in the afternoon, and the march back to Athens accomplished in the night. The September moon, approaching her highest declination, a few days past the full, shone at once on the white sails of the Persian fleet, the path of the Athenian army, and the night-watch of Aristides.

effect produced upon the Great King by the disastrous failure of his generals, we must cast a backward glance at Marathon, where we left Aristides watching over the dead.

Before the corpses were buried, the Spartans, who had reached Athens too late for the battle, arrived upon the field to see the dead bodies of the Persians, and having praised the Athenians for their achievements, they returned home. Six thousand four hundred of the Persians were left upon the field, while the Greeks lost only 192.* The Athenians interred the bodies of their enemies, after they had buried their own dead. It was the custom with the Greeks to carry home the bodies of their comrades who fell in battle, to be honoured with a public funeral. The heroes of Marathon obtained the unwonted honour of resting on the battle-field itself under the *Soros*, or tumulus, which is still seen by passing ships rising above its level. Ten pillars, one for each tribe, bore the names of the slain; and the epitaph was written by Simonides:—

> "At Marathon for Greece the Athenians fought,
> And low the Medians' gilded power they brought."

It was well for the poet to call the Athenians the champions of Greece; could he have seen the course of history as a whole, he might have named them the champions of the world. For the real question decided on the plain of Marathon was whether the rising liberties of Europe, with all their precious fruits, material and intellectual, should be crushed beneath the despotism which had weighed on Asia for two thousand years. A more deadly struggle was still needed to secure the victory; but it was at Marathon that the moral victory was gained which involved the triumphs of Salamis and Platæa—the Greeks learnt that the Persians could be conquered. "Of what avail," asked Napoleon, "would have been the millions of men moving down from all parts of Europe, if the English and Prussians had been beaten at Waterloo?"—and less doubtfully still may it be asked—"What resistance could Greece, or even Europe, have made if the Athenians and Platæans had been crushed at Marathon?" Sparta might have anticipated Thermopylæ in one universal slaughter; but the rest of Greece would assuredly have submitted. The wave

* The great disparity is not only characteristic of battles in which a great host is routed by a small force, as at Morgarten and Morat, Crecy and Poictiers, but it is a striking peculiarity of Greek battles, except in cases of utter defeat. (See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vi. 117, note). That the great loss of the Persians was in the marsh, we learn from the description of the picture in the Stoa Pœcile.

of conquest would have broken upon Italy at the moment when Rome was weakened by intestine broils; and no other nation of the peninsula could have offered resistance. The Phœnician fleet would have soon reduced the Grecian colonies, and have joined in a conflict of deadly rivalry with Carthage. Even had the western republic gained the victory on the sea, the jealous oligarchy of Carthage would have been scarcely less dangerous to civilization than the despotism of Persia. We shall soon see that it was given to Greece to perform the double work of repulsing both powers on the same day, in the bay of Salamis and on the field of Himera.

Justly, therefore, did the Attic orators ever rouse their fellow-citizens to emulate "the men who adventured themselves in the fore-front of danger at Marathon;" while others extolled the ancient discipline that had trained "the men who fought at Marathon."* The artists of the succeeding generation vied with one another in representing their great achievement on the edifices with which the city was adorned under the brilliant rule of Pericles. A huge block of marble, which Datis was believed to have brought with him to form a monument of his conquest, was fashioned by the hand of Phidias himself into a colossal statue of Nemesis, expressive of that solemn irony in which the Greek religion delighted; it was erected in the temple of the goddess at Rhamnus, about eight miles from Marathon. The temple dedicated in the Acropolis to Wingless Victory, the goddess who was never again to take flight from Athens, still shows on its broken frieze "the figures of the Persian combatants, with their lunar shields, their bows and quivers, their curved scimetars, their loose trousers, and Phrygian tiaras." But the most interesting of these monuments was the Colonnade in the Agora, called the Stoa Pœcile, or Painted Porch, from the great picture of the battle painted upon its walls by Panænus, the nephew of Phidias, and Polygnotus. A description of this great work has been handed down to us by the traveller Pausanias. Miltiades and Callimachus held the most conspicuous place of honour in the front; in the middle distance, the Athenians and Platæans chased the Persians to the marshes and to the sea, which appeared in the back-ground covered with the ships. The tutelary deities of the place were represented as joining in the encounter to aid the Greeks. The same traveller, who visited Marathon in the second century of our era, speaks with full faith of the noise of super-

* The Ἄνδρες Μαραθωνόμαχοι. This is a favourite topic with Aristophanes.

natural war heard nightly on the battle-field; and such is the power of a local tradition, that to the present day the clash of arms, the shouts of the combatants, and the neighing of their steeds, strike awe into the watching shepherds.*

A separate monument was erected on the battle-field to Miltiades, for whom fate had reserved a separate doom. The various ends of great warriors are among the most affecting episodes of history: — Callimachus and Epaminondas, Wolfe and Nelson, rejoicing to die in the arms of victory; Leonidas and Gustavus Adolphus content to give their blood as an offering to expiate defeat; Wellington exposing his life as a worthless thing when the field of Waterloo was won, but living to be satiated with honour; Napoleon only escaping from the same field, to "eat his heart away" on his far distant rock. But it was the fate of Miltiades to reap all the glory that a grateful country could bestow, only to peril all in a rash and selfish enterprise. It is not the least of Mr. Grote's services to Grecian history that he has set the end of Miltiades in its true light—the light derived from the character of the public men of Greece on the one hand, and of the Athenian people on the other. "There is no feature," he says, "which more largely pervades the impressible Greek character, than a liability to be intoxicated and demoralized by success; there was no fault from which so few eminent Greeks were free; there was hardly any danger, against which it was at once so necessary and so difficult for the Grecian governments to take security—especially the democracies, where the manifestations of enthusiasm were always the loudest. Such is the real explanation of those charges which have been urged against the Grecian democracies, that they came to hate and ill-treat previous benefactors; and the history of Miltiades illustrates it in a manner no less pointed than painful." †

No sober student of Greek history now questions that, in the intoxication of success, Miltiades abused the confidence of his countrymen for his own objects. How far those objects went is still only a matter of conjecture. But it is no extravagant idea that the former tyrant of the Chersonese may have been eager to compensate his loss by another principality, even if the final removal of Hippias did not suggest still higher thoughts. He asked the Athenians for an armament of seventy war galleys, to be placed at his disposal for a secret service; and we may well

* Tradition, however, has forgotten that no cavalry were engaged.

† Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 504.

believe that the people hoped to see him return laden with wealth from the Persian shores, or having inflicted some signal blow on their great enemy. Miltiades led the expedition against the Greek island of Paros, celebrated for its beautiful white marble. Like the rest of the Cyclades, it had submitted to Datis and Artaphernes; and its having furnished a trireme to the Persian fleet was the pretext used by Miltiades.* The enterprise met with an ignominious failure, and Miltiades was carried back in his galley with a broken leg.

To explain his reception at Athens, we must again make use of the philosophic discrimination of Mr. Grote:—"There were two circumstances in the working of the Athenian democracy, which imparted to it an appearance of greater fickleness [than that shown by an irresponsible one or few] without the reality:—first, that the manifestations and changes of opinion were all open, undisguised, and noisy; the people gave utterance to their present impression, whatever it was, with perfect frankness; if their opinions were really changed, they had no shame or scruple in avowing it: secondly, the *present* impression, whatever it might be, was not merely undisguised in its manifestations, but also had a tendency to be exaggerated in its intensity. This arose from their habit of treating public affairs in multitudinous assemblages, the well-known effect of which is to inflame sentiment in every man's bosom by mere contact with a sympathising circle of neighbours. Whatever the sentiment might be—fear, ambition, cupidity, wrath, compassion, piety, or patriotic devotion, and whether well founded or ill founded—it was constantly influenced more or less by such intensifying cause."†

Such impulses of popular feeling never want leaders. It is an essential feature of free popular governments—in none more conspicuous than our own—that the chiefs of parties are ever on the watch for the errors of their rivals. Nor can the story of Miltiades be properly understood, without considering the quarter from which the attack was made upon him. Parties at Athens had now resolved themselves into two, traceable to those of the Pisistratids and the Alcmæonids. The old oligarchical party adhered more or

* Herodotus, who visited Paros to make enquiries, makes the true motive of Miltiades an old grudge against a Parian citizen, who had accused him to the Persian satrap, Hydarnes. It was at Paros that Herodotus heard the story of the intrigue of Miltiades with the Parian priestess to betray the city, the supernatural terror which seized him on entering the precincts of the temple, and his breaking his leg by a fall in his hasty flight.

† Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iv. pp. 505, 506.

less openly to the former, in opposition to the democracy; the latter had thrown themselves into the arms of the people. The founder of the democratic constitution was Cleisthenes, the son of Megacles, the great opponent of Pisistratus. It was, therefore, natural that Miltiades, the former friend of the Pisistratids, should find an accuser in Xanthippus, who had married into the family of the Alcmæonids, and whose son Pericles afterwards governed the republic as the leader of the party of Cleisthenes. Nor is it improbable that such a leader would see in Miltiades the emulator of Pisistratus. Miltiades was brought to trial for his life before the popular court of the Heliæa, on the charge of deceiving the people. The victor of Marathon was borne into the court on a litter, unable to stand or speak in his own defence. His friends could only plead his unparalleled services in mitigation of his crime. His life was spared—not, it would seem, without difficulty; and he was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents. It has been supposed that this sum was the cost of the expedition; but Mr. Grote has pointed out the probability that it was the penalty assessed by the friends of Miltiades; for, in a public trial at Athens, if the defendant was found guilty, he was required to propose a penalty as an alternative to that named by the accuser in the indictment; and the judges were bound to pronounce one of these sentences, and no other. It was obviously for the defendant's interest to name a substantial penalty; for otherwise the court would feel insulted, and would at once vote the heavier punishment, as actually occurred in the case of Socrates. The later writers tell us that Miltiades, being unable to pay the fine, was thrown into prison, and there died; but of this Herodotus says nothing. All we know for certain is, that soon after the sentence, Miltiades died in consequence of his wound mortifying, and that the fine was paid by his son Cimon. The disastrous end of the great victor atoned for his faults, and his memory was held in deserved honour. His tomb is still to be seen upon the field itself; and the great picture of the battle in the Stoa Pœcile at Athens bore the inscription—

> "Miltiades, thy warlike deeds are to all Persians known;
> But still thy valour lasts for aye, enshrined at Marathon."

While Darius prepared to avenge his defeat by a new expedition of overwhelming magnitude, Athens started on the career which raised her to the maritime supremacy of Greece. The immediate impulse to this course was given by the fresh outbreak of that

feud with Ægina, which we have seen raging just before the Persian War. It became evident that Athens could only put down a rivalry which the position of Ægina so near her coast rendered doubly galling,* by becoming a maritime power of the first class. Among her chief resources were some very productive silver mines at Laurion, in the mountains of southern Attica, near Cape Sunium.† The state received from these mines a superfluity of wealth, which it had been proposed to divide among the poorer citizens. At this crisis Themistocles came forward with the proposition that the surplus should be employed in building 200 triremes. Moreover, he persuaded the Athenians to add twenty ships to their navy every year. He used the exigency of the Æginetan war as an argument for a provision which he saw would be soon needed to meet the fresh efforts of the Persian king. "Thus," says Herodotus, "the Æginetan war saved Greece by compelling the Athenians to make themselves a maritime power." The war went on irregularly till the common danger from Xerxes suspended mutual animosity, and the Æginetans fought at Salamis like the Athenians. It was not till B.C. 456 that Athens finally subdued her hated rival.

During the ten years' interval between the campaigns of Marathon and Salamis, the internal politics of Athens derive all their interest from the rivalry of Themistocles and Aristides. The striking contrast of character in these two statesmen belongs to the history, not of their own country merely, but of human nature. It was the rivalry of expediency and justice, of unscrupulous ability and high principle, of a policy in which self-interest coincided for a time with the public welfare, and an unselfish though mistaken patriotism. The politician who is unencumbered by principle has an unfettered choice among the expedients which he may have the genius to devise; and such genius was the most striking characteristic of Themistocles. In a celebrated passage, which defies translation, Thucydides describes him as neither slowly preparing for events by long forecasting of probabilities, nor learning by reflection on the past; but as meeting every emergency when it arose with an unfailing intuitive sagacity; and "by his natural power most able to extemporize what was needful."‡ His native genius formed the most striking contrast to

* The island of Ægina lies in the middle of the Saronic Gulf, between Attica and Argolis.

† A full account of these mines, and of the revenue derived from them, is given in Böckh's *Public Economy of Athens.*

‡ Thucyd. i. 138.

the elaborate training which the statesmen of the next generation, like Pericles, received from philosophers and rhetoricians. The first appearance of Themistocles in history agrees with this view of his character. Having been just mentioned at Marathon, he is seen immediately afterwards devising and carrying through that policy which alone could save Greece from the Persian, and raise his own state to the supremacy.

Of this policy the chief opponent was Aristides, whom we have seen acting as a general at Marathon, and who was archon for the following year (B.C. 489-8). Far less ready in invention, and slower to perceive the changes passing round him, he could not see that any innovation was needed on the old policy of training the citizens as heavy-armed soldiers and trusting them to meet an invader who dared to set foot on their soil, as they had met him at Marathon. Aristides probably looked forward with distrust to those consequences which we shall soon see that a maritime policy involved—the grasping at extensive empire abroad, and the decay of a military spirit at home. It must not, however, be supposed that Aristides belonged to the reactionary or oligarchical party. He had been the friend of Cleisthenes, on whose reformed constitution he took his stand, firmly resisting the innovations of a younger generation. As the counsels of his rival prevailed, Thucydides has not given us a sketch of Aristides, which we should have valued as a parallel to that of Themistocles. But the master's hand was hardly so much needed to trace the outlines of a character whose great feature was that simplicity of integrity which called forth the eulogies of Herodotus and Plato, and which is depicted in the sketches of Plutarch and other late writers. The surname of "the Just" at once expressed the esteem in which he was held at Athens, and roused not only the hostility of the rogues who felt his justice, but the jealousy and dislike with which common-place minds always regard superior merit. The story is true to nature that, when the vote of ostracism was being taken, an unlettered citizen, not knowing Aristides, asked him to write for him on the shell. "And what name shall I write?" "ARISTIDES." "And pray what wrong has Aristides done you?" "Oh, none; but I am tired of hearing him always called the JUST." Aristides made no reply, but wrote the name. His own disgust for the party conflict in which he was involved with Themistocles was expressed by the saying that, if the Athenians were wise, they would throw them both into the Barathrum. The ostracism of Aristides took place in B.C. 483 or 482; and

he was only recalled from his exile in Ægina when the battle of Salamis was at hand. Thus far the career of the two leaders might seem to be an exception to the proverb—that "honesty is the best policy;" but their subsequent fortunes illustrate the sounder form of the same proverb—"Honesty lasts longest." The history of the other Greek states is a blank for the interval of ten years between the two great acts of the Persian wars.

It is time to ask why so long a respite was allowed to the Greeks. Darius, indignant at a second failure, had resolved to lead the whole force of his empire in person against Greece. His vast preparations occupied three years, and were just completed when the revolt of Egypt claimed his first attention (B.C. 486), and in the following year he died (B.C. 485). Egypt was subdued by the generals of Xerxes in the second year of his reign; and the young king was at liberty to carry out his father's designs. But the change in the ruler of Persia had made a vast difference in the prospects of Greece. Xerxes, the eldest son of Darius by his second wife, Atossa, had obtained his designation to the crown during his father's lifetime, in preference to his elder half-brothers. In personal beauty and stately bearing, he was the fairest among the many myriads he gathered for the expedition against Greece; but in all else he proved how a noble race might be corrupted in one generation by the training of the seraglio. Vain and fickle, blinded by conceit and passion, and jealous of good advice, he was such a leader as the Greeks might have desired to be set over their enemies. Nor did he show at first any zeal for the enterprise; but his cousin, Mardonius, eager to gratify his own ambition and to wipe out his former disgrace, tempted him with the conquest of Europe, which he represented as no less fertile than Asia. The family of the Aleuads came from Thessaly to Susa to invite him to march against Greece. The Pisistratids produced a seer, named Onomacritus, to stimulate him with garbled prophecies, which told of the bridging of the Hellespont and the march of a Persian host to conquer Greece; while all the ancient predictions of disaster were studiously kept back.

As soon as the Egyptian rebellion was suppressed, Xerxes summoned the great council of the empire, and announced his plans. The occasion is seized by Herodotus to put the arguments for and against the enterprise into the mouths of Mardonius, the king's cousin, and Artabanus, his uncle, as the representatives of his evil and good genius. The latter prevailed for the time, but repeated dreams forced Xerxes on, and compelled Artabanus to withdraw

his opposition. Thus the events that followed were seen to be by the appointment of the gods, to chastise the overweening prosperity and arrogance of the Persian power.* It was not enough for Xerxes to collect an armament sufficient for the conquest of Greece; he resolved to overwhelm Europe with a force such as the world had never seen gathered together. Edicts went forth from Susa, commanding the satraps to muster all their troops, and to provide supplies of every kind in vast abundance. "The whole of Asia," says the historian, "rang with the din of arms," and the prophecy of Daniel concerning the fourth king of Persia was fulfilled:—"By his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia." † It is for the poet, rather than the historian, to attempt a vivid description of the dress and accoutrements, the aspects and manners, of the myriads who flocked together, from the banks of the Indus to the confines of Thessaly, from the deserts of Scythia to the sands of Libya, to the appointed rendezvous at Critala in Cappadocia.

In the autumn of B. C. 481, Xerxes arrived from Susa, and led his mighty host to Sardis, there to spend the winter, while other preparations were making for his march to Europe. His plan of campaign resembled, not that of Datis and Artaphernes, but that of Mardonius, only on an immense scale. It would have been impossible to transport so vast a host across the Ægæan; and as Thrace and Macedonia, as well as the islands, now belonged to Xerxes, the whole march lay through his own territory. Magazines of provisions were prepared at stations along the whole coast from the Hellespont to the Strymonic Gulf. A fleet of 1207 ships was collected in the ports of Phœnicia, Caria, Ionia, the Hellespont, and Thrace.

Meanwhile two gigantic engineering works were undertaken, in order to facilitate the march, the bridging of the Hellespont, and the cutting of a channel through the peninsula of Mount Athos. It is needless to relate the oft-told story of the former undertaking —how the first bridge of boats was scattered by a storm; how the blind fury of the despot scourged the Hellespont, and affected to chain it with the fetters which its waves swallowed up;‡ and how

* See the admirable remarks of Mr. Grote on this religious conception of history, common both to Greeks and Persians, and perpetually colouring the narrative of Herodotus. *History of Greece*, chap. xxxviii., beginning.

† Daniel xi. 2. The conquest of Persia by Alexander is represented in this prophecy as the sequel to the expedition of Xerxes; and such it was, morally and politically, in spite of the interval of 150 years.

‡ None can fail to mark the contrast to the pious modesty of Canute.

the engineers, taught by the decapitation of their predecessors, linked the European and Asiatic shores by two broad causeways resting on ships, one for the soldiers and the other for the baggage. The ship canal through Mount Athos was intended to guard against such risks as had befallen the fleet of Mardonius in doubling its stormy cape. But Herodotus observes that it was a work as much of ostentation as utility, for it would have been easier to have drawn the ships across the isthmus.* This may account for the fact that the canal was not kept in repair; while the convenience of land travellers caused a space of about 200 yards in the centre to be filled up, as is seen from its present state. It scarcely needed the accurate observations of modern travellers to confirm the testimony of Herodotus and Thucydides to the execution of the work; and modern distrust of historic evidence is perhaps less excusable than the incredulous prejudice of the Roman satirist:—

> "Creditur olim
> Velificatus Athos, et quidquid Græcia mendax
> Audet in historia."†

The sight of the soldiers of Xerxes labouring under the lash gave the Greeks a keen foretaste of what they might expect from the Persian yoke.

Xerxes set out from Sardis, in the spring of B.C. 480, with the combined pomp of a royal progress and of an anticipated triumph. The beasts of burthen and the baggage led the way. The army was divided into two columns; and between them rode the monarch in his chariot, preceded by the sacred chariot of Auramazda,‡ and surrounded by his chosen body-guard of horse and foot, and the 10,000 infantry called the "Immortals." Herodotus indicates the pell-mell confusion in which the rear division followed. This part of the force at least must have been a mob, rather than an army, good for nothing but to plunder in

* The implied testimony of Herodotus to the common practice of those times is important; but we may be allowed to doubt whether he was not thinking rather of the light triremes than the ponderous storeships and transports. The width of the isthmus is 2500 yards, and its surface is nowhere higher than 15 feet above the sea; while, both towards the continent and the peninsula, the hills rise abruptly to 800 or 1000 feet. The width of the canal seems to have been 18 or 20 feet. The soil is a light clay. An interesting contribution is made by Herodotus to the history of engineering, when he tells us that the Phœnicians, alone of all the nations that laboured on the work, had the skill to commence on a scale wider than the intended breadth, so that the sides should not fall in as they dug down.

† Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 174.

‡ Herodotus, as on other occasions, says Jove.

the wake of the main body. The whip was freely used to get them across the bridges of the Hellespont, the passage of which occupied seven days and nights without cessation. As Xerxes overlooked the scene from a marble throne, he is said to have wept at the thought that, in a hundred years, not one man of all these myriads would survive. He little thought how much shorter was the term within which this vast instrument of his power was to be broken in his hands. Many are the picturesque incidents of the setting-forth of the expedition, mingled with omens of its fate, for which we must be content to refer to the graphic pages of Herodotus.

The river Hebrus, which drains the great inland basin of Thrace between the chains of Hæmus and Rhodope, forms at its mouth a vast plain, which was named after the town of Doriscus. Here Xerxes, having been joined by his fleet, held a review of the whole armament, which, like the miser's money in the proverb, had to be *measured* in order to count it. The space in which 10,000 men could stand, when closely packed, was made the measure of the whole multitude. The result, according to Herodotus, presented the astounding numbers of 1,700,000 infantry, 80,000 cavalry, and 20,000 men who went with the camels and war-chariots. The 1207 triremes had each a crew of 200 rowers, and 30 fighting men, and there were 3000 smaller vessels, the crews of which averaged eighty a-piece, making a total of 517,610 men on board the ships. The combined force which Xerxes led from Asia is thus estimated at 2,317,610 men; and the subject countries of Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly added 300,000 men, and 120 triremes, manned by 24,000 sailors, making an aggregate of 2,641,610. These, Herodotus expressly tells us, were the fighting men; and he calculates the slaves, attendants, and hangers-on at a still greater number, so that the whole host would not fall far short of FIVE MILLIONS AND A HALF! We know not what results might follow from applying to these numbers the method of curious arithmetical criticism. On the one hand, we may be sure that Herodotus wrote from the best information he could obtain; he proves that great pains were taken to ascertain the numbers;* and they agree tolerably well with the time said to have been occupied in passing the Hellespont: on the other, one cannot doubt that the numbers were exaggerated to gratify the vanity of Xerxes; and the difficulty of feeding such a host is sufficient to

* The Persian royal scribes attended the king to note all the memorable incidents of the campaign.

discredit the calculation. Still, the immense preparations made to meet this very difficulty confirm the general conclusion, that the army of Xerxes was probably the greatest ever set in motion in ancient or modern times. Again and again are we told that it comprised the whole force of the empire, which Æschylus represents as drained of men by its destruction.* Calculated as these vast numbers were to inspire a vague terror, they quite overpassed the limit of military efficiency. The ostentation of Xerxes had gone far to secure his defeat; and Demaratus, the exiled king of Lacedæmon, is said to have warned him, on the very field of Doriscus, that the Spartans at least would not submit without a deadly struggle.

While this deluge of barbarian power rolls round the shores of the Ægæan, where the Greek cities were ruined in preparing meals for Xerxes and his retinue, let us turn to see how his approach was regarded by the Greeks. We can only notice the events directly connected with the invasion; many interesting points relating to the internal history of the several states, such as the madness and death of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, must be left to the historians of Greece. While Xerxes wintered at Sardis, he sent heralds through the Greek states to demand earth and water. The significant exception of Sparta as well as Athens proved the wide scope of the expedition, and united both the leading states in concerting measures of defence. They summoned a congress at the isthmus of Corinth, the first great Panhellenic union since the Trojan War; though the prevailing fear of Persia kept many of the states away. It began its work in a truly national spirit, by reconciling the Grecian states that were at variance, Athens and Ægina in particular. Envoys were next sent to the cities which still stood aloof, and which were so numerous as to indicate a deep and general discouragement. This feeling was increased by the return of the spies who had been sent to Sardis, and whom Xerxes dismissed, after showing them the full magnitude of his armaments. The envoys sent to the great maritime states brought back disheartening replies. Crete sheltered her neutrality under an oracle. Corcyra promised a fleet of sixty vessels, but kept them cruising on the western coast of Peloponnesus, to await the issue of the first conflict. Gelo, the tyrant of Syracuse, now probably the most powerful Hellenic state, is said to have claimed the supreme command, a condition

* Mr. Grote has discussed the whole question with his usual exhaustive ability. (*History of Greece*, chap. xxxviii.)

which neither Athens nor Sparta had the folly to admit. In fact he had upon his own hands a war only second to the Persian in danger to the common interests of Greece.* In the heart of Peloponnesus, the Argives could not bring themselves to imitate the patriotic submission of Athens to the leadership of Sparta: they were even suspected of a secret understanding with Persia. Nearly all Northern Greece, except Athens and Phocis, abandoned the common cause. Thebes only waited the approach of Xerxes to submit, and she was followed by all the cities of Bœotia, except Thespiæ, and Platæa, faithful as ever to the Athenian alliance. Even the Delphic oracle prophesied terrible calamities to the Athenians, and bade them fly far from their devoted land and city. Dreading to carry back such an answer, the envoys placed themselves as suppliants before the god, and it was then that they received the celebrated response, which taught them to look for safety in their *wooden walls*, and named SALAMIS as the destined scene of a great slaughter. The following literal translation preserves something of the ruggedness of the original verses:—

"Pallas can not th' Olympian Jove appease
With oft-repeated prayers and crafty wiles;
But hear thou yet this word, as firm as adamant:—
When all is lost that lies within the bounds
Of Cecrops and divine Cithæron's caves,
Wide-seeing Jove still grants the Triton-born†
The wooden wall to save thee and thy sons.
Abide not then the cavalry and hosts
Of foot, advancing from the continent;
But turn thy back, and live to fight again.
Thou too, O Salamis divine, the sons
Of women shalt destroy, when Ceres' corn
Is cast abroad, or gathered from the ground.‡

Strange as the prophecy sounds after the event, the statement of Herodotus leave no doubt that it was actually delivered, and that it was warmly discussed at Athens; in fact, every great public event was heralded by predictions which passed from mouth to mouth, as Thucydides expressly tells us in the case of the Peloponnesian war; nor were the professional expositors of prophecy silent at such times. They were puzzled to interpret the wooden wall—some contending for the palisade which had of old fenced the Acropolis; but most hit the mark designed by those who doubtless procured the oracle, and whose policy had provided

* See below, p. 401.
† An epithet of Athena.
‡ That is, either in the spring or the autumn.

the very wooden walls which were now pointed out as a refuge.* But the prophets proposed to use the ships for flight rather than resistance, urging that the oracle pointed to Salamis as the scene of a great disaster. "Yes!" rejoined Themistocles, "a slaughter of the enemies of Greece, for which Salamis shall ever bear the epithet given to it in the oracle—the *divine*." In short, this master of statecraft persuaded the Athenians, by his artifice and his eloquence, to the most momentous decision ever adopted, at the price of the greatest sacrifice ever made by a nation. They resolved that, on the approach of the invader, they would abandon their lands and villages, and the very city of Athena, and embark, as an entire people, not to seek a distant home, like the Phocæans, but, having deposited their wives and children in Salamis, they would abide the enemy between the land that they had lost and the island that contained all they had still left, to conquer if they could, or to perish if they must. Their resolution saved the liberties of Greece and of the West.

But Northern Greece was not to be abandoned without a struggle; and pressing circumstances called on the congress to make an effort for its defence. The Thessalians, well knowing that the success of Xerxes would rivet the yoke of the Aleuads on their necks, proposed that a stand should be made in the pass of Tempe, the great gorge through which the Peneius escapes at the north-east corner of the plain of Thessaly. For a distance of about four miles and a half, the foot-hills of Olympus on the one side and the precipices of Ossa on the other enclose a defile not so wide in some parts as a hundred yards, the savage grandeur of which is well described by its modern name of *Lycostomo*, the *Wolf's Mouth*. The road made by the Romans is in one place pent up to a width of thirteen feet; but in the time of Xerxes no

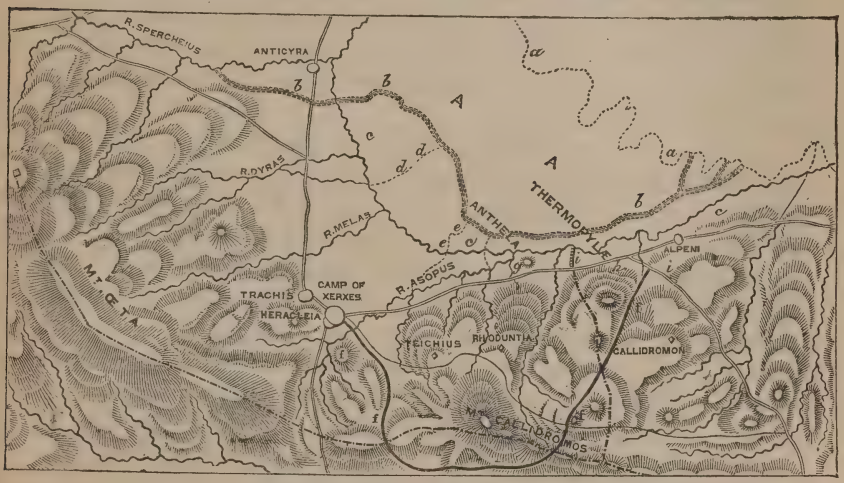
* The reader will have seen before now that we reject the theory which attributes to the oracles any supernatural knowledge, from whatever source derived. Without entering into the full argument, it is enough to say, first, that the facts on which such a theory is based are either insufficiently made out, or capable of explanation by collusion or otherwise; and, secondly, that the studied ambiguity of the responses is a confession of ignorance. It is a common error to suppose that an imposture can only be unmasked by explaining every case of its exercise; but this is superfluous, if the credit of the pretender is broken down by a few decisive tests. In the case before us, however, there can be but little difficulty in tracing the response to the inspiration of Themistocles, whose plan of campaign may from the first have marked the bay of Salamis as the scene of the decisive naval combat. Whether the first part of the response was designed to frighten the Athenians into obedience, or whether the oracle had to earn, by a double answer, wages received from both parties, is of comparatively little importance.

such aid subdued the difficulties of the pass; and a few determined men might have kept a host at bay. The Congress sent 10,000 men, the bulk of their disposable force, to hold the pass; but it was found that Xerxes could land an army in the rear; and they were informed by Alexander, king of Macedonia, of another pass over the range of Olympus, by which the position could be turned. This latter was the very route by which Alexander afterwards guided Xerxes into Thessaly; and the Greeks probably understood the professedly friendly warning as a hint of his intention. They gave up the defence of Tempe, and returned by sea to the isthmus about the time that Xerxes crossed the Hellespont.

The retreat from Tempe sealed the defection of the northern states, some of which had already made their submission. All Thessaly was at once lost; and, as the occupation of Thermopylæ was not yet suggested, the line of defence seemed thrown back to Mount Cithæron, which forms a sort of outwork, covering the isthmus of Corinth. All the states north of that boundary, except Phocis and the two Bœotian cities of Thespiæ and Platæa, sent in their submission to Xerxes on his arrival at the Gulf of Therma. They were compelled to send contingents to swell his force; and the Thessalians especially, given back to the Aleuads, and indignant at being deserted, were zealous in the cause of Persia.

This defection did but stimulate Athens and Sparta, with the few faithful allies in Peloponnesus, to more concentrated efforts. Their unconquerable spirit was expressed by a solemn engagement to punish the seceders in due time, and by a resolution not even yet to let go their hold upon the north. To understand the ever memorable campaign that followed, we must bear in mind the mode of progress necessarily adopted by Xerxes. His army and fleet, so to speak, leant upon each other. It was alike essential for his march to keep near the coast and for the fleet to hug the shore, as they advanced southwards from the Gulf of Therma. Nature has provided a spot singularly fitted for a stand against a combined armament advancing in this manner. South of Thessaly the eastern half of Greece is deeply indented by a hollow which runs far inland between the chains of Othrys on the north and Œta on the south. The upper part of this hollow forms the valley of the Spercheius: its lower part the Maliac Gulf, in the mouth of which the northern end of Eubœa lies like a wedge. Unless the fleet were to separate from the army, by passing outside of Eubœa, it must enter the Maliac Gulf through the strait between Thessaly and Eubœa, which is less than five miles wide.

The course of the army round the Maliac Gulf and down the coast of Locris lay through the pass of THERMOPYLÆ (the *Gate of the Hot Springs*), often called simply *Pylæ* (the Gates), between Mount Œta and an impassable morass, which the small rivers running down its sides formed on the sea-shore. A glance at the map will show the nature of the position better than whole pages of description.



MAP OF THERMOPYLÆ AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY.

AA. Alluvial deposits.
aa. Present line of coast.
bb. Present course of the Spercheius.
cc. Ancient line of coast.
dd. Present course of the Dyras.
ee. Present course of the Asopus.
ff. Track of the Persians under Hydarnes.
g. Hot springs at the western entrance, or the false Thermopylæ.
h. Hot springs at the eastern entrance, or the real Thermopylæ.
i. Phocian wall.

The Congress resolved to avail themselves of this double position of defence both by sea and land. Their whole fleet was despatched, under the Spartan Eurybiades, to the roadstead of Artemisium, on the north coast of Eubœa. But, as on the eve of Marathon, a religious scruple interfered with the defence of Thermopylæ. The Olympic games and the great Dorian festival of the Carneia were both close at hand, and the latter imposed an obligation to abstain from offensive military operations. It was hoped that the strength of the pass would enable a small force to keep the Persians at bay till the festivals were over; and so Leonidas, who had succeeded his brother Cleomenes as King of Sparta, was sent with 300 Spartans, 2120 Arcadians, 400 Corinthians, 200 men from Phlius, and 80 from Mycenæ—in all, 3100 Peloponnesian hoplites, besides Helots and other light troops. On the march through Bœotia,

Thespiæ sent them an addition of 700 heavy-armed men; and even Thebes, though on the point of submitting to Xerxes, furnished 400 men to the requisition of Leonidas. The Athenians had put their whole force on board their ships, and the Platæans served with them, though till now ignorant of the sea. On his arrival at Thermopylæ, Leonidas summoned to his aid the Phocians and the Opuntian Locrians. The former sent him a force of 1000 men; the latter, afraid to disobey, or desiring to wipe out the disgrace of having sent earth and water to Xerxes, joined Leonidas with their whole force.*

It was about midsummer B.C. 480, and when Xerxes had reached Therma, that the Greek fleet and army set out for their allotted posts. The position taken up by Leonidas was in the middle of the pass, where two openings, each so narrow as scarcely to leave room for a single carriage, were separated by a wider space of about a mile in length.† The eastern or hindmost of these openings was the true Thermopylæ. Here the Phocians had formerly built a wall, besides taking other means to increase the difficulty of the pass, in order to keep off the inroads of the Thessalians. Leonidas repaired this wall, and took up his station behind it, having in his front, first, the broken ground of the pass, and then the little plain, shut in at the western end by the second or "false" Thermopylæ. This western pass does not appear to have been occupied by Leonidas, but it served to coop up the van of the antagonists within a space far too narrow to allow support from their main army. Thus far the pass was absolutely impregnable, when held by such men as the Spartans and their allies, unless the Persian fleet should enter the Euboic sea, and land an army in the rear, or means should be found of turning the position on the land side; and the Peloponnesians might keep their festivals, as the Constantinopolitans long afterwards wrangled over their texts, with all Asia thundering at their gates. Unhappily, if we may use such a word where the issue was so glorious, a wild path led up from Trachis, where Xerxes presently pitched his camp, over the wooded crest of Œta, descending to the Locrian town of Alpeni, in the rear of Thermopylæ. This path was unknown to Leonidas until his arrival; and now he had cause bitterly to regret the scruples which made his strength so small. Another

* It was even said that the Locrians had promised to seize the pass for Xerxes, but their design was anticipated by the advance of Leonidas.

† The past tense is used strictly, on account of the great alterations since caused by the Spercheius.

such army might have made the mountain path as safe as the gates themselves. What, then, if the 8000 citizens of Sparta had been with him? The best he could do was to trust the defence of the path to the Phocians, who knew the ground, and volunteered for the service. Thus Leonidas and his little army of 10,000 men* found themselves in the very position which had seemed so dangerous at Tempe, and the Peloponnesian troops began to talk of falling back upon the isthmus, their last line of defence; but the indignant remonstrances of the Phocians and Locrians helped Leonidas to keep the allies to their post, while he despatched urgent demands for reinforcements.

Much now depended on the fleet, which was stationed at Artemisium, under Eurybiades. It consisted of 271 triremes (besides a few smaller vessels), of which 100 were furnished by Athens, besides 20 lent by her to the Chalcidians, 40 by Corinth, 20 by Megara, 18 by Ægina, 12 by Sicyon, and 10 by Lacedæmon.† The Athenian ships were commanded by Themistocles, the Corinthian by Adimantus. Three triremes were sent to reconnoitre the Persian fleet, which still lay in the Gulf of Therma; and their capture by ten Persian ships, which had sailed out on a like errand, formed the first collision of the war. A panic seized the Grecian fleet, which abandoned its all-important post, and fell back to the narrowest part of the Euripus, off Chalcis, leaving Thermopylæ uncovered, just about the time that Xerxes, having been guided from Therma by the Macedonians and Thessalians, encamped off the entrance to the pass.

And now for the first time during his progress Xerxes was visited by that divine rebuke of overweening arrogance, in which the Greeks so stedfastly believed. His fleet, on the report of the ten ships that the Thessalian coast was clear, set sail from the Gulf of Therma eleven days after the king had begun his land march, and advanced, in one long day's voyage, down the iron-bound coast of Magnesia, to the open beach of Sepias Acte.‡ Some of

* This is a rough estimate, including the light-armed troops.

† These numbers show in a very interesting manner the distribution of naval force among the chief maritime states. The remaining triremes were—8 Epidaurian, 7 Eretrian, 5 Troezenian, 2 from Styrus in Eubœa, and 2 from the island of Ceos. The 9 "penteconters" (vessels propelled by 50 oars in one rank, 25 on each side) were furnished by Ceos and the Opuntian Locrians.

‡ This part of the coast is lined by the precipices of Mount Pelion. The long peninsula running out to the south, and finally bending round to the west, encloses the Pagasæan bay. The promontory of Sepias is at the S.E. point of this peninsula, just opposite to the N.E. point of Eubœa. Aphetæ, the subsequent station of the

the ships were drawn up on shore, and the rest were crowded at anchor in the roadstead, when a furious storm burst full upon the coast, and raged for three days and nights. Four hundred ships of war and innumerable transports were cast away, with a frightful loss of life and stores. On the fourth day the Persian admiral carried round the shattered remnant of his fleet to the roadstead of Aphetæ, opposite to Artemisium. The Greeks, on hearing of the disaster, plucked up courage, returned to their old station, and captured fifteen stray ships of the enemy.

Xerxes meanwhile lay encamped at Trachis, awaiting the appearance of his fleet. Any serious resistance from the handful of Greeks who occupied the pass did not enter into his calculations. So at least Herodotus informs us; but while we are bound to repeat the story the great historian has told, we must bear in mind the poetical complexion of his narrative. "Though we read thus in Herodotus, it is hardly possible to believe that we are reading historical reality; we rather find laid out before us a picture of human self-conceit in its most exaggerated form, ripe for the stroke of the jealous gods, and destined, like the interview between Crœsus and Solon, to point and enforce that moral which was ever present to the mind of the historian, whose religious and poetical imagination, even unconsciously to himself, surrounds the naked facts of history with accompaniments of speech and motive which neither Homer nor Æschylus would have deemed unsuitable." * And yet we must not forget, on the other hand, how much of the inner spirit of history is revealed only by a writer who unites the genius of a poet to the research of a chronicler. It required imaginative power to bring out the oriental element of exaggeration in the facts themselves.

Four days of expectation exhausted the king's patience, the more that his curiosity was vehemently excited. A horseman, whom he had sent to espy the pass, reported that he had seen the Spartans of the advanced guard, in front of the wall, practising their gymnastic exercises as if no enemy were near; and once more the king heard with incredulity from Demaratus, what sort of a foe he had to deal with. On the fifth day he sent the Median and Cissian divisions with the simple order to bring the rebels into his presence. The Medes advanced, eager to blot out the disgrace of which they had borne the chief share at Marathon; but again they encountered the serried phalanx of long spears in the grasp

Persian fleet, lies further west, after rounding the headland, and just at the entrance of the Pagasæan bay.

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. v., pp. 116-7.

of warriors whose broad shields and full panoply were less invulnerable than the courage that armed their hearts, and whose steady ranks and narrow front made numbers of no avail. The wicker shields and tunics of the Medes were as useless for defence as their short spears for attack, and the storm of arrows from the rear rattled vainly on the surrounding rocks. Their repulse, with murderous slaughter, was shared by the guard of Immortals on the following day. Xerxes, who sat in state at the mouth of the pass, to receive the expected prisoners, thrice gave vent to his terror for his army by starting from his throne.

It was at this crisis that the secret of the pass over Mount Œta was revealed to Xerxes by a Malian named Ephialtes.* Hydarnes, despatched about nightfall with a body of Persian troops, easily dispersed the Phocians, and descended into the rear of Thermopylæ shortly after noon. The news of their betrayal had reached the Greeks in time for them to retreat, and we might suppose that a position now untenable might have been abandoned even with glory after such a defence. But the Spartans had another code of honour. Neither general nor soldier might yield his post to the most overwhelming numbers, and what we call the useless sacrifice of life was to them a simple act of duty. The glory of Leonidas and his three hundred Spartan citizens consisted, not in a deed of extraordinary self-sacrifice, but in standing faithful, in the hour of extreme trial, to the ordinary discipline of Sparta. As Demaratus told Xerxes over their dead bodies, there were 8000 citizens left, each ready to do the same. No such stringent law was binding on the other Greeks, and the Peloponnesians in particular might live to do good service behind the ramparts of the isthmus. Well knowing how the great example of heroism, which Greece sorely needed, would be tarnished by the presence of a craven spirit, Leonidas, like another leader of Three Hundred against a host,† ordered the allies to retire. His command was seconded by the prophet Megistias, who sent away his only son, but persisted in staying to share the sacrifice he had predicted. There still remained the 700 Thespians, who would not survive their city, now laid open to the invader; and, strange to say, the 400 Thebans, who may have deemed surrender on the battle-field their best policy.‡ The 300 Spartans were, of course, attended by their Helots.

* The Amphictyons set a price upon his head after the repulse of the invasion, and he was slain by a private enemy.

† Gideon: Judges vii.

‡ See Mr. Grote's criticism of the statement of Herodotus, that they were detained by Leonidas as hostages. (*History of Greece*, vol. v., pp. 122-3). We are not, how-

The main attack of the Persians was delayed till noon, to give time for Hydarnes to complete the circuit of the mountain-path. Leonidas and his Thousand left their rampart, and came forward into the wider plain, resolved to crown their own sacrifice by the immolation of as many barbarians as possible. Their resistless charge on the crowd of Asiatics, hemmed in by the second pass behind them, forced numbers into the sea and the morass, while numbers more were trampled down by the fresh hosts who were driven forward by the whips of the Persian officers. At length the Grecian spears were broken, and Leonidas himself was killed. Sword in hand, they fought over his body, like the heroes on the plain of Ilium for the corpse of Sarpedon or Patroclus. Four times did the Greeks repulse the utmost efforts of the enemy, killing two brothers of Xerxes, with many Persian nobles. The Spartans at length carried off the body of their king. The force led by Ephialtes over the mountain path was now seen approaching, and the Greeks retired behind the shelter of the wall. And now the Thebans, seeing that all was lost, advanced in the attitude of suppliants, exclaiming that they had been among the first to give earth and water to the king. They were admitted to surrender, but their bodies were branded to mark them as royal slaves. The exhausted remnant posted themselves in a close body upon a hillock in the entrance of the narrow pass. Few had swords or daggers left; the rest still fought with hands and teeth. The barbarians at length pulled down a large portion of the wall, and, pouring round them on all sides, overwhelmed them beneath a shower of missiles. They were slain to the last man, Thespians as well as Spartans. When Xerxes came to view the slain, his first transport of rage at the enormous slaughter vented itself, contrary to the Persian custom, in insults on the body of Leonidas, whose head he ordered to be cut off, and his body to be hung upon a cross. The other Greeks were buried where they fell, and monuments were afterwards erected to them on the battle-field by the Amphictyons. One, in honour of all who fell during the whole defence, bore the inscription:—

"Here did four thousand men from Pelops' land
Against three hundred myriads bravely stand."

A second commemorated the Three Hundred Spartans—

"Go, stranger, and to Lacedæmon tell
That here, obeying her behests, we fell."

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ever, precluded from the more generous hypothesis, that the Thebans were the faithful representatives of the *Anti-Medizing* minority in their city.

The seer Megistias was honoured by his warm friend, Simonides, with a separate pillar and epitaph—

"The great Megistias' tomb you here may view,
Whom slew the Medes, fresh from Spercheius' fords;
Well the wise seer the coming death foreknew,
Yet scorned he to forsake his Spartan lords."

On the hillock where the last stand was made, a marble lion was erected to the memory of Leonidas; and the allusion to his name, in the emblem chosen for his monument, is pointed by an epigram doubtfully ascribed to Simonides. We still possess the following fragment of a lyric ode, composed by the same great poet to the glory of the heroes of Thermopylæ :—

"Of those who at Thermopylæ were slain
Glorious the doom, and beautiful the lot;
Their tomb an altar: men from tears refrain,
To honour them, and praise but mourn them not.
Such sepulchre nor drear decay
Nor all-destroying time shall waste—this right have they.
Within their grave the home-bred glory
Of Greece was laid; this witness gives
Leonidas, the Spartan, in whose story
A wreath of famous virtue ever lives."*

The individual names of the Three Hundred became familiar to the Greeks; Herodotus knew them all, and the traveller Pausanias saw them six hundred years later inscribed on a pillar at Sparta.

Well did they deserve the highest honours from the gratitude of their country, and the admiration of freemen in every age. At a crisis when the few states that had not bowed to the despot were trembling for their fate, their example was a pledge of the issue of the conflict—

"For Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,†
Though baffled oft, is ever won."

Many a wavering resolution must have been fixed by the sense of shame, forbidding to desert the cause baptized with the blood of

* Translated by Sterling. The three former translations are from Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, book vii., chap. 228.

† The literal application of this to the Three Hundred Spartans is a very interesting fact. Herodotus tells us that Leonidas chose for the Three Hundred, men of mature age, and who had sons. "In selecting men for a dangerous service, the Spartans took by preference those who already had families. If such a man was slain, he left behind him a son to discharge his duties to the state, and to maintain the continuity of the family sacred rites, the extinction of which was considered as a great misfortune. In our ideas, the life of the father of a family in mature age would be considered as of more value, and his death a greater loss, than that of a younger and unmarried man." Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. v., p. 100.

Leonidas, or to leave him and his comrades unavenged. The slaughter of the Persians was an offering due to their Manes; the freedom of Greece a reward owing to their devotion. In that freedom were involved the liberties of the whole world; and the Locrian pass deserved, in the most literal sense, the description which has been used as a figure, "The Thermopylæ of the Universe."

Their glory was contrasted by the disgrace of one solitary survivor. Two Spartans, Eurytus and Aristodemus, were detained at the village of Alpeni by severe ophthalmia during the first days of the contest. When news was brought that the fatal hour was at hand, the former called for his armour, and, supplying the loss of sight by the guidance of his Helot, stood and fell in his place. The latter, too weak in body or resolution to follow the example, was carried back to Sparta by the Greeks who left the field, and only wiped away the infamy which was heaped upon him as "the coward Aristodemus," by a glorious death at Platæa in the following year.

Meanwhile the sacrifice of Leonidas might seem to have been made in vain. During the contest at Thermopylæ, the fleet which had returned to Artemisium had been kept there only by the use of unsparing bribery among the Peloponnesian commanders by Themistocles, with money supplied by the Eubœans. The two indecisive battles which ensued at Artemisium taught the Greeks that they could fight on at least equal terms with the Phœnician, Egyptian, and Carian mariners, who formed the chief strength of the Persian fleet; and a second great storm dashed to pieces, on the rocks of Eubœa, a detachment of 200 ships which had been sent round the island to take the Greek navy in the rear. The loss of Thermopylæ of course rendered the continuance of the Grecian fleet at Eubœa useless as well as doubly dangerous, and they retired through the Euboic channel to the bay of Salamis. On every conspicuous headland Themistocles set up inscriptions, entreating the Ionians not to fight against their countrymen, not so much in the hope of gaining them over, as of weakening the Persian navy by the working of suspicion.

The whole of Northern Greece now lay defenceless before the invader; and, had Xerxes followed the advice of Demaratus, the Isthmus of Corinth would have proved a vain defence for Peloponnesus. It was directly after the slaughter of the Three Hundred at Thermopylæ, that Xerxes consulted the exiled king as to what he might expect from the compatriots of such men, and what would be

the least difficult way of subduing their resistance. Demaratus advised him to send part of his fleet to seize the island of Cythera, as a station from which to assault the coasts of Laconia, and so to recall the Spartans from the defence of the Isthmus. But Xerxes was strongly urged by his brother Achæmenes not to divide his fleet, already weakened by the two great storms, but to keep the whole campaign under his own eye. No prompt effort was even made to pursue the Grecian fleet.

The Greeks had waited the event of the stand at Thermopylæ and Artemisium. No advance had been made even when the festivals were over, nor had the succours been despatched which the Spartans had promised to send into Bœotia to cover Athens; and now their alarm was in proportion to their previous supineness. All the wavering states of the north, and those which had already sent in their submission secretly, sided openly with Xerxes. Thebes opened her arms to a detachment under Demaratus, and the other Bœotian cities received garrisons, still with the exception of the two faithful states. The Thespians fled to the Peloponnesians behind the Isthmus; the Platæans landed from the Athenian ships in the Euripus, only to remove their families and reëmbark in the bay of Salamis. The Peloponnesians abandoned the hope of naval resistance, and set to work with all their might to fortify the Isthmus. The Athenians lay naked to the vengeance which had been aimed first of all at them. Though they had accepted the extreme measures proposed by Themistocles, they seem to have trusted that the necessity would not arise, until their fleet cast anchor at Phalerum, then the port of Athens. Xerxes might be expected at Athens in six days. As soon as an assembly could be convened, the edict was published throughout Attica, that homesteads must be dismantled, property abandoned, and every family must embark as speedily as possible. We should attempt in vain to depict the agony of the sacrifice; the misery suffered by the aged and infirm, the women and the children; the despair of ever revisiting their homes; the desolation to which they returned at last.* No wonder that some of the poorest class still sought a despairing refuge behind the "wooden wall" of the Acropolis, and made their interpretation of the oracle more literal by a timber barricade at the western entrance. But the guardian goddess of the city† gave an omen that she, too, had flitted from

* Three times in modern history the scene has been repeated in Attica.

† Athena Polias. In her ancient sanctuary on the Acropolis a serpent was sup-

her temple; and Themistocles ceased not to remind the people that the oracle had promised safety behind their wooden walls. That all might be united at such a crisis, he himself proposed the recall of Aristides. Cimon, the son of Miltiades, acted in full concert with Xanthippus, his accuser; and the liberality of the wealthy vied with the wise measures of the state in providing for the support of the fleet and the maintenance of the poorer citizens. The voluntary exiles found refuge, some at Ægina, most at Troezen, on the opposite coast of Peloponnesus, while many refused to go further than Salamis, and watched from its rocky shores the crisis of their country's fate. Troezen had been first appointed as the rendezvous of the allied fleet; but the Athenians had entreated Eurybiades to stay at Salamis and assist in the removal of their families. The Athenians had now a new motive for remaining near the island and almost in sight of Athens; and we cannot doubt that Themistocles had marked its bay as the fittest scene of the naval battle on which he knew that the fate of Greece depended.* Before describing that position, we must trace the march of Xerxes to the heights from which he saw the destruction of his hopes.

The astonishment of the Persian at seeing no army appear to support or avenge Leonidas became extreme, when he learnt that the Greeks had been wholly occupied with games, in which a wreath of wild olive was the prize. His whole armament was now directed upon Athens, the contumacious city that had heaped so many insults on his father and himself. His troops plundered and destroyed the towns of the Phocians, his only remaining enemies outside of Attica and the Isthmus; and the same fate befell Thespiæ and Platæa. But the Delphic god knew how to protect his shrine against the Persians, just as, long afterwards, against Brennus and the Gauls. The Delphians, while seeking safety for themselves among the cliffs of Parnassus, were forbidden by the oracle to remove the sacred treasures; and the consecrated arms, which hung in the inmost shrine, were found transferred to the vestibule of the temple. Only sixty of the Delphians took courage to remain; but their defence was needless. The force detached by Xerxes from his line of march to plunder the temple had advanced up the defile between the cliffs of Parnassus as far as the temple of Athena, when the war-cry of the goddess was

posed to live concealed, and to feed upon the honey-cake which was placed for it every month. At this juncture the cake was for the first time untouched.

* See the remark above, p. 408, note.

heard; a crash of thunder burst above their heads, and two huge crags fell across the path, killing many of the assailants. The rest fled in panic terror, pursued by the small Delphian garrison; and, as they themselves averred, by two unearthly champions, in whom the Greeks recognised tutelary heroes of the place. Such, at least, was the story told to Herodotus by the Delphians, witnesses as interested as the historian was credulous.* The sight of the fallen crags was all the confirmation he needed. We might easily make guesses about an opportune storm, and so forth; but it is enough to say that we have no sufficient historic evidence of a miracle which, if real, would prove the deity of Apollo and Athena.

From the deserted territory of Attica, Xerxes could only glean five hundred prisoners, to represent the host of captives he had expected to carry back to Asia. The feeble remnant made a desperate defence of the Acropolis, which was at last taken, like Sardis, by a sudden escalade.† The garrison were put to the sword, and the temples and other buildings of the Acropolis were plundered and burnt. But from the very midst of the ruins the goddess vouchsafed an omen of the life which would yet flourish on the sacred spot. The wild olive which had won for her the city had been burnt in the conflagration. Two days later, the Pisistratids who had followed Xerxes, having obtained permission to perform expiatory rites for the desecration of the Acropolis, found that the charred stump had thrown out a fresh shoot of a cubit in length. Nor was this the only portent. The day chanced to be that on which, in happier times, the Initiated marched in procession from Athens to Eleusis; and the fancy of one of the Pisistratid party, that he heard the solemn chaunt and saw the cloud of dust in the Thriasian plain, was accepted as an omen that the Eleusinian deities were passing over to aid the Athenians at Salamis. Such were the indications that faith in the cause of liberty was not confined to the fleet which seemed to be the ark of its refuge; nor can we deny to such a faith a purer source than the worship of Athena or the mysteries of Eleusis.

Just at the time when the Acropolis was burnt, the Persian fleet arrived at Phalerum, the port of Athens; and Xerxes was able, just four months after he had left Asia, to delight his

* Huge fallen blocks are still to be seen in the pass; and the region bears many marks of volcanic action.

† See chap. x., p. 273. The capture of Edinburgh Castle, by Randolph, was a similar feat.

courtiers at Susa with the news that he held the rebellious city in his grasp by sea and land—a city indeed no longer, for nothing remained of it but its ashes. But the doom of overweening arrogance trod close upon his footsteps.

The promontory of Ægaleos now alone divided his immense navy from the Grecian fleet in the bay of Salamis, and all his thoughts were bent upon a great victory at sea. In a council of the naval commanders, Artemisia, the Carian queen of Halicarnassus, alone had the courage to advise that the army should at once be pushed on to the Isthmus, when the Peloponnesian ships would return to guard their own shores, and an easy victory might be gained over the Athenians. But Xerxes was not conducting the campaign on strategic principles. His was to be a triumphant progress, crushing all resistance where it met him; and his pride was above all concerned in carrying away the whole Athenian people as captives. This must have been well known to the kings of Tyre and Sidon, and the other chiefs of the fleet, when, with the one dissentient voice of Artemisia, they advised an attack, which Xerxes fixed for the following day.

Meanwhile the object at which Artemisia had pointed was almost gained by the folly of the Peloponnesians. The fleet in the bay of Salamis numbered 366 ships, of which 200 were Athenian, 40 Corinthian, 30 Æginetan, 20 Megarian, and 16 Lacedæmonian; the remaining 50 belonging to other states. All Italy sent but one trireme, equipped and led by a volunteer, Phaÿllus. This is the statement of Herodotus; but we have another authority of the highest order in the tragedy of Æschylus, entitled "The Persians," acted just seven years after the battle, at which the poet himself was present. Æschylus makes the number of the Greek ships engaged at Salamis 300, besides ten chosen ships. He reckons the Persian navy at 1207 ships, the very number named by Herodotus as present at the review of Doriscus, though the reinforcements received meanwhile do not seem to have been equal to the numbers lost.

The hope of success in a conflict so unequal depended not only on the valour of the Greeks but on the peculiar naval tactics of that time. The great step had as yet been but partly taken, of making the ship herself the chief weapon of attack, and disabling an antagonist by rapid evolutions and repeated charges;* now sweeping away a whole bank of oars, and now urging the sharp stem upon the

* From very early times the Greek ships were furnished with some sort of a beak, to run down an enemy; but this plan was not yet exclusively relied on.

enemy's broadside. Such evolutions, by which the Athenians gained their great battles in the Peloponnesian War, required both an open sea and daring seamanship. But while a naval battle was conducted by grappling ship to ship, so that the hoplites fought hand to hand upon the decks, an open sea gave the superior force the best chance of surrounding the inferior, and crushing them by the weight of numbers. In a strait, or other narrow space, not only was the advantage of numbers neutralised in a great degree, as in a narrow pass on land, but the crowded ships caused far more mutual danger than a crowded army, especially when manned by various nations. The Greeks had chosen Artemisium for the sake of fighting in a narrow space, and the position they now held at Salamis was singularly adapted to the same tactics. That position is shown in the accompanying map (on p. 425).

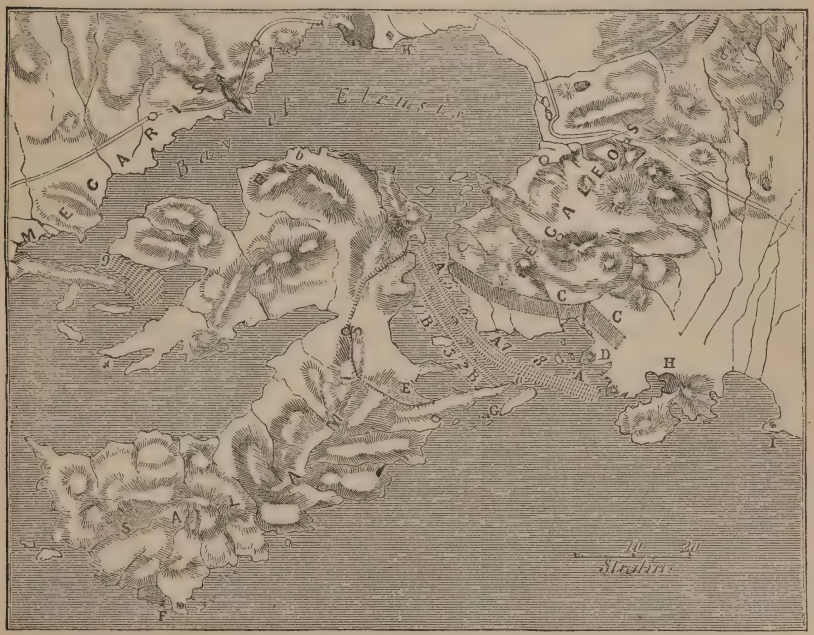
Between Megara and Athens, the coast makes a great bend to the north, forming the bay of Eleusis, on the east of which the headland of Ægaleos divides Eleusis and the Thriasian plain from the plain of Athens. The island of Salamis lies in the mouth of the Eleusinian bay, its rocky heights forming a connecting link between Ægaleos on the east and the hills of Megara on the west. Ægaleos is divided from the eastern side of the island by a strait widening at the middle into the bay on which stood the town of Salamis. Here lay the Grecian fleet, covering the town of Salamis in front, with all that it held dear to them, while a rampart was thrown up round the heights in the rear, and prepared to sally forth and meet the enemy at either end of the strait. Beyond the eastern opening of the strait lies the headland on the shores of which the Athenians afterwards formed their celebrated harbours, Peiræus on the west, Phalerum on the east, and Munychia at the centre. At present Phalerum was the port of Athens, and the head-quarters of the Persian fleet, which would naturally occupy all the neighbouring ports; its western wing was probably at Peiræus. Such being the position, the Greeks had still the choice to fight or fly; and, in a council called by Eurybiades, the general voice of the Peloponnesians was in favour of retiring to the Isthmus, where they would be in communication with the land army. In vain did Themistocles represent that such a step would not only surrender the best possible position, but would break up the navy into separate contingents, each hastening to defend its own state. The news of the burning of Athens arrived in the midst of the debate, and struck such terror that some at once left the council, to make preparations for flight, and

the rest decided on a retreat next day. Themistocles seems for the moment to have lost heart, oppressed as he was not only with the ruin of the common cause, but with the care of once more removing the families that had taken refuge in Salamis. But a faithful friend induced him to make one more effort. He went the same night to Eurybiades, and persuaded him to convene another council. In the angry debate that ensued, Themistocles was openly insulted by Adimantus, the admiral of the Corinthians, who were naturally the most eager advocates of a retreat to the Isthmus. At length Themistocles made a vehement appeal to Eurybiades, throwing upon him the responsibility of the issue, and threatening that the Athenians would embark their families and sail away to Siris. Thus pressed, Eurybiades took the decision upon himself, and issued orders to stay and prepare for battle.

The next day was that upon which Xerxes held his naval council, and towards evening movements of preparation were observed among the Persian fleet. At the same time news was brought to the Peloponnesians that their brethren at the Isthmus were complaining that they still clung to Attica, which was already lost, instead of hastening to the real point of defence. An open mutiny broke out, and Eurybiades convened a third council, which became a wrangling altercation between the Athenians, Megarians, and Æginetans on the one side, and the Peloponnesians on the other. It was then that Themistocles resolved on the most astute and daring stratagem recorded in military diplomacy. Making a pretext for leaving the council, he despatched across the narrow strait a trusty slave—an Asiatic Greek who could speak Persian—with a message to the Persian admirals—that Themistocles, as a well-wisher to the king's cause, had sent to tell them that the Greeks were seized with fear, and were meditating a hasty flight; it would be the best work they had ever done to hinder them from escaping; in fine, so much were the Greeks at variance, that, instead of resisting, they would probably fight among themselves. The audacity of this act is the more remarkable, that we find Themistocles pleading it as a claim on the favour of Xerxes, when he sought a refuge in his exile; nor does the suggestion seem improbable, that the wily Greek foresaw the possibility that such an occasion might arise, and framed the terms of his message accordingly.

The Persian admirals fell at once into the trap. They landed a detachment on the little island of Psyttaleia, off the north-east point of Salamis, the direction in which the wrecks might be

expected to drift, with the view of rescuing their own men and destroying those of the enemy. Meanwhile, the western division of the fleet sailed through the strait of Salamis, as far as the



MAP OF SALAMIS.

A. A. A. Persian fleet.
B. B. B. Grecian fleet.
C. C. C. Persian army.
D. Throne of Xerxes.
E. New Salamis.
F. Old Salamis.
G. The island Psyttaleia.
H. Peiræus.
I. Phalerum.
1. Athenian ships.
2. Lacedæmonian and other Peloponnesian ships.
3. Æginetan and Eubœan ships.
4. Phœnician ships.
5. Cyprian ships.
6. Cilician and Pamphylian ships.
7. Ionian ships.
8. Persian ships.
9. Egyptian ships.
a. Prom. Silenia or Tropaea. (*Cape of St. Barbara.*)
b. Prom. Sciradium.
c. Prom. Budorus.

headland which terminates the bay on the north-west, followed by the main body, which ranged itself along the shore of Ægaleos across the mouth of the bay, closing the eastern strait, and still extending far beyond it along the Attic coast.* The manœuvre

* See the map, in which the Egyptian ships are represented in the position described by Diodorus, having sailed round Salamis to blockade the western exit from the bay of Eleusis. But the movement seems a superfluous precaution, and Herodotus not only says nothing of it, but seems to imply that the Egyptians took part

was completed while the Greek chiefs were still in fierce debate, which Themistocles took care to prolong. At length Aristides, who had not before returned since the revocation of his sentence of banishment, arrived at Salamis from Ægina, and was the first to announce that the Greek fleet was completely blockaded. Calling Themistocles out of the council, he communicated to him the welcome intelligence which made an engagement certain, and undertook to inform the commanders. Even his word was received with incredulity, till the news was confirmed by a Tenian galley, which had just arrived from Ægina, having passed through the Persian fleet under cover of the night. Dissension was at once hushed, and all repaired to their posts. At dawn of day the men-at-arms were mustered on the beach, and after speeches from their commanders, among which that of Themistocles was conspicuous for its noble eloquence, they went on board their ships, and put out to meet the enemy.

The position of the two fleets now bore some resemblance to the lines of battle on the field of Marathon. They were drawn up face to face, the Greeks having their wings covered by the headlands of the bay. Owing to the confined space, their smaller numbers were confronted only by an equal line of the enemy, whose left wing lay useless far beyond the strait. The Persian army was drawn up along the shore; and Xerxes was seated on a lofty throne upon one of the promontories at the foot of Ægaleos, overlooking the whole scene, with the royal scribes beside him to record the behaviour of the combatants. *

> "A king sat on the rocky brow,
> Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis;
> And ships by thousands lay below,
> And men in nations—all were his.
> He counted them at break of day,
> And when the sun set, where were they?"

His discontent with their conduct at Artemisium was well known,

in the action. There is great difference of opinion concerning the positions of the two fleets. Our map represents the view of Colonel Leake, founded on the description of Herodotus, and followed by Mr. Grote and the majority of critics. But Canon Blakesley derives an entirely different view from the Persæ of Æschylus, and makes the open sea outside of the southern entrance of the strait the scene of the battle. See Leake, *Demi of Attica*, pp. 166, foll., and appendix ii., *on the Battle of Salamis;* Blakesley's *Herodotus*, Excursus on book viii., chap. 76; Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. v., note on pp. 172, 173; and Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. iv., p. 341.

* See the very interesting note of Sir Gardner Wilkinson on the position of the throne of Xerxes, with a panoramic view taken from the spot, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. iv., pp. 336-7.

and his presence seemed to inspire them with a zeal fit to cope with the free courage of their antagonists. Among them were the best sailors of the world—Phœnicians, Egyptians, Cilicians, and Greeks of Asia Minor, and the chosen Persian soldiers served on board the fleet. The Ionians seem to have been little affected by the solicitations of Themistocles. Some indeed were backward in the fight, but most showed a zeal fit to disarm suspicion; and some earned the special notice of the king by their gallant captures of ships from the enemy. They were opposed to the Lacedæmonians, Corinthians, and other Peloponnesians, who held the post of honour on the right of the Greek line, while on the left the Athenians confronted the Phœnicians and Egyptians. In the centre, the Æginetans and Eubœans faced the Cyprians, Cilicians, and Pamphylians. The Corinthians and Æginetans were the only Greeks whose maritime experience could compare with that of the enemy. The Athenians had only recently created their navy; but they fought with the view of their native shores before them, with the eyes of their wives and children upon them, with the memory of Marathon in their hearts. How weak was the courage, born of fear, which the presence of Xerxes exacted from his slaves, compared with the noble thoughts which Æschylus heard uttered by man to man along the line!—

> "Sons of the Greeks, advance!
> Your country free, your children and your wives,
> The temples of your fathers' gods,
> Your fathers' sepulchres—
> All—all are now at stake."*

As the rising sun of a September morning cast the shadows of Ægaleos across the bay, the Greek fleet put out from the shore with the accustomed notes of the war-hymn to Apollo. The Persians advanced to meet them with equal ardour. For a moment their steady front struck awe into the Greeks. They began to back their oars, and were already near the beach, when a single ship darted from the ranks and became locked in close combat with a Phœnician galley.† At the same moment the phantom of a woman appeared to hover over their line, exclaiming, "Wretches! how far are you going to

* Æschylus, *Persæ*, 402.

† Herodotus ascribes this deed to Ameinias of Pallene, an Athenian; but he tells us that the Æginetans claimed it for the galley which had arrived from Ægina the day before, bringing the sacred family of the Æacidæ. Æschylus says that "*one Greek ship* began the action," a simplicity of phrase which gives some countenance to the statement of Diodorus, that Ameinias was the brother of the poet, whose other brother, Cynægirus, had gained immortal glory at Marathon (see p. 394).

back water?" The whole fleet advanced to the support of the adventurous ship, and the action became general along the line.

The simple narrative of Herodotus at once sets before us the nature of the brief but decisive combat. In courage the Persians surpassed themselves, each man feeling that the eye of the king was upon him. But "as the Greeks fought in order and kept their line, while the barbarians were in confusion and had no plan in anything they did, the issue of the battle could scarce be other than it was." Crowded into a narrow space,—the front rank retiring while the rear rank attempted to advance,—the Persian ships ran aboard of one another, oars and helms* were broken,—and the vessels lay helpless on the water. The confusion soon became a panic, aggravated by the want of concert and confidence between the various nations that composed the fleet. Some ran down friendly ships in their eagerness to escape. Artemisia, the queen of Halicarnassus, whose good advice before the battle had been rejected by Xerxes, having fought her ship with distinguished gallantry, was escaping from the rout, hotly pursued by the Athenian Ameinias. The ship of another Carian prince lay full in her course; she charged it and sank it with its whole crew. Ameinias, not knowing that the ship before him was that of the obnoxious woman who had dared to fight with men, and for whose capture the Athenians had offered a high reward,† took this act as a sign of desertion to the Greeks, and gave up the pursuit. Xerxes noticed the deed, and his courtiers, knowing Artemisia's vessel by her flag, exclaimed, "Seest thou, Master, how well Artemisia fights, and how she has just sunk a ship of the enemy?" "Yes!" replied the king, "my men have behaved like women; my women like men!" In his extreme vexation, he was ready, says Herodotus, to find fault with every one. Some Phœnicians, whose ship had been destroyed, escaped to the shore, and came before the king, accusing the Ionians of being to blame for all. At that very moment Xerxes saw a Samothracian vessel, which had just sunk an Athenian galley, herself run down by an Æginetan. The crew of the foundering ship plied their javelins so well as to clear the deck of the vessel that had disabled theirs,

* It should be remembered that the ancient ships were not steered by a rudder, but by a pair of oars with broad blades.

† Mr. Grote points out the similar feeling of indignation against Artemisia II., expressed by Demosthenes, *De Rhodiorum Libertate*, chap. x., p. 197. Herodotus, as himself a Halicarnassian, would have special information respecting the exploits of Artemisia.

which they then took by boarding. Turning fiercely on the Phœnicians, Xerxes ordered their heads to be struck off, that they might not again cast the blame of their own misconduct on braver men. No scene could more truly exhibit the Asiatic despot,—displaying a generous admiration of noble deeds and a wild sense of justice amidst the ungovernable fury of his defeated hopes, and finding time for an execution while carnage was raging among his men.

On the side of the Greeks, the Athenians and Æginetans were the most active in completing the victory. The former, wheeling round from their station on the left, charging, sinking, and capturing as they pressed on, drove the routed squadrons down the strait into the arms of the latter, who cut them off as they attempted to escape to Phalerum. Nor did the Persian garrison on the island of Psyttaleia avail them aught; for Aristides carried across the hoplites who had been left as a guard on Salamis, and put all on the island to the sword. The loss in the battle is not stated by Herodotus or Æschylus: later writers estimate it at forty Greek ships and two hundred Persian, besides those captured with all their crews. The loss of life was still greater in proportion among the Persians, as few of them could swim, while the Greeks easily swam ashore. Among the noble Persians slain was another brother of Xerxes, in addition to the two already killed at Thermopylæ. Thus ended the first of the three great sea-fights which have secured the liberties of the world: the second was the defeat of the Spanish Armada: the third the victory of Trafalgar.

The remains of the fleet, which had escaped to Phalerum, still far outnumbered the navy of the Greeks. The latter returned to their camp at Salamis, collected the dead bodies and the wrecks that were washed ashore, and prepared to receive a second attack. But once more all arguments of strategy yielded in the mind of Xerxes to personal considerations. As over-weening confidence had hampered his advance, so now cowardice determined his retreat. He persuaded himself that his fleet was worthless and distrusted its fidelity. On the Phœnicians especially he vented his rage in such reproaches that they consulted their safety by a flight which deprived him of the best portion of his navy. Remembering the fate which had nearly befallen his father at the Danube, he frightened himself with the suspicion that the Ionians might lead the fleet to the Hellespont and destroy the bridge of boats. Nevertheless, he affected to make preparations

for a fresh engagement, and even began both a mound and a chain of ships across the mouth of the strait of Salamis. Mardonius, however, was not deceived. How fully he would be held responsible, as the chief adviser of the expedition, he knew as well as if he had heard the curses heaped upon his name when the second messenger of Xerxes surprised the people of Susa amidst their rejoicings for the fall of Athens. Once was enough to have returned to Persia in disgrace; nor would he yet despair of conquest. So he framed his advice to suit the king's inclination and his own ambition. "Grieve not, Master," said he "over thy loss. Our hopes do not rest on a few planks, but on our brave steeds and horsemen. Not one of these men will dare to land and meet our army. The shame of defeat affects only the Phœnicians and Egyptians, the Cyprians and Cilicians. Thy own faithful Persians are unbroken and undisgraced. Make them not a laughing-stock to the Greeks." He advised Xerxes to advance upon Peloponnesus, either immediately or at his leisure, for it was completely in his power; or, if the king were minded to return home, Mardonius asked to be left behind with 300,000 chosen troops, and he would bring Greece beneath his sway. This advice was seconded by Artemisia, who represented that the whole danger would fall upon Mardonius and his troops, whom at the worst Xerxes could afford to lose; while, so long as his own person and throne were safe, he might yet cause the Greeks to fight many a battle for their freedom. Nor did she omit to flatter the king with the idea that he would now return in triumph, since the chief purpose of his expedition was fulfilled by the destruction of Athens. This advice was the more acceptable to Xerxes as it exactly reflected his own thoughts. "I for my part," says Herodotus, "do not believe that he would have remained, had all his counsellors, both men and women, united to urge his stay, so great was the alarm he felt." The fleet were despatched towards the Hellespont, to guard the bridges against the king's return. Mardonius was ordered to choose his troops and make his promise good; and Xerxes prepared to return at leisure with the bulk of the immense army, which had achieved nothing save the dear-bought victory of Thermopylæ.

The Greeks pursued the retiring fleet as far as the island of Andros. Here a council was held, at which Themistocles, like Miltiades at the Danube, advised that they should press forward to the Hellespont and break down the bridges. Eurybiades pointed out the difference between shutting an enemy out, to be destroyed

by the barbarians, and shutting in an army powerful enough to conquer Europe, when driven to action by necessity.* Themistocles yielded, and urged the same advice upon the Athenians, who were eager for the pursuit, promising that they should sail in the spring to the Hellespont and Ionia. Then he sent his trusty messenger for the second time to Xerxes, who was still in Attica, to inform him that he had dissuaded the Greeks from destroying the bridges over the Hellespont. The fleet did not return to Salamis till Themistocles had raised contributions on some of the islands without the knowledge of the other commanders.

Meanwhile Xerxes retired with his land forces into Thessaly, where Mardonius remained to winter, having selected his 300,000 men from the best troops of the empire, Persians, Medes, Sacæ, Bactrians, and Indians. The rest retraced their steps through Macedonia and Thrace, suffering severely from famine and disease. The magazines had been used up during their advance; the harvest lately gathered in was soon exhausted, and the winter was rapidly approaching.† The march to the Hellespont occupied five-and-forty days. The bridges, which had caused the king so much anxiety, had been swept away by a storm, and the army was carried over the Hellespont in ships. That Xerxes himself crossed in a fishing boat, as later writers state, is a circumstance not needed to point the contrast between the pomp of his advance and the humiliation of his return. He reached Sardis just eight months after the premature triumph of his departure. He had marched forth in the prime of youth and manly beauty, buoyant in hope, and not devoid of generous impulses, to achieve a conquest and exact a vengeance demanded by filial piety as well as ambition; he returned disgusted with all active enterprise, to bury himself amidst those intrigues of the court and seraglio at Susa, of which we have so vivid a picture in the Book of Esther.‡ He perished fifteen years afterwards by a conspiracy of his chief officers (B.C. 465). His retreat may be regarded as the virtual decision of that great conflict between eastern despotism and European liberty, which forms one of the most important chapters in the history of the world.

* The obvious force of this argument suggests that Themistocles only raised the question in order to take credit with the king for the ultimate decision.

† Respecting the exaggerated accounts, which Herodotus felt bound to reject, see the criticisms of Mr. Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. v., pp. 190, 191.

‡ Respecting the identity of Xerxes with the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, and the distinction between Esther and Amestris, the cruel queen of Xerxes, see the articles *Ahasuerus* and *Esther*, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

Meanwhile a contest hardly less momentous had been decided on the plains of Sicily. While the hosts of Xerxes were poured into Hellas on the north-east, she was assailed on the south-west by a more active and perhaps more dangerous enemy. We cannot now stay to discuss the great question—which would have been more fatal to the liberties of Europe, and the world, the despotism of Persia, or the tyranny of the commercial oligarchy of Carthage. The rise of that republic will be more conveniently related when we come to speak of her wars with Rome. She now appears in her full strength, contending with the Greek colonies for the possession of Sicily. We have already seen that the government of tyrants was set up in those colonies about the epoch of the Persian Wars. Syracuse, one of the last to admit such a government, was raised by her new rulers to a place among the most powerful states in Greece. It was in the interval between the battles of Marathon and Salamis (B.C. 485), that Gelo, the tyrant of Gela, then by far the most powerful of the Sicilian cities, was applied to by the exiles of the aristocratic party at Syracuse, to restore them. He took the city without a blow, and at once assumed despotic power, resigning Gela to his brother Hiero. But he altogether changed the relative importance of the two cities, by removing half the inhabitants of Gela, and all those of Camarina, to people the new quarter, Achradina, which he added to Syracuse.* He soon obtained what may be truly described as an imperial power over the Greek cities of Sicily; and the account of his resources at the time of the invasion of Xerxes, even if exaggerated, confirms the statement of Herodotus, that no other Hellenic power could bear comparison with that of Gelo. He felt himself strong enough to attempt the reduction of the whole island beneath his rule. Thereupon commenced "that series of contests between the Phœnicians and Greeks in Sicily, which, like the struggles between the Saracens and Normans in the eleventh and twelfth centuries after the Christian era, were destined to determine whether the island should be a part of Africa or a part of Europe, and which were only terminated, after the lapse of three centuries, by the absorption of both into the vast bosom of Rome."† The first collision had taken place about B.C. 509, when the attempt of the Spartan prince, Dorieus, to settle a colony in the parts already occupied by the non-Hellenic inhabitants of Eryx and Egesta, was

* We shall have to notice the topography of Syracuse more particularly in the following chapter, in connection with the siege by the Athenians.

† Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. v., p. 277.

defeated by the aid of the Carthaginians. Gelo now undertook to avenge the death of Dorieus, and to expel the Carthaginians and their allies from the north-west corner of the island. The war had lasted for some time, when the Carthaginians resolved to take advantage of the intended invasion of Greece; so that just when Gelo was invited by the Athenian and Spartan envoys to aid in their defence, he was threatened with an attack in Sicily.

We can scarcely doubt that this attack was arranged between Xerxes and the Carthaginians, like the alliance of Carthage with Antiochus the Great against Rome; only on this occasion the allies timed their movements with far better concert.* In the same spring that witnessed the advance of Xerxes from Sardis, a great armament sailed from Carthage for Sicily, under Hamilcar, the Suffes or general, with the avowed purpose of restoring Terillus, the exiled tyrant of Himera; for there was a Punic faction among the Sicilian Greeks, just as there was a Medizing party in the mother country. Hamilcar's navy was even more numerous than that of Xerxes, consisting of 3000 ships of war, besides transports. The land force consisted of 300,000 infantry, the ships that carried the cavalry and war-chariots having been dispersed by a storm. The list of nations enumerated by Herodotus as composing this army shows that the Punic republic had already begun the system of dependence on mercenary forces. There were Phœnicians, Libyans, Iberians (from Spain), Ligurians (from the Gulfs of Lyon and Genoa), Helisyci (perhaps Volscians), Sardinians, and Corsicans. They disembarked at Panormus (*Palermo*), and marched forward to besiege Himera, which prepared for an obstinate defence. Gelo gathered his whole army for its relief, consisting only of 50,000 foot and 500 horse. But an opportune accident enabled him to throw confusion into the camp of the enemy. Having intercepted a letter from Selinus, promising to send a body of cavalry to the aid of Hamilcar, Gelo instructed a party of his own horse to personate this reinforcement. They were received into the Carthaginian camp, where they at once caused a disorder, which was doubtless aggravated by mutual distrust among the mingled nations. Gelo chose this moment for his main attack. A fierce and bloody battle raged from sun-rise till late in the afternoon, ending in the total rout of the Carthaginians, who are said to have left 150,000 men upon the field. Hamilcar him-

* Such an understanding, probable in itself, is said by the historian Ephorus to have existed. The negociations may have been conducted by the Phœnicians on behalf of Xerxes.

self was among the slain, and romantic stories were related concerning the manner of his death.* The search of Gelo for his body was in vain. The Greeks erected a monument to him on the field of battle; and on that very monument his grandson, Hannibal, offered 3000 prisoners from Himera (B.C. 409). The rest of the Carthaginian army, for the most part, fled into the mountains, and were made prisoners by the Agrigentines, who employed them on the great works of art which adorned their city. The other cities subject to Gelo, and especially Syracuse, had their share of these public slaves, who worked in chains, either for the state, or for masters to whom they were let out. The battle of Himera was fought, according to Herodotus, on the same day as that of Salamis.

The easy terms of peace which the Carthaginians obtained from Gelo, and the alarm caused by their aggressions on the coasts of Italy a few years later, raise doubts whether their losses at Himera are not greatly exaggerated. At all events, their defeat was followed by a period of high prosperity among the Greek states of Sicily. Gelo died two years after his great victory (B.C. 478), and was honoured with obsequies and monuments on the most magnificent scale. His brother Hiero, the patron of Æschylus, Simonides, and Pindar, reigned with still greater splendour; and while gaining sea-fights against the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians, was one of the most distinguished victors at Olympia (B.C. 478—467); but his noble qualities were sullied by the innate vices of despotism; and these vices, displayed without restraint by his brother and successor Thrasybulus, provoked a rebellion, in which Syracuse was aided by the other cities. Thrasybulus was expelled; the dynasty of Gelo was overthrown; and the epoch which marks the issue of the Persian Wars is also that of the establishment of popular governments in all the Sicilian cities (B.C. 465). This revolution was not effected without angry dissensions, of which we shall see the bitter fruits in the following chapter.

Meanwhile the Greeks of the mother country had still to expel the Persians from their soil. It is said that, before Xerxes left Thessaly, the Lacedæmonians sent a herald to demand of him satisfaction for the death of their king and fellow-citizens slain by him at Thermopylæ. Xerxes laughed, and for some time gave no reply. At length, pointing to Mardonius, he said, "Mardonius here shall give them the satisfaction they deserve to

* One was that, when he saw that all was lost, he cast himself as a burnt offering into the fire in which he had been sacrificing whole victims.

get." And well did they take it on the field of Platæa. But first their glorious victory claimed rejoicings and rewards. Sophocles, selected at the age of sixteen, for his beauty, to lead the chorus of youths around the trophy erected by the Athenians on Salamis to celebrate the victory which Æschylus soon after represented on the stage, may be taken as a type of the outburst of intellectual life, which was among the most precious fruits of the freedom won that day. The highest rank in honour, and the greatest share of the booty, were awarded to the Æginetans; the second to the Athenians. Three Phœnician triremes were dedicated, as the first fruits of the spoil, to Ajax at Salamis, to Athena at Sunium, and to Poseidon at the Isthmus, and splendid presents were sent to Delphi. For personal valour the first place was awarded to the Æginetan Polycritus and the Athenians Eumenes and Ameinias. The contest for the first and second prizes of skill and wisdom among the commanders had an issue which has become proverbial as a test of merit. When the votes were collected, each of the chiefs was found to have claimed the first prize for himself, but all had awarded the second to Themistocles—a certain proof that he really merited the first. Nevertheless, as no first prize was awarded, the second could not be bestowed. But, on a visit to Sparta soon afterwards, he received honours such as had never before been paid by that jealous republic to a foreigner. While Eurybiades was rewarded by his fellow-citizens with a crown of olive, a crown precisely similar was voted to Themistocles, together with a splendid chariot, as a special prize for sagacity; and, on his departure, he was escorted as far as the frontier of Tegea by three hundred chosen youths. We shall soon see the important results of the relations thus established between Themistocles and Lacedæmon.

Meanwhile Mardonius was wintering in Thessaly with his whole forces, except 60,000 men who had been detached under Artabazus to escort Xerxes on his march through Thrace. All Northern Greece remained faithful to the Persian king, except the Phocians, who were too weak to make any movement. The only open revolt was at a spot which has a most interesting relation to the subsequent history of Greece—the Chalcidic peninsula in the north-west corner of the Ægæan. The Corinthian colony of Potidæa, on the isthmus of Pallene, threw off the Persian yoke, and solicited the neighbouring city of Olynthus to join in the rebellion. Artabazus, on his return from the Hellespont, easily reduced Olynthus, exterminated its mixed population, and colonized it with Greeks from

Chalcis. We shall ere long see how Olynthus filled its new place as an Hellenic state. But the position of Potidæa proved impregnable, defended as it was on both sides by walls built across the narrow isthmus; and after wasting three months before it, Artabazus rejoined Mardonius.

The Persian commander opened the campaign of B.C. 479 by advancing into Bœotia; but, before commencing active operations, he made an attempt to detach the Athenians from the common cause through the mediation of Alexander, king of Macedonia. He offered them the active friendship of the Great King, reparation for the damage done in Attica, and a large accession of territory. The Macedonian prince found the Athenians amidst the ruins of their city, suffering from the loss of the last harvest and destitute of seed for the new year. The Lacedæmonians sent envoys, entreating them to resist the tempting offers, and promising relief for their present distress. The Athenians dismissed Alexander with the message that never, till the sun should change his course, would they become the friends of Xerxes; and they assured the Lacedæmonians that, so long as a single Athenian survived, no alliance should be made with Persia. Declining their offers of present aid, they pressed them to send an army into Bœotia for the common defence against Mardonius. This the Spartan envoys promised; but they had no sooner returned home, than the Peloponnesians concentrated all their force on completing the defences of the Isthmus; and the Athenians recrossed the strait to Salamis, leaving their country a second time to the mercy of the Persians (May-June, B.C. 479). Even then, though indignant at the selfish policy of their allies, they spurned the renewed offers made by Mardonius from Athens, which he had reoccupied without injuring the country or the new buildings of the city. A single senator who dared to counsel submission was stoned to death by the common impulse of his colleagues and the people, while the Athenian women stoned his wife and children. But the consciousness of wrong infused a wholesome dread into the minds of the Spartans, lest Athens should after all consult her own safety; and then her fleet would have rendered useless the defences of the Isthmus. They at length posted a powerful army at the Isthmus, under their king Pausanias, ready to advance into Bœotia, to which country Mardonius had retired, after once more ravaging Attica. The Persian chose his position in the plain of the Asopus, as fitted for his cavalry, in a friendly country, and near his magazines at Thebes; and he fortified an immense camp between Platæa and

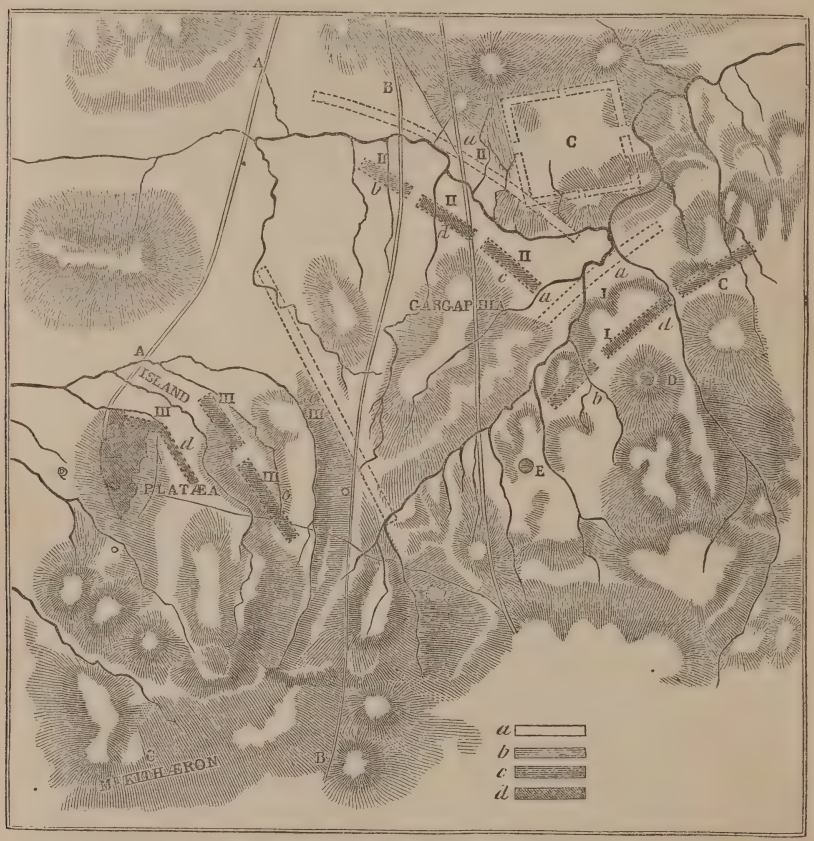
Erythræ. His forces appeared equal to the task he had undertaken; but they were demoralized by the king's retreat, and Artabazus was jealous of Mardonius. The feeling of the Persians is attested by a very interesting anecdote, which Herodotus heard from a person who was present at a banquet given by the Theban commander to Mardonius. A Persian, who was placed with him on the same couch, began to lament that of all his countrymen feasting there or lying in the neighbouring camp, but few would soon survive. And, on being asked why he did not utter this conviction to Mardonius, the Persian replied, that man could not avert what God had decreed, nor would those doomed to destruction believe the warning of their fate; adding the memorable words, so often repeated by those who would benefit men in spite of themselves: "The worst of human pains is this, to have a mind full of counsel, and yet the power to effect nothing."* Among the Medizing Greeks, only the Thessalians and Bœotians were staunch; the Phocians were held in such suspicion, that, if we may trust the story so picturesquely related by Herodotus, they were actually surrounded by the Persian cavalry, with the intention of massacring them, when their firm attitude induced Mardonius to change his mind.

At length the Spartans and their allies advanced from the Isthmus to the plain of Eleusis, where they were joined by the Athenians and Platæans, who crossed over from Salamis under Aristides. They numbered 5000 Spartans, 5000 Corinthians, 3000 Sicyonians, 3000 Megarians, 8000 Athenians, and 600 Platæans. The contingents of other states made up a total of 38,700 heavy-armed soldiers. There were no cavalry, and few archers. Herodotus reckons the Helots in attendance on the Spartans at 35,000, and the other light-armed troops at 34,500, besides 1800 Thespians so badly armed as to be reckoned only in this class. The entire Greek army amounted to 110,000 men.

Pausanias led them from Eleusis over the ridge of Cithæron, and hung upon its northern declivity near Erythræ, overlooking the camp of Mardonius, without venturing into the plain. An attack of the Persian cavalry, under Masistius, a chief whose courage equalled his splendid appearance, was repulsed by the

* *Herod.* ix. 16. ἐχθίστη δὲ ὀδύνη ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν. Those familiar with Dr. Arnold's Letters will recognise the quotation. Mr. Grote remarks on the strong impression we receive of the sources of information possessed by Herodotus, when we find him in direct communication with a person who had feasted with Mardonius.

Megarians and Athenians; and the death of the commander, whose body the Persians strove fiercely but in vain to recover, seemed to give an omen of the coming victory. The wailings of the Persians were echoed from the surrounding hills, and their whole army assumed the signs of mourning, while the Greeks



BATTLE OF PLATÆA.

a. Persians.	I. First Position occupied by the opposing armies.	A. Road from Platæa to Thebes.
b. Athenians.	II. Second Position.	B. Road from Megara to Thebes.
c. Lacedæmonians.	III. Third Position.	C. Persian camp.
d. Various Greek allies.		D. Erythræ.
		E. Hysiæ.

paraded the body through their ranks in a cart. Thus encouraged, and finding his position on the high ground short of water, Pausanias assumed the offensive by descending into the plain. The nature of his movement, and the consequent change of position effected by Mardonius, will be at once understood from the plan.

The two armies now faced each other on opposite sides of the Asopus. The right of the Greeks was held by the Lacedæmonians, the left by the Athenians, the centre by the troops of the other states. Mardonius deviated from the usual Persian array, which made the centre the post of honour, and himself took the left, with the chosen Persians and Medes, opposite to the Lacedæmonians. On the right he set his Macedonians and Greeks against the Athenians; the rest of the Asiatic soldiers filled the centre. Both sides hesitated to begin the encounter; and Mardonius used the pause for intrigues with some of the wealthier Athenians, which were firmly repressed by Aristides, while the Persian cavalry harassed the rear of the Greeks and cut off their supplies. But after two days Mardonius became impatient, and, against the advice of Artabazus and the Thebans, he prepared for a decisive battle. During the night his intention was communicated to Aristides by Alexander the Macedonian, who doubtless felt it high time to make his peace with the Greeks. On hearing the news, Pausanias took the step, most extraordinary for a Spartan general, of exchanging places between the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians, on the ground that the latter had already met and vanquished the formidable Persians, whom the Spartans had not yet encountered. The sign of alarm was not lost upon Mardonius, who forthwith attempted to shake the Greek array by repeated charges of cavalry, and not without success.* Thus harassed, Pausanias decided on withdrawing, during the night, into the so-called "Island," between two branches of the river Oëroë, which flow down from Cithæron. The confusion attendant upon a night march over unknown ground, and especially the obstinacy of one of the Spartan captains, who long refused to retreat when in presence of an enemy, caused such disorder and delay, that, while the Greek centre overshot their mark and retreated quite to Platæa, the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans were overtaken by the Persians before they had come up with the Athenians. The Persian archers, forming a breastwork of their wicker shields, poured in a galling flight of arrows, which Pausanias was obliged to bear till the victims, which even at this crisis he would not omit to offer, should become favourable. At length his prayer to Hera, whose temple stood in full view on the citadel of Platæa, was answered by a favourable omen, which was anticipated by the

* We can hardly decide whether the story of his challenge to a single combat with champions of equal numbers—Lacedæmonians against Persians—is anything more than a Homeric embellishment. See *Herod.* ix. 71.

onset of the Tegeans. The Lacedæmonians rushed to their support; the frail breastwork went down before the charge, and the Persians again found themselves, as at Marathon and Thermopylæ, engaged in close conflict with the serried phalanx, long spears, and full armour of the Greeks. They fought with even more than their wonted bravery, grasping the spears and breaking them with their hands. Mardonius, who doubtless felt that there was no return for him to Persia if he lost this field, was conspicuous in front on a white charger, till he was slain by a Spartan, whose name was curiously fitted to his exploit.* Nearly all his body-guard, of a thousand chosen men, died around him; the wearied Persians gave way when they saw their leader fall; the other Asiatics turned their backs without a blow; and the routed army fled for shelter to their palisaded camp behind the Asopus. One division of 40,000 Persians, under Artabazus, had been left behind in the rapid advance of Mardonius, and took no part in the battle. Artabazus, after trying in vain to moderate the rashness of his commander, had formed his division as a reserve, and was advancing to the scene of action, when he saw the total rout of the main army. He immediately retreated, and, passing by the camp and Thebes itself, began his march back to Asia.

Meanwhile the Athenians and Platæans, summoned by a hasty message from Pausanias, came up on the Spartan left, and encountered the Thebans and Bœotians. Those of the Greeks who had made the greatest sacrifices for their country stood front to front with those who had most completely sold themselves to the invader; and, besides, their animosity was inflamed by old domestic feuds. After a fierce contest, the Bœotians were forced back to Thebes, their retreat being covered by their cavalry. The other Medizing Greeks kept aloof from the fight, and fled as soon as they saw the defeat of the Thebans. Indeed it is remarkable how small a portion of the two armies was engaged on the field of Platæa. The battle was really decided by "the Dorian spear"† in the conflict of the Spartans and Tegeans with the Medes and Persians; on the left it was confined to the Athenians and Bœotians. The other contingents of the Greek army were far in the rear; the rest of the Asiatics fled without a stroke. The victory was followed up by the storming of the fortified camp with a slaughter which must have been truly fearful, to give even a colour of truth to the

* Aeimnestus, signifying *ever to be remembered.*

† Æschylus, *Persæ*, 817.

statement that out of the 300,000 soldiers of Mardonius only 3000 survived, besides those who had left the field with Artabazus.* Herodotus calculates the Greek loss (doubtless of hoplites only) with the precision of a muster-roll:—91 Spartans, 16 Tegeans, and 52 Athenians! † Ten days were occupied in burying the dead and dividing the spoil, which contained riches such as the Greeks had never seen before. The body of Mardonius was stolen away and buried,—it was never certainly known by whom,—after Pausanias had indignantly repelled a suggestion to retaliate upon it the insults of Xerxes to the corpse of Leonidas. The Greek army then marched against Thebes, to punish the Medizing leaders, who were given up after a siege of twenty days, and were put to death by Pausanias. Platæa, close to which the battle had been fought, and whose citizens had deserved so well of their country, was invested with a sacred character. She was finally released from the political ascendancy which Thebes had so long claimed over her, and the inviolability of her territory was guaranteed by an oath, on the condition of her celebrating the Feast of Liberty (the *Eleutheria*) with games every four years. To maintain the liberty thus commemorated, the allies ratified by another oath a permanent league for the common defence against Persia. They agreed to contribute fixed contingents towards a force of 10,000 hoplites, 1000 cavalry, and 100 triremes; and an annual meeting of deputies from each state was appointed to be held at Platæa. This measure, as much required in the present state of things as it was patriotic in its principle, is ascribed to Aristides. We shall soon see how both this scheme and the inviolability of Platæa were destroyed in the fatal rivalry of Athens and Lacedæmon.

The soil of Greece itself was now free from the invader; and another triumph had been gained at the same time on the coast of Asia. The Persian fleet, after conveying Xerxes and his army across the Hellespont, wintered at Cyme and Samos, and assembled at the latter station, 400 triremes strong, in the spring of B.C. 479. The Greek squadron of 110 ships mustered at Ægina, and seemed bent on an active campaign. Envoys from Chios, Samos, and other Ionian states, promised that the colonies would revolt as soon as the Grecian sails were seen upon their shores. But a voyage across the Ægæan, where the flag of Persia had so long flouted

* *Herod.* ix. 70.

† Plutarch makes the Greek loss 1360. We have already had occasion to remark upon the small numbers slain on the victorious side in other battles of the like nature.

the sky unchallenged, was too much for Spartan caution, and the Spartan king Leotychides, who commanded the fleet, refused to advance beyond Delos. At length the hesitation, which all the eloquence of the Samian envoy Hegisistratus* had failed to overcome, gave way before the omen suggested by his name, and the fleet sailed for Samos. The Persian navy retired, on their approach, to the promontory of Mycalé, near Miletus, to co-operate with the army of 60,000 men under Tigranes, on which the safety of Ionia depended. By dismissing the Phœnicians, and drawing their other ships on shore, and joining their forces to those of Tigranes, they virtually abandoned the sea to the Greeks:—such was the terror inspired by Salamis. The Spartan king, who had needed fresh persuasion from the Ionian envoys to advance beyond Samos, must have been rejoiced to find that his enemies had taken to the more congenial element. As he sailed past their army, which lined the beach, he caused a loud-voiced herald to invite the Ionians to revolt, hoping at least to bring them into suspicion with the Persians. The late events made the manœuvre more successful than when it had been practised by Themistocles at Eubœa. The Samians in the Persian force were disarmed, and the Milesians were sent to guard the mountain roads over Mount Mycalé in the rear. The Greeks disembarked, and prepared for an attack in the afternoon.

Then happened one of those marvellous coincidences, at the explanation of which we can only guess, while their truth is chiefly discredited by the haste with which theories are built upon them. The day was the fourth of Boëdromion (nearly corresponding to our September), the same month in which the battle of Marathon, and probably that of Salamis, had been gained. The remembrance of those victories, in itself of such cheering omen, was saddened by the thought of the peril of their countrymen from the army of Mardonius. It may have been that confidence in their brethren at home raised hopes which their own excitement ripened into certainty; but, at the moment when they were advancing to the battle, a rumour flew through the host from one end to the other that the Greeks had fought and conquered the army of Mardonius in Bœotia; and at the same time, a herald's wand was seen lying on the beach—the sign that the message had been miraculously wafted across the western wave.† It was afterwards

* That is, *Leader of the Army*.

† *Herod.* ix. 100. Mr. Grote calls the message "a divine Phemé"—what the ancients believed to be "a divine voice, or vocal goddess, generally considered as

found that both battles were fought near a temple of Demeter, a goddess whose mystic relation to her votaries was specially congruous with such an inspiration. Let the source of the impulse have been what it might, its effect was instantaneous and decisive. All fear vanished; they rushed into the fight at a quickened pace, and with the feeling that, as their brethren had freed Greece, they had to win the prize of the Hellespont and the islands.*

The battle that ensued bore some resemblance to that of Platæa, but the parts of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were interchanged. The former, marching along the beach, came into the presence of the enemy long before the latter, who had to pass over hills and along a difficult ravine. The Persian archers, ensconced, as at Platæa, behind a breastwork formed of their wicker shields, long maintained an equal combat; till the Athenians, eager to win the field before the Lacedæmonians came up, cheered each other on with shouts, and burst through the fence of bucklers. It was only after a further long and brave resistance that the Persians fell back into their entrenched camp, the Athenians entering it with them, supported by the Corinthians, Sicyonians, and Trœzenians. Even then, though abandoned by the other Asiatics, the native Persians made a last stand against the superior arms and discipline which had now so often prevailed in fighting hand to hand. Collecting in small groups behind their trench, they met each body of the Greeks as they came up to storm it. Both the commanders of the land forces fell in this combat; but we may probably infer the demoralization of the fleet from the statement that both the admirals fled. Among the Greeks, the chief loss was suffered by the Sicyonians, whose general Perilaüs was slain.

informing a crowd of persons at once, or moving them all by one and the same unanimous feeling, the *Vox Dei* passing into the *Vox Populi*. There was an altar to Phemé at Athens. . . . . The descriptions of *Fama* by Virgil and Ovid are more diffuse and overcharged, departing from the simplicity of the Greek conception." He illustrates this phenomenon—"the common susceptibilities, common inspiration, and common spontaneous impulse of a multitude, effacing for the time each man's separate individuality"—by Michelet's description of the impulse which led to the capture of the Bastile on the 14th of July, 1789. (Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. v., pp. 260, 262.) The rationalizing explanation of Diodorus, that the report was circulated by the generals, assumes a positive fact, of which we have no evidence. Herodotus, by-the-bye, does not make the rumour so specific as writers who repeat it on his authority:—nothing is said of the victory having been gained at Platæa or on that very day. He adds that this exact coincidence became known by subsequent enquiry.

* *Herod.* ix. 101. It is to be observed that he does not name Ionia. Whatever the Greeks may have hoped at the time, he knew—writing after the event—that the Persian hold upon Ionia was not to be so easily unloosed.

It was not till the arrival of the Lacedæmonians that the victory was decided. The rout was rendered irremediable by the defection of the Ionians. The disarmed Samians in the Persian camp did all they could to help the Greeks; and the Milesians used their knowledge of the mountain paths to guide whole bands of fugitives into the way of their pursuers, and set upon them themselves. The Greeks completed their victory by burning the Persian fleet, which had been drawn up on shore at Mycalé; and the remnants of the Persian army retired to Sardis, to complete the mortification of Xerxes, who had remained there since his retreat from Europe. His military resources were for the time exhausted; and the battle of Mycalé liberated the islands, and placed Ionia a second time in the attitude of revolt.

And now arose the question—How were the Ionians to be defended? or, Were they to be defended at all?—for the selfish caution of the Peloponnesians did not scruple to hesitate at the latter alternative. The great islands of Lesbos, Chios, and Samos, which were well able to protect themselves, now that the Persian fleet was destroyed, were received at once into the confederacy; but the Lacedæmonians could see no better course for the Ionians of the continent than a wholesale deportation. They proposed to give them the sea-port towns of those Greeks who had sided with the Persians. The Athenians refused to listen to a plan so derogatory to the importance of their city as the metropolis of the Ionian colonies. The argument was admitted by the Lacedæmonians; but they left all the responsibility with the Athenians, who thus gained an important step towards maritime ascendancy and the leadership of the Asiatic Greeks. These debates took place while the fleet were at the rendezvous of Samos. Thence the allies sailed to the Hellespont, not being yet aware that the bridges were destroyed. On finding that Xerxes had recrossed the strait ten months before, the Peloponnesians returned home, while the Athenians under Xanthippus remained to expel the Persians from the Chersonese; an operation which was completed by the capture of Sestos, the chief Persian garrison; and then the fleet returned to Athens. This victory rendered certain the liberation of Thrace and Macedonia. The History of Herodotus concludes with the taking of Sestos (B.C. 478).

The last events of this campaign could not fail to cast the cloud of mutual jealousy over the glories won by the united arms of Greece. Athens now stood forth as the leader of the Ionian race and the guardian of Hellenic interests on the sea. During the

very time when the Athenians had been without a country, their military organization had been perfected; and their character had been established as the first of the Greeks, both in patriotic resolution and effective counsels. This position was sure to rouse that Spartan jealousy, which the extremest peril of the common cause had scarcely checked. Athens had many other jealous rivals, and especially the Æginetans and Corinthians. No sooner did the people begin to rebuild their ruined city, than all these feelings burst forth; and the notable project was started by Sparta, that Athens, in common with all the cities of Northern Greece, should be left unfortified, and that the common defence should henceforth be concentrated at the Isthmus. It is by no means our intention to treat the internal politics of the Greek states on the scale which we have thought suitable to those wars of freedom which formed the chief crisis of ancient history. It is for the historian of Greece to recount the oft-told story of the firmness of Themistocles, and his daring craft in amusing the Spartans with excuses for delay, while men, women, and children laboured at the fortifications; so that the work was done, and an open rupture with Sparta avoided. Nor can we stay to describe his vast plans, which it was reserved for Pericles to complete, for the fortification of the ports of Peiræus and Munychia, in addition to Phalerum, to which was afterwards added their connection with Athens by means of the "Long Walls." The object of these works was to combine Athens and her ports into one vast fortified enclosure, within which the population of Attica might find refuge from an invader, while the sea remained open to their fleets. This plan was the key to all the future policy of Athens as a maritime state. We shall soon see how it was carried out by Pericles in the Peloponnesian War; and how a more ambitious policy led to the downfall of the state.

At present, however, we have to follow the war with Persia to its final issue. An expedition was fitted out under the Spartan king Pausanias to prosecute the war on the shores of Asia. It was composed of twenty Peloponnesian ships, and thirty Athenian, under Aristides and Cimon, besides others from Ionia and the islands (B.C. 478). After liberating most of the cities of Cyprus, they took Byzantium from the Persians, and so cleared the passage to the Euxine, the quarter from which Greece obtained her chief supplies of foreign corn. It was here that Pausanias began the treasonable correspondence with Xerxes, which is so graphically related by Thucydides. His proposals to marry the

daughter of the king, and to bring all Greece under his sway, were eagerly responded to; and the promise of support from Xerxes converted an arrogance already scarcely tolerable into the open and outrageous license of an oriental ruler. Pausanias even adopted the Persian dress, and surrounded himself with Median and Egyptian body-guards. He was recalled to Sparta, and placed on his trial. Though he was acquitted on the charges of wrongs committed against individuals, and though his correspondence with Xerxes was as yet undiscovered, the presumptive proofs of "Medism" were so strong, that he was not permitted to resume his command. How he carried on his intrigues in his private capacity; how, when his treason was at last detected, he attempted to raise the Helots in rebellion; and how he perished by famine, blockaded in the temple of "Athena of the Brazen House," in which he had taken sanctuary, his own mother laying the first stone against the gate,—all this we must leave to the historians of Greece.* Our present concern is with the momentous result of his treason upon the Hellenic confederacy.

We have seen how fully the leadership of Sparta was recognised in the late combined efforts of the Greeks, and with what patriotic forbearance Athens herself had submitted to it. But a feeling seems long to have been growing among the allies, that the power of the Athenian navy and the maritime character of her people gave her a right to the leadership at sea. Her unparalleled services during the late conflict might well cast the traditional claims of Sparta into the shade, especially with the Ionians and islanders who formed a large proportion of the fleet on the coast of Asia. In that fleet Athens was represented by leaders as wise and conciliating as Pausanias was rash and overbearing; and, on his departure with the Spartan squadron, the allies placed the command in the hands of Cimon and Aristides. When Dorcis came out as the successor of Pausanias, he found that, in the fleet which was the only force that the Greeks had now on foot in common, the supremacy had been transferred to the Athenians; and he could only return to inform the Spartans of the loss they had sustained.

This great change had been rendered inevitable by the fatal incapacity of Sparta to follow out a comprehensive policy, which

* Another memorable example of the prevailing tendency of Greek leaders to be corrupted by prosperity was furnished about the same time by the other Spartan king, Leotychides, the victor at Mycalé. Sent against the Medizers of Thessaly, he was detected in taking bribes, condemned to exile, and his house razed to the ground.

should have embraced the whole Hellenic race. It put an end to all hopes of Panhellenic union. For, though Athens was distinguished by the qualities which Sparta wanted, the latter, and the Peloponnesian states in general, were sure not to submit to the leadership of the former. Henceforth, Hellas was divided into two great parties, distinguished both by race and military habits—the Dorians, and the land states in general, adhering to Sparta; the Ionians and the maritime states transferring their sympathies to Athens. The immediate result was to place in the hands of the latter the whole direction of the allied fleet, from which the Peloponnesians had in fact seceded, and the prosecution of the war with Persia; and it was fortunate that the command lay in the hands of Aristides. His inflexible fairness organized the maritime states into the famous Confederacy of Delos. This island, lying conveniently in the midst of the Ægæan, and of old the chief political and religious centre of the Ionian race,* was chosen for the common treasury and place of meeting. Each state was bound to contribute its quota in ships or money or both, for the general defence, and especially for the prosecution of the war with Persia. To Athens was committed the work of assessment, subject to the confirmation of the synod; and it was in this task that the probity of Aristides was as invaluable as the shifty policy of Themistocles would have been ruinous. It was the singular good fortune of Athens that each of these statesmen was called, at this crisis, to do the work suited to his genius. The assessment of Aristides was not only cheerfully accepted at the time, but was appealed to as just and moderate after the leadership of Athens had passed into a tyrannical supremacy. Of its details we only know that the aggregate amount in money, besides ships, was 460 talents (about 106,000*l.*). The magnitude of the amount proves the wide extent of the confederacy. The common treasury at Delos was managed by a board appointed by the Athenians, and called the *Hellenotamiæ*, that is, stewards for the Greeks.

It is of the first importance to distinguish between the voluntary confederacy of Delos, with Athens as its responsible head, and the maritime empire afterwards built upon its ruins. "Thucydides," says Mr. Grote, "makes us clearly understand the difference between *presiding* Athens, with her autonomous and regularly assembled allies in B.C. 476, and *imperial* Athens with her subject allies in B.C. 432: the Greek word equivalent to *ally* left either of these epithets to be understood by an ambiguity exceedingly con-

* This is the position which Delos holds in Homer

venient to the powerful states."* In its original form, the league was a spontaneous movement for mutual help and strength, as well as for defence against the danger which was still by no means to be despised. For Persia not only threatened the islands from her Asiatic coast and still held several important positions in Thrace, but the Medizing party was strong in the heart of Greece; and how suddenly it might become formidable was proved by the cases of Pausanias and Themistocles.

While the confederates of Delos were energetically prosecuting the maritime war with Persia, events of the deepest interest were taking place at Athens. It belongs to more special histories to trace in detail the rapid development of democracy which resulted from the ascendancy of "the maritime multitude, authors of the victory of Salamis."† We have to glance at the fortunes of the men who had led them on to the victory, and at the rise of a new generation of statesmen to fill their places. The positions of Aristides and Themistocles were entirely changed. We hear of no renewal of their rivalry. Aristides may be said almost to have been placed above rivalry by his public services and his tried integrity. His simple patriotism received a fresh illustration from his acceptance of the new order of things in the state; and in the administrator of the confederacy of Delos we scarcely recognise the opponent of the naval policy of Themistocles. But Themistocles found a more violent opponent in Cimon, the son of Miltiades, who now appeared as the head of the party of the old nobles.‡ But it was his own conduct that most shook his influence in the state. Like Pausanias, his head was turned by success, and he disgusted his fellow-citizens by personal ostentation, and perpetual boasts of his services. But this was not all. As the commander of a squadron sent to arrange the affairs of the islands, he was accused of the grossest corruption and partiality in expelling or restoring citizens charged with Medism, and even with putting some to death at his arbitrary pleasure. While his conduct tended to bring the leadership of Athens into odium with the allies, it raised up for himself a host of enemies; and the

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. v., p. 355.

† Aristot. *Polit.* v. 3, § 5.

‡ This is commonly called the aristocratic party; but the term is calculated to mislead. Democratic institutions were now too firmly established at Athens to allow of any question, for the present at least, about the restoration of aristocratic government. In fact, the relations of parties at Athens are not to be understood by applying to them general political names—much less by viewing them, as some do, in the light of our own party divisions—but by studying the actual course of their policy.

hatred he had incurred with the Lacedæmonians by outwitting them in the fortification of Athens was inflamed by a suspicion that he was implicated in the treason of Pausanias. It is said to have been at the instigation of Sparta that his rivals brought against him the charge of Medism, on which he was acquitted; but not long afterwards a vote of ostracism banished him from Athens, and he retired to Argos (B.C. 471). The known leaning of this city towards Persia would make it a favourable spot for any Medizing intrigues that Themistocles might be disposed to carry on; and he was not the man to shrink from such a mode of providing for his own safety, and recovering elsewhere the importance he had lost at home. The extent of his guilt is a point still involved in obscurity; but the proceedings against Pausanias brought out evidence so strongly affecting Themistocles, that the Lacedæmonians proposed to the Athenians that he should be put on his trial before the congress of the allies at Sparta. Envoys from the two states were sent to apprehend him; but, before they reached Argos, he fled to Corcyra, and thence to the opposite mainland of Epirus. All know the romantic stories of his sitting as a suppliant on the hearth of his old enemy, King Admetus, who refused to give him up to the envoys, and sped him on his way to Persia; and of his safe passage by the Athenian fleet besieging Naxos, through his presence of mind in dealing with the captain of the vessel that carried him. Landing at Ephesus, he was conducted to Susa, where Artaxerxes Longimanus now reigned. To that king he addressed a letter, rather in the tone of a high ambassador, or royal visitor, than of a suppliant:—"I, Themistocles, am come to thee, having done to thy house more mischief than any other Greek, as long as I was compelled in my own defence to resist the attack of thy father; but having also done him yet greater good, when I could do so with safety to myself, and when his retreat was endangered.* Reward is yet owing to me for my past service: moreover, I am now here, chased away by the Greeks in consequence of my attachment to thee, but able still to serve thee with great effect. I wish to wait a year, and then to come before thee in person, to explain my views." The delay was granted, and Themistocles used the interval so well as to be able to play the courtier after the Persian fashion, and to converse with the king in the Persian tongue, amusing him with fresh schemes for the subjugation of Greece. He was rewarded with a Persian wife and a princely residence at Magnesia in Ionia,

* See pp. 424, 431.

where his wants were provided for after the fashion of the Persian kings. Magnesia with its territory, the revenues of which amounted to fifty talents (about 12,000*l.*), was assigned to him for bread; Myus for condiments; and Lampsacus on the Hellespont for wine. His family came out to join him; and he was content to enjoy these splendid rewards of his treason, without an attempt to perform his promises to the king. That he died by his own hand, when he found himself unable to fulfil those promises, is the addition of later writers to a story which needs no such embellishment to point its moral. A philosopher like Plutarch could hardly dismiss such a man without some signal retribution. But there are characters too selfish to feel, or at least too self-contained to display remorse; and the worldly success of such men is a problem not to be solved by altering the facts of history and of human nature. "Verily they have their reward." The unimpeachable testimony of Thucydides assures us that Themistocles died of natural illness in his sixty-fifth year. A splendid tomb was erected to him at Magnesia; but a report prevailed in later times, that his family had, at his express desire, transported his bones to Attica, and buried them privately in the ground where no traitor was allowed to rest. Aristides had already died a few years after the ostracism of Themistocles, and was honoured with a public funeral and a tomb at Phalerum. The stories of his poverty may be exaggerated; but it is certain that the man who made the assessment of Delos added nothing to his own fortune, while his rival, who is said to have begun life with only three talents, left behind him at Athens 100 talents, besides what he carried with him in his flight. This contrast is almost sufficient of itself to stamp the characters of the men.

The party leaders who succeeded them were Cimon, the son of Miltiades, and Pericles, the son of Xanthippus. The political rivalry of these statesmen was inflamed by hereditary personal opposition; for, as we have seen, Xanthippus had been the accuser of Miltiades; and, besides, Pericles belonged, on his mother's side, to the family of the Alcmæonidæ. The remarkable contrast between their personal characters cannot be better drawn than in the words of Mr. Grote:—"In taste, in talent, and in character, Cimon was the very opposite of Pericles—a brave and efficient commander, a lavish distributor, a man of convivial and amorous habits, but incapable of sustained attention to business, untaught in music and letters, and endued with Laconian aversion to rhetoric and philosophy; while the ascendancy of Pericles was founded on

his admirable combination of civil qualities—probity, firmness, diligence, judgment, eloquence, and power of guiding partisans. As a military commander, though no way deficient in personal courage, he rarely courted distinction, and was principally famous for his care of the lives of the citizens, discountenancing all rash or distant enterprises: his private habits were sober and recluse —his chief conversation was with Anaxagoras, Protagoras, Zeno, the musician Damon, and other philosophers—while the tenderest domestic attachment bound him to the engaging and cultivated Aspasia."* Such were the two men who now headed what—for want of a more exact definition—are called the oligarchical and democratic parties in the Athenian state. In foreign politics, Cimon was a staunch advocate of the alliance with Sparta, with which city he had intimate personal relations; and the extent to which he sometimes permitted his "Laconism" to influence his Athenian policy,—not corruptly, but from a coincidence of personal bias with political conviction,—was as marked as the similar leanings of some of our own statesmen to continental powers. Cimon was considerably older than Pericles. We have seen the former acting in opposition to Themistocles soon after the second Persian War: it was not till after the ostracism of that statesman that Pericles began his long public life of forty years (B.C. 469—429).

The brilliant administration of Pericles belongs to the following period of Grecian history: at present we have to trace the sequel of the liberation of Greece by Athens and the Delian confederates, under the leadership of Cimon. The ten years from B.C. 476 to B.C. 466 must have been a period of constant warfare; but we have very few details of the operations by which the Persians were dislodged from the posts they still occupied in Thrace and elsewhere. Among these was the capture of Eïon, on the Strymon (just above the site afterwards occupied by the celebrated city of Amphipolis), where the Persian governor destroyed himself, with his family and property, rather than surrender. At length a great expedition was sent to the south-western coast of Asia Minor, consisting of 200 Athenian triremes, and 100 from the other allies, under the command of Cimon (B.C. 466). While he was occupied in expelling the Persian garrisons from the chief cities of Caria and Lycia, the satraps collected a fleet and army at the mouth of the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia. On one and the same day, Cimon attacked and dispersed their fleet of 200 ships, and then,

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. v. pp. 488-9.

landing his hoplites, routed the Persian army on the shore. Then, sailing to Cyprus, he destroyed a squadron of eighty Phœnician ships, which were on their way to reinforce the fleet at the Eurymedon. This double victory, which rewarded the allies with an immense spoil, was justly regarded as crowning the work begun at Salamis and Platæa. The Persian no longer ventured westward beyond the bay of Pamphylia, and the freedom of Greece and the islands was confirmed. But those dissensions had already begun among the allies, which were soon to convert the confederacy into the maritime dominion of Athens, and which occupied the energies that might have been devoted to the liberation of the Asiatic colonies. The Athenians, however, did not renounce the idea of an aggressive war, to exact vengeance from their great enemy; and, six years later, they seized the opportunity offered by the revolt of Inarus in Egypt* (B.C. 460). The first success of their expedition sent to his aid was overshadowed by a terrible reverse after a war of six years, involving the utter destruction not only of the original armament, but of a reinforcement of fifty ships, which entered the Nile not knowing that the Persians were masters of the country (B.C. 455). But not even then did the Athenians give up the hope of at once obtaining a footing in Egypt, and damaging the empire at its most vulnerable point. After another six years, a great expedition of 200 ships was sent out under Cimon, with the double object of attacking Cyprus and of assisting Amyrtæus, who still held out in the marshes of the Delta (B.C. 449). Detaching sixty ships to Egypt, the rest of the armament laid siege to Citium, in Cyprus; and before this place Cimon died. His successor, Anaxicrates, encountered the Phœnician and Cilician fleet near the Cyprian town of Salamis, and repeated the exploit of the Eurymedon in a double victory by sea and land. This was the last action in the series of wars which had occupied full fifty years from the outbreak of the Ionian revolt. Though the transaction is involved in some obscurity, there is no reason to doubt that a formal convention was concluded at Susa by the Athenian envoy Callias, under which a boundary line was drawn between Persia on the one side, and the possessions of the Asiatic Greeks and the maritime empire of the allies on the other. Artaxerxes bound himself to leave the maritime colonies of Western Asia free, untaxed, and unmolested, and not to send troops within a certain prescribed distance of their coast; nor to send ships of war to the west of the Cheli-

* Compare chap. vii. p. 139.

donian islands on the southern coast, or of the Cyanean rocks at the mouth of the Thracian Bosporus. The Athenians, on their part, agreed to abstain from all further attacks on Egypt and Cyprus. In its most important article, the convention proved before long to be a dead letter. The states of Greece, which had already begun to turn their arms against each other, were so far from maintaining the independence of Ionia, that they sought Persian aid and submitted to Persian arbitration in their own internal conflicts. The brilliant campaigns of Agesilaüs (B.C. 396—394), which promised to carry the Greek arms into the heart of Persia, were frustrated by a league which the great king formed against Sparta in Greece itself; and the shameful peace of Antalcidas definitively gave up all the Greek cities in Asia, as well as Cyprus (B.C. 387). But just twenty years later, and a hundred years after the battles of the Eurymedon (B.C. 366), the conqueror was born, whose vast ambition renewed the aggressive war, and avenged the invasion begun by the first Darius in the overthrow of the last.

CHAPTER XIV.

RIVALRY OF THE GREEK REPUBLICS.

FROM THE CONFEDERACY OF DELOS TO THE END OF THE THEBAN SUPREMACY. B.C. 477 TO B.C. 360.

"'T were long to tell, and sad to trace,
Each step from splendour to disgrace;
Enough—no foreign foe could quell
Thy soul, till from itself it fell;
Yes! self-abasement paved the way
To villain-bonds and despot sway."—BYRON.

STATE OF GREECE AFTER THE PERSIAN WARS—RISE OF THE MARITIME EMPIRE OF ATHENS—REVOLTS OF NAXOS AND THASOS—AFFAIRS OF THE CONTINENT—DECLINE OF SPARTAN ASCENDANCY—REVOLT OF THE HELOTS: THIRD MESSENIAN WAR—ATHENIAN POLITICS—OSTRACISM OF CIMON—ADVANCE OF DEMOCRACY—WARS WITH THE DORIAN STATES—THE FIVE YEARS' TRUCE—NEW WARS—BATTLE OF CORONEA—MEGARA AND EUBŒA—LACEDÆMONIAN INVASION OF ATTICA—THIRTY YEARS' TRUCE—ASCENDANCY OF PERICLES—BRILLIANT EPOCH OF ATHENS—SPLENDOUR OF ART AND LITERATURE—CAUSES AND OUTBREAK OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR—ITS FIRST PERIOD, TO THE FIFTY YEARS' TRUCE OF NICIAS—INVASIONS OF ATTICA—PLAGUE AT ATHENS—NAVAL SUCCESSES—REVOLTS OF ALLIES—ATHENIAN STATESMEN AND DEMAGOGUES—NICIAS, DEMOSTHENES, AND CLEON—ARISTOPHANES—WAR OF AMPHIPOLIS—BRASIDAS AND THUCYDIDES—SECOND PERIOD OF THE WAR, TO THE FAILURE OF THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION—ALCIBIADES—THIRD PERIOD OF THE WAR—FORTIFICATION OF DECELEA—DECLINE OF ATHENS—NAVAL CAMPAIGNS ON THE SHORES OF ASIA—BATTLES OF ARGINUSÆ AND ÆGOSPOTAMI—CAPTURE OF ATHENS—THE THIRTY TYRANTS—COUNTER REVOLUTION—PEACE WITH SPARTA—DEATH OF SOCRATES—SPARTAN SUPREMACY—EXPEDITION OF THE YOUNGER CYRUS AND THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS—LACEDÆMONIAN WAR IN ASIA—AGESILAÜS—LEAGUE AGAINST SPARTA—CORINTHIAN WAR—BATTLES OF CORONEA AND CNIDUS—PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS—OLYNTHIAN WAR—WAR BETWEEN THEBES AND SPARTA—EPAMINONDAS AND PELOPIDAS—PEACE OF CALLIAS—BATTLE OF LEUCTRA—SUPREMACY OF THEBES—INVASION OF PELOPONNESUS—LEAGUE AGAINST SPARTA—BATTLE OF MANTINEA AND DEATH OF EPAMINONDAS—GENERAL PACIFICATION—AGESILAÜS IN EGYPT: HIS DEATH—DECLINE OF THEBES—STATE OF GREECE AT THIS EPOCH—ORATORS AT ATHENS—AFFAIRS OF SICILY—THE DIONYSII, DION AND TIMOLEON—ART, LITERATURE, AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE interval of one hundred and twenty years, from the final repulse of the Persians to the accession of the Macedonian Philip (B.C. 479—459), presents a very different aspect in the annals of Greece and in the history of the world. To the classical student it offers a field for the most minute research, on a scale which would be alike impossible within the limits of our work and inconsistent with our plan. All we can attempt is to trace, in broad outline, the part which was played in general history by the restless activity and mutual rivalries of the Greek republics, when freed from the danger of despotic rule;—the immense impulse which they gave to the intellectual progress of our race;—their

experiments in free government;—the proof they furnished, how much easier it is to gain liberty by a tremendous effort of patriotic courage, than to preserve and use it wisely by a course of moderation and self-sacrifice.

We have seen, in the earliest condition of Greece, the local barriers by which her inhabitants were severed from each other, and grouped into small states which were driven into mutual hostility, at first by the instinct of self-preservation, and afterwards by a real or supposed diversity of interests. Minor varieties of race proved more powerful to dissever, than common blood, language, and religion to unite the sections of the Hellenic race; nor had those grand institutions, in which their unity was cherished by themselves and displayed before the world, power to still the passions roused by the great conflict, which human nature is ever waging, between the Poor and the Rich, the Nobles and the Commons, the Many and the Few. Intercourse with other nations at once tested and developed the differences of national character; and the new interests created by foreign commerce widened the separation between the maritime and non-maritime states; while the former were driven, as in the cases of Corinth and Corcyra, Athens and Ægina, to fight among themselves for that empire of the sea, which seems, in its very nature, to admit of no partition.*

The collision with Persia suspended for a moment, and even then far from completely, the action of these disorganizing influences; and the patriotic submission of Athens to the leadership of Sparta held out the hope of an Hellenic union which should solve the great problem of the harmony of liberty with order. We have seen how the current of events, the conduct of the different states, and the characters of their statesmen, worked together to frustrate such a hope. The intrigues of Themistocles and the insolence of Pausanias completed the severance of the Greeks into two great parties, with Athens and Sparta for their acknowledged leaders; the one Ionian, maritime, and democratic, the other Dorian, continental, and oligarchical;—the one organized in the league of Delos, the other in the Peloponnesian confederacy.† In the form which the two divisions ultimately

* The wars of Corinth and Corcyra are a peculiarly strong illustration, as the two states were of the same race, and were united by the sacred relation of metropolis and colony.

† These general characters of the two parties are subject to particular exceptions. For instance, maritime Corinth was drawn to Sparta as a Dorian and Peloponnesian

assumed, that of Sparta embraced the Peloponnesus (except Argos, which maintained a trimming policy), and the greater part of Northern Greece; that of Athens the islands of the Ægæan and the Ionian seas, and the colonies of Asia Minor.*

The position of Athens at the head of the Delian confederacy, as the leader of free and voluntary allies, could only have been maintained by an extraordinary exercise of self-denial on her part, and of vigilance by each member of the confederacy. The power placed in her hands, at first in conjunction with the synod, of enforcing on the states the obligations they had voluntarily incurred, was sure to prove a temptation to herself and a cause of offence to her allies. The constant burthen of personal service began to be irksome as soon as its immediate necessity ceased, and many of the lesser states welcomed the compromise of a money payment in place of their appointed contingent of ships and men. This measure, which was clearly based on the wishes of the allies themselves, strengthened Athens doubly at their expense. For while they were deprived at once of their resources and their military organization, those very resources went to increase the force which Athens was bound by the treaty, and eager by her own enterprising spirit, to keep on foot. The result was inevitable, that Athens came to regard herself as the imperial head of a body of tributary allies, owing to her the allegiance which they had at first sworn to the common cause. Her ambition made her more than ready to accept the position thus forced upon her; and its maintenance soon came to be a matter of self-preservation. Her empire, as her great statesman declared, became a tyranny, which it might have been unjust to acquire, but was ruinous to let go. The more her resolution to enforce the conditions of the pact made her unpopular with her own allies,—the more her determination to hold them fast exposed her to general odium as the oppressor of a large part of Hellas,—the less was she likely to permit the subject states to be added to the force of her enemies. Such were the tendencies which assumed a practical form when some of the allies began to discover their mistake and to try the experiment of armed resistance.

The epoch at which Athens appears most conspicuous as the head of the voluntary maritime confederacy is marked by a strik-

state, as well as by maritime jealousy of Athens; while the Dorian islands of the Ægæan were sooner or later drawn perforce into the Athenian confederacy.

* See the enumeration of the two alliances, at the epoch of the Peloponnesian War, in Thucydides, ii. 9.

ing incident. Shortly after the allies had retaken Eïon on the Strymon from the Persians,* they turned their arms against certain of the old semi-barbarous peoples, who formed piratical communities in the Ægæan, such as the Dryopes of Carystus in Eubœa, and the Dolopes and Pelasgians of Scyros. The latter is one of those rocky islands, possessed of excellent harbours, which seem made for the home of the corsair. Its position near the centre of the Ægæan gave it importance, and an old tradition marked it as the burial-place of Theseus. An oracle had directed the Athenians to bring back the bones of their hero (B.C. 476); but it was not till the piratical inhabitants were expelled by Cimon, that the search could be made. It was, of course, successful. The remains were brought to Athens, and carried in solemn procession to the Theseum, the earliest and still the most perfect of the splendid Doric monuments which adorn the ruins of Athens (B.C. 469). In that procession, the Athenians must have felt that they were celebrating their own triumph, as the leaders of maritime Greece.

But about two years later the sore first broke out in the revolt of Naxos, the largest of the Cyclades. The Athenians made no hesitation about subduing a rebellious confederate by force of arms. The conquered state was stripped of its navy, and its fortifications were razed to the ground;—an example to all the allies who should henceforth attempt to recover their independence (B.C. 467—466).

The strength added to Athens by this conquest may have had an important influence on the success of Cimon in the battles of the Eurymedon (B.C. 466).† Next year the large island of Thasos, close to the coast of Thrace, revolted from the alliance, on account of a quarrel with the Athenian settlers at Eïon on the Strymon about the Thracian gold-mines‡ (B.C. 465). Thasos was only conquered after a prolonged blockade (B.C. 463), in the course of which the Athenians made their first unsuccessful attempt to form the settlement of Ennea-Hodoi (the *Nine Ways*) on the Strymon, which became afterwards so famous under the name of Amphipolis. The siege of Thasos had all but precipitated the inevitable collision between Athens and Sparta. The Thasians had secretly applied for aid to the Lacedæmonians, who were only

* See chap. xiii. p. 451. † Ibid.

‡ The most productive were those at Scapté Hylé (the *Wood of the Diggings*), in which the historian Thucydides possessed property.

kept back from a treacherous invasion of Attica by a terrible calamity at home.

Sparta had naturally taken the lead in the settlement of continental Greece after the Persian War. Her zeal against the Medizing states in general was mitigated by the prudent moderation of Themistocles. But in the case of Thebes, the policy of strengthening the rival of Athens led Sparta to restore her supremacy over the cities of Bœotia, always excepting Thespiæ and Platæa. In the Peloponnesus, Sparta was engaged in wars with the Arcadians and Eleians, and the latter people formed a confederacy, with its capital at Elis. The rapid growth of Athens, and the effect produced on the Greek mind by the misconduct of Pausanias and Leotychides, had already detracted much from the Spartan ascendancy, when the city was almost destroyed by a terrible earthquake, in which many of the citizens perished (B.C. 464). The Helots, already excited by the instigations of Pausanias, seized the opportunity to revolt, and the earthquake was represented as the judgment of Poseidon for the sacrilege committed in dragging certain Helots from his sanctuary at Tænarus. Sparta was only saved from surprise by the young king Archidamus; and the insurgents held the field for some time before they were shut up in the fortress of Ithome in Messenia. In this stronghold, the same which had been held by Aristodemus,* they maintained themselves for the ten years of the Third Messenian War (B.C. 464—454). The Lacedæmonians, who were proverbial for their want of skill in sieges, called in the aid of their allies, and among the rest, 4000 Athenians marched to their help under Cimon, who had some difficulty in prevailing on the Athenians to send the required aid. "Do not," said he, "suffer Hellas to be lamed of one leg, or our city to draw without her yoke-fellow." Soon, however, there sprung up a distrust—due to continued ill-success, and perhaps to the Lacedæmonians' consciousness of their meditated treachery in the affair of Thasos,—and the Athenian auxiliaries were unceremoniously dismissed (B.C. 461).

The effect was as marked on the internal politics of Athens, as on her foreign relations. Up to this period Cimon had maintained his political ascendancy against Pericles and the still more advanced democratic leader, Ephialtes; but the failure of his Laconizing policy brought himself and his party into utter discredit, and he was banished by a vote of ostracism. Pericles and Ephialtes now proceeded to complete the democratic constitution

* See chap. xii. p. 336.

of Cleisthenes by transferring judicial functions to the people, in addition to the political power which they already possessed. The Senate of the Areopagus was stripped both of its censorial and judicial attributes, except in cases of homicide; and the Senate of the Five Hundred, as well as the Archons, were restricted almost entirely to administrative duties. The decision of judicial questions was transferred to the *Dicasteries*. From the whole body of full citizens, 6000 were chosen every year by lot to serve the office of *Dicasts*, or jurymen, and they received pay during their attendance at the courts. They were subdivided by lots into ten sections of 500 each,* among which the several courts and causes were distributed. Referring to special works on Athenian antiquities for the details of the institution, we need only say that it popularized the administration of justice in perfect accordance with the whole spirit of the Athenian polity. Mr. Grote has well summed up the character of the Dicasteries as "nothing but jury-trial applied on a scale broad, systematic, unaided, and uncontrolled beyond all other historical experience, and therefore exhibiting, in exaggerated proportions, both the excellences and the defects characteristic of the jury system, as compared with decision by trained and professional judges. All the encomiums which it is customary to pronounce upon jury-trial will be found predicable of the Athenian dicasteries in a still greater degree: all the reproaches, which can be addressed on good ground to the dicasteries, will apply to modern juries also, though in a less degree." † Their large numbers secured them against intimidation, and against corruption, the prevailing vice of individual Greek judges, and secured the application to the question in hand of the average intelligence of the whole body of citizens. On the other hand, they were liable to err from the absence of professional knowledge directed by the calmness of a judicial mind, and they were subject to be misled both by prevailing prejudices and passions, and by the rhetoric of advocates. Modern experience, however, proves that twelve men, even under the presidence and direction of a judge not inclined to favour a popular sentiment, are quite as capable as five hundred of strokes of wild justice or passionate injustice; and the artifices of rival advocates would make the less

* The supernumerary 1000 were reserved to fill up accidental vacancies.

† Grote: *History of Greece*, vol. v. pp. 517, 518. The whole account, in that 46th chapter, of the changes at Athens under Pericles, deserves the most attentive perusal, not only of the classical student, but of every politician—nay of every educated citizen of a free state.

impression on dicasts whose naturally keen intellect was sharpened by constant attendance in the courts. Mr. Grote has triumphantly refuted the calumny which depicts the dicasts as delighting, with a sort of wanton levity, in hunting down an unhappy defendant; and has shown that they are most truly represented, even by their satirist, Aristophanes, as "obeying the appeals to their pity as well as those to their anger—as being yielding and impressionable when their feelings are approached on either side, and unable, when they hear the exculpatory appeal of the accused, to maintain the anger which had been raised by the speech of the accuser." One effect of the new judicial system is undeniable; it gave a most powerful stimulus to thought and speech, and aided that intellectual development which is the most striking character of the age of Pericles. So violent was the resistance of the aristocratic party to these changes, that they procured the assassination of Ephialtes, thereby probably only strengthening the hands of Pericles, who now began to exercise the vast power which went on increasing till his death.

The insult put by Sparta upon Athens broke the last link of the alliance between the two states. Not only was that alliance renounced by a formal vote of the Athenian people, but they formed a new league with her constant rival, Argos, a state which had regained much of its old power while the Spartans were occupied with the Messenian War. Another alliance with Megara, then at war with Corinth, gave Athens a footing upon the Isthmus. To protect this new ally against the land forces of the Peloponnesians, and to place her in direct communication with their own maritime power, the Athenians devised that new and ingenious species of fortification called "Long Walls." They connected Megara with her port, Nisæa, by a pair of parallel walls extending for the whole distance of about a mile. It was about two years later that the Athenians began their own celebrated "Long Walls," which completed the scheme begun by Themistocles in the fortification of the Piræus. A wall about four miles and a half long united the Piræus with Athens, and with another, about four miles long, to Phalerum, enclosed the whole space between Athens and her two ports in one vast fortified *enceinte* (B.C. 457—6). These steps were not taken without opposition. The Spartans were occupied with the siege of Ithome; but Corinth and Epidaurus leagued with other Peloponnesian states to avenge the intrusion of Athens into Megara, and the Æginetans made a last effort to dispute her dominion of the sea.

A great sea-fight off Ægina, between the Athenians and the allies, resulted in the destruction of the navy of the Æginetans, and the siege of their city by land and sea; while an attack of the Corinthians upon Megara was repulsed, and the whole detachment were cut to pieces in their retreat (B.C. 457). Athens now only needed to become the protectress of the Bœotian towns, as she was already of Platæa, in order to stand at the head of a great continental league. To guard, it would seem, against this danger, the Spartans marched an army into Bœotia on another pretext. They were in secret communication with the oligarchical party in Athens, who vehemently opposed the building of the Long Walls, and by whose aid they hoped both to frustrate that work, and even to overthrow the democracy. The Athenians promptly met the danger by a march to Tanagra, on the Bœotian frontier, with the whole force that they could muster (their main army being occupied in the siege of Ægina), aided by some Argive infantry and Thessalian cavalry. A hard-won victory gained for the Lacedæmonians no other advantage than a safe retreat; while the defeat of the Athenians was compensated by the reconciliation of her two great statesmen. The exiled Cimon presented himself on the field of battle; and, when not permitted to take his place in the ranks, urged his friends to fight with desperate courage. Struck with this generous devotion, Pericles himself proposed his rival's recal; and the two chiefs entered into a compact which secured to the state the military services of Cimon, while the internal administration was left to Pericles. The first effect of this reconciliation was seen in an ample revenge for the defeat of Tanagra. Only two months after that battle, the Athenians marched into Bœotia, and defeated the whole body of the allies of Thebes at Œnophyta. The Bœotian towns were not only released from the supremacy of Thebes, but their governments were made democratic under the protection of Athens. The Phocians and Locrians joined her alliance, and she found herself at the head of a confederacy extending from the Isthmus of Corinth to Thermopylæ. About the same time the Long Walls were completed, and the surrender of Ægina reduced this ancient enemy to the condition of a tributary ally of Athens, her fortifications being razed, and her ships surrendered. To the mastery of the Ægæan Sea was now added that of the coasts of Greece. The Athenian admiral, Tolmides, sailed round Peloponnesus, burned the Lacedæmonian harbours of Methone and Gythium, and took from the Ozolian Locrians the important port of Naupactus, at the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth.

A friendly garrison was secured for this post, which commanded both the entrance of the Gulf and the passage across its mouth into Peloponnesus, by the establishment there of the Messenian Helots who had surrendered Ithomé under a capitulation, after holding out ten years (B.C. 455). This brilliant career of victory received a check in the failure of expeditions against Thessaly and Sicyon; and in the following year Pericles himself was equally unsuccessful in a renewed attack on Sicyon, and an expedition to Acarnania (B.C. 454). The severe loss inflicted on Athens by the destruction of the force sent to Egypt, and the depression of Sparta in consequence of the Messenian War and the Athenian successes among her allies, disposed both parties to peace, and a Five Years' Truce between Athens and the Peloponnesians was negociated by Cimon (B.C. 450). This singular form of compact was quite in accordance with Greek ideas. A treaty of peace between two European states begins with the mutual promise of perpetual amity and good-will; but the Greek states came to regard war for their own interests as their normal condition, only to be interrupted by truces for fixed periods, and even these seldom lasted their full term. These truces were armistices solemnly sworn to with libations to the gods, from which libations the truce received its name in Greek.* It was soon after the conclusion of the Five Years' Truce that Cimon undertook the successful naval expedition to Cyprus, during which he died (B.C. 449). He was succeeded in the leadership of the aristocratic party by Thucydides, the son of Melesias, who proved no match for Pericles, and was ostracized after five or six years (B.C. 444-3).†

Some time—but we do not know how long—before the death of Cimon, the final step was taken in the establishment of the maritime empire of Athens by the transference of the common treasury of the confederacy from Delos to Athens itself. This measure was proposed by the Samians even during the lifetime of Aristides, who is said to have characterized it as unjust but useful; and when most of the allies ceased to take any personal share in the affairs of the confederacy, and the synod of Delos became a mere form, it would have been mere affectation to leave the treasure exposed to a bold maritime raid, or indeed to carry the contribu-

* Hence the humour of Aristophanes makes his rustic lover of peace *taste* the truces, which he has had privately fetched for him from Sparta in jars. He finds a Five Years' Truce to smell of pitch and naval preparations, and discusses a Ten Years' and Thirty Years' Truce after a like fashion (*Acharnians*, vv. 186—202).

† He must not be confounded with the great historian Thucydides, the son of Olorus.

tions anywhere but direct to Athens. Thus the middle of the fifth century B.C. saw the Athenians at the head of a real empire, extending over the Ægæan Sea and the coasts of Asia Minor, from which the Persians withdrew about this time under the convention of Callias, and embracing the most important part of Northern Greece. Besides maintaining her position as the natural head of the Ionian race, she numbered many Dorian states among her subject allies, one of them, Ægina, an island which had been a great seat of commerce, civilization, and maritime empire, while Athens was in her infancy. It is no wonder that she was hated throughout Dorian Greece. Sparta herself had suffered the humiliation of seeing her coasts ravaged and her ports burnt; and even when she attempted to restore the sanctuary of Apollo to the Delphians, who had been displaced by the Phocians, her army had no sooner retired than the Athenians reversed the proceeding, and replaced the Phocians in possession of the temple and oracle (B.C. 448). These proceedings did not, however, involve a breach of the Five Years' Truce.

But it was not the destiny of Athens to maintain an empire on the continent, and her reverses began from the very moment of her highest power. The plains of Bœotia were to the states of Greece what the Netherlands have been to Europe—a common battle-field. The battles of Tanagra and Œnophyta were speedily followed by that of Coronea,* in which the revolted aristocratic party in Bœotia totally defeated an ill-prepared Athenian force under Tolmides (B.C. 447). One consequence of this battle is important for the light it throws upon Grecian sentiment. Many members of the best families of Athens were taken prisoners at Coronea. Had they fallen, fresh efforts would have been made to avenge their death; but their lives were held worth redeeming at the price of the total evacuation of Bœotia. The oligarchical governments were restored in all the cities except Platæa; and the country, once more placed under the supremacy of Thebes, became again the bitter enemy of Athens.

The loss of Bœotia involved the defection of the Phocians and Locrians. At the same time Eubœa revolted, and Megara was seized by a force of Corinthians and others, admitted into the city by a conspiracy (B.C. 445). This last achievement opened the passes which led through Mount Geranea from the Isthmus into Attica; and, now that the Five Years' Truce had expired, the

* Just half a century later, Coronea was the scene of the victory of Agesilaüs over the states allied against Sparta (B.C. 394).

Lacedæmonians invaded Attica under their young king Pleistoanax. Pericles returned in all haste from Eubœa; and, according to the common belief, bribed Pleistoanax to retreat.* He then returned to Eubœa, and reconquered the island. But the continental power of Athens was completely broken. The revolt of Megara severed her hold upon Peloponnesus, and laid her open to invasion. She consented to a truce for thirty years with the Spartans and their allies, surrendering her conquests in the Megarid, Trœzen, and Achæa, and submitting to see Megara return to the Peloponnesian confederacy (B.C. 445).

The interval of sixteen years between the conclusion of the Thirty Years' Truce, and its rupture by the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, forms the most brilliant period of Athenian history. The loss of her continental empire was indeed a severe blow to her power; but there remained to her what might now be considered her natural dominion over the islands and the Asiatic colonies. The process was now almost complete, by which these states were converted from voluntary allies to tributary subjects. Only the three great islands of Lesbos, Chios, and Samos retained their independence. As for the rest, even the affectation of consulting their common interests was abandoned. They were avowedly treated as owing obedience to Athens, to be enforced if it were withheld, but as having upon her no other claim than that of protection from Persia. A force of sixty triremes maintained order in the Ægæan, and exercised her mariners. Her tributary cities are said to have amounted to a thousand, probably an exaggerated number; the tribute derived from them to 600 talents, and her total revenue to 1000 talents (somewhat less than £250,000); while the accumulated treasure in the Acropolis reached almost ten times that sum. Her commercial activity corresponded to her wealth, and she engaged in fresh enterprises of colonization. Of these the most important were the foundation of Thurii in the territory of the destroyed city of Sybaris, in the south of Italy (B.C. 443), and of Amphipolis on the Strymon (B.C. 437). It is curious that the two great historians of the age were closely connected with these two colonies. Thurii is chiefly interesting from the fact that Herodotus was one of the settlers: Amphipolis, extremely valuable for the gold mines in its neighbourhood, soon became of great historical importance; and Thucydides, who had property in the

* One form of the story is that when Pericles, according to the constitutional form, rendered his annual account, it contained an item of ten talents *spent for a necessary purpose.*

mines, was banished from Athens on account of his failure to relieve Amphipolis, in B.C. 424. This place became again very famous in the wars with Philip. Besides the new colonies, many Athenian citizens were settled as *cleruchi* in the ports and islands of the Ægæan.

The political administration of Athens was now in the hands of Pericles, who had for a few years a powerful antagonist in Thucydides, the son of Melesias. This statesman was better qualified than Cimon had been to cope with Pericles on his own ground in the popular assembly, and the aristocratic party were better organized. But the vast superiority of Pericles in debate was confessed, if we may believe the anecdote of Plutarch, by his rival. Being asked by Archidamus, king of Sparta, whether Pericles or he were the better wrestler, Thucydides replied—"Even when I throw him he denies that he has fallen, gains his point, and talks over those who have actually seen him fall." * The time was past for discussing the foundations of the democratic constitution; and the attacks of Thucydides and his party were chiefly directed at the pacific policy of Pericles towards Persia, and the employment of the money levied from the allies, originally for the Persian war, in the decoration of the city. To the first objection it was enough for Pericles to reply, that all danger of attack from Persia had ceased, and that an aggressive war against her would be a waste of resources, demanded neither by the common voice nor the common interest of Greece. The other point was one which had long passed out of the sphere of justice into that of policy, and Pericles only gave by his genius form and consistency to the ambition of the people, that their city should be invested with an imperial grandeur answering to the imperial state she had usurped. After a fierce contest, the public will was clearly expressed by the ostracism of Thucydides (B.C. 444 or 443), leaving to Pericles the ascendancy which was undisputed for the rest of his life.

The only external event of great importance, till the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, was the revolt and reduction of Samos, the most powerful of the three islands which were the sole remaining independent allies of Athens. It would seem that the oligarchical party, which had gained the upper hand in this wealthy state, was inclined to try the experiment of real independence. Having wrested from Miletus the small town of Priene on the Ionian coast, they refused to appear at Athens to answer the complaint of the Milesians. Forty ships were sent out to punish this

* Plutarch, *Pericles*, 8; Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. vi. p. 21.

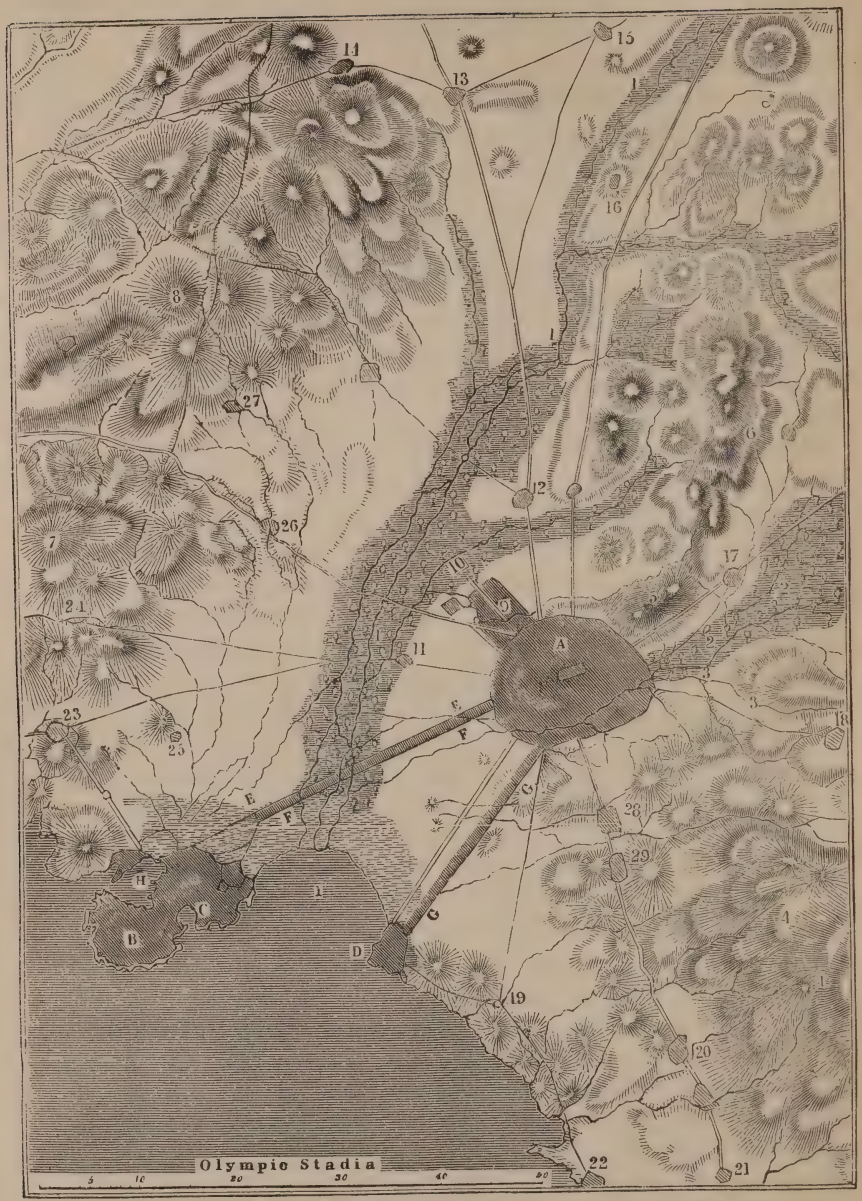
act of contumacy; an Athenian garrison was placed in Samos, the government was changed into a democracy, and hostages of the noblest families were carried off to Lemnos. But the oligarchical party succeeded, by the aid of the Persian satrap of Sardis, in surprising the island and the Athenian troops, whom they sent as prisoners to Sardis, at the same time recovering their hostages from Lemnos. They then openly revolted (B.C. 440). A fleet was sent against them under the ten generals for the year, of whom Pericles was the chief, and another was the poet Sophocles. After an obstinate resistance for nine months, Samos capitulated, and was reduced to the condition of the subject allies. Byzantium, the only other state that had joined in the revolt, submitted at the same time. The suppression of the revolt of a state which had ranked second to Athens in the confederacy, must have convinced the subject allies of the hopelessness of any attempt at emancipation, nor does there seem as yet to have been any strong desire for a change. "The feeling common among them towards Athens seems to have been neither attachment nor hatred, but simple indifference and acquiescence in her supremacy."* Her dominion was more firmly established than ever.

But Athens shines at this period with a lustre far surpassing that of empire. We naturally feel a hesitation in applying a word, associated both in earlier and later times with power over vast regions, to so small a space as the subjects of Athens occupied on the surface of the earth. But there are other realms, depicted on no map, which own her supremacy to this very day, and this supremacy was chiefly earned in the age of Pericles. That statesman, whose own mind had been trained by the acutest thinkers of Greece, and whose daily life was spent in converse with her master-spirits, conceived the grand idea of investing Athens with an intellectual glory which no change of empire should blot out. Once, indeed, he had formed the project of making her, by the willing consent of the Hellenic states, the capital of a united Greece, and he sent out envoys to invite the assembly of a congress. Such a scheme was not only premature, but incompatible with the temper of the Greek mind, and the organization of the Greek states. There remained to him the power of making Athens, by the resources which she possessed in herself, the centre of the intellectual life of Greece,—of

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. vi. p. 43. The remark quoted occurs in the midst of a most important discussion on the position of the allies in reference to Athens at this time.

exhibiting her to the Hellenic world as the home of art and letters, of philosophy and eloquence,—of clothing her with a beauty worthy of the queen of Hellas. Nor was this the unpractical idea of a statesman in advance of his age. The people, excited by the still recent glories of the Persian War, elated with the possession of the empire they had so rapidly acquired, stimulated by the activity of their commerce and maritime expeditions, and still more by the sense of personal freedom and the restless energy of their public life,—trained to the highest efforts of intellect in not only listening to, but judging of, the poetry of Æschylus and Sophocles, and eloquence such as that of Pericles himself,—endowed by nature with the nicest sense of harmony and beauty, and passing their lives together in the public places of their beloved city—such a people were more than ready to carry out the most magnificent schemes of improvement that a statesman could devise. When such a spirit moves at once the rulers and the people, there is sure to be no want of the best instruments that genius can supply, and the age of Pericles was the epoch of the highest creative genius ever known in the annals of the world. It is this that gives Athens her unique position in human history, the intellectual supremacy which was the fruit of her political freedom. The faults, and even the crimes, which the Athenians committed in the immoderate use of that liberty of which they were the foremost champions, wrought out their own punishment, and passed away like the ruins of their city and their empire, but the products of their intellectual energy rise, like the remains of the Parthenon above those ruins, a landmark and a pattern to intellectual effort in every age.

It were a task far beyond our limits to describe the works with which the artists who flourished under Pericles beautified the city, or the nobler products with which poets and historians glorified the literature of Athens. The city itself had been rebuilt in haste, after the departure of Xerxes, like London after the fire of 1666; and its streets, in common with those of most Greek towns, had far more than all the irregularity and narrowness which deform our own city. But the Wren of that age, Hippodamus of Miletus, found ample exercise for his skill in laying out the regular streets and noble Agora of Peiræus, which gained for great works of city architecture the proverbial title of "Hippodameian." This chief port of Athens was also furnished with a splendid arsenal and docks. The system of defence connecting Athens with her ports was completed by the building of the inner



ENVIRONS OF ATHENS.

A. The Asty.
B. Peiræus.
C. Munychia. D. Phalerum.
EE, FF. The Long Walls; EE the northern wall, and FF the southern wall.
GG. The Phaleric Wall.
H. Harbour of Peiræus.
I. Phaleric Bay.

1. The Cephissus; 2. The Ilissus; 3. The Eridanus; 4. Mount Hymettus; 5. Mount Lycabettus; 6. Mount Anchesmus; 7. Mount Corydallos; 8. Mount Pœcilum (this mountain and 7 are parts of the range of Ægaleos); 9. The outer Ceramicus; 10. Academia; 11. Œum Ceramicum? 12. Colonus; 13. Acharnæ; 14. Cropeia; 15. Pæonidæ; 16. Eupyridæ; 17. Alopece; 18. Larissa; 19. Halimus; 20. Prospalta; 21. Ceiriadæ? 22. Æxone: 23. Thymœtia; 24. Corydallus; 25. Xypete? (Troja); 26. Hermus; 27. Oia 28. Upper Agryle; 29. Lower Agrylo.

wall to the Peiræus, to prevent the communication being cut off in case an enemy should gain a footing in the wide space between the Peiræan and Phaleric walls. While the safety of the city was consulted in these works of utility, the nobler sentiments of religious and intellectual life were ministered to by works of surpassing beauty. The theatre called Odeon was erected for the musical and poetical contests at the Panathenaïc festival;* the temples of the Acropolis were rebuilt; and a worthy approach to them was constructed in the splendid Doric Propylæa.† The crowning triumph of Athenian art was in the Parthenon, or "House of the Virgin"—the great temple of Athena on the Acropolis, constructed of white marble, after the purest Doric mould—adorned with the most perfect sculptures in the pediments of its eastern and western porticoes, in the metopes‡ of its frieze, and on the frieze in low relief round the wall of the "cella" within the colonnade—and enshrining the colossal statue of the goddess in ivory with ornaments of pure gold. How zealously the Athenians lighted up "the lamp of sacrifice," and how strong

* The Great Theatre, for the exhibition of dramas at the Dionysiac festivals, was hollowed out in the south-eastern slope of the Acropolis. Its construction was commenced about B.C. 500, in consequence of the breaking down of the temporary wooden erection which used to be put up at each festival. The final completion of its architectural features seems not to have been effected till B.C. 340.

† A copy of the Propylæa, furnishing a striking example of the modern misapplication of classical forms, may be seen at Euston Square, leading into the courtyard and offices of a railway station. Equally correct and equally misplaced copies of other Athenian monuments are combined into an extraordinary medley in the neighbouring church of St. Pancras.

‡ This technical term needs explanation. The chief features of a Doric portico are supposed to represent the essential parts which were present and *visible* (as construction always ought to be in works of art) in the primitive wooden edifices. The portico formed the gable end. Across the pillars ran the *architrave* (chief-beam). On this rested the ends of the longitudinal beams, the plainness of which was relieved by a kind of channelling, called a *triglyph* (from its triple stiles and grooves). The opening between these beam-ends, called *metopes* (μετόπαι, because they were between the beds of the beams, ὀπαί), were at first left vacant: afterwards they were filled in with plain slabs, and lastly these slabs were sculptured in high-relief; affording a splendid example of the true principle of basing decorative art upon construction. This whole surface ornamented by the triglyphs and metopes formed the *frieze* (in Greek ζωφόρος, the sculpture-bearer), and its richness was balanced by the plain architrave below. The projecting *cornice* (κορωνίς, crown) above sheltered it from the weather, and cast over it a rich shadow; and above this rose the triangular *pediment*, representing the gable of the roof. The opening enclosed by its sides, and filled in with plain slabs, formed the *tympanum* (i.e., *drum*), and afforded a space for groups of colossal sculpture. In the Parthenon, the sculptures of the eastern or principal front represented the birth of Athena; those of the western front, her contest with Poseidon for Attica. The back parts of all the figures are as elaborately finished as the parts which were seen.

a sentiment of pride was mingled with their zeal, is seen in the anecdote that they chose ivory and gold rather than marble for this statue because they were the most expensive. A curious contrast is presented by the prudence of the statesman, who contrived that the golden ornaments should be removable, and ventured to enumerate them among the resources available for the support of the Peloponnesian war. These costly materials were of themselves enough to ensure the destruction of the statue; but the temple itself and its sculptured ornaments have survived, though sorely mutilated by war and barbarian hands. The extensive fragments brought over by Lord Elgin, and preserved in the British Museum, where the sight of them moved the envy of Canova, enable us to study for ourselves the most perfect works ever framed by the sculptor's chisel. The majestic forms of deities that filled the pediments, and the groups of Athenians and Centaurs in the varied attitudes of close combat on the metopes of the frieze, are mutilated into the mere relics of their pristine beauty; but the exquisite frieze of the *cella*, better preserved by its sheltered position and low relief, still exhibits the joyous procession which carried up the "peplus," or sacred robe, to the goddess at the Panathenaic festival. Nor should we forget, as we view them, that what are to us the dead forms of decayed beauty, were to the Greeks of the age of Pericles the fresh images of living realities, grouped round the goddess whose might had saved, restored, and magnified their city.*

The Odeon and Parthenon were finished during the first seven years of the sole administration of Pericles (B.C. 444—437), the Propylæa not till the eve of the Peloponnesian War (B.C. 431). Other temples and statues were erected at Athens and throughout Attica, among which a special notice is due to the colossal bronze statue of Athena Promachus (the Fighter in the Van), cast from the spoils of Marathon, representing the goddess in full panoply and warrior attitude as the guardian of the city, towering above the wall of the Acropolis, and visible to the mariner far out at sea. The marvellous rapidity with which these works were completed

* The models of the Parthenon, both as ruined and restored, in the Elgin room of the British Museum, not only give a good general idea of the edifice, but aid us in referring the fragments of sculpture to their proper places. It is impossible to enumerate the many important works written upon the temple and its sculptures. An admirable popular account is given in the little work entitled "The Elgin Marbles," first published as a part of the "Library of Entertaining Knowledge." See also the articles "Athens" and "Pheidias" in Dr. Smith's Dictionaries of Geography and Biography.

enhanced the admiring astonishment which they excited throughout Greece. They were designed and executed by numerous artists — Ictinus (the chief architect of the Parthenon), Callicrates, Corœbus, Mnesicles, and others; but the presiding genius was that of the sculptor Phidias, the greatest of those great names which mark distinct epochs in the history of art.

This position is not only assigned to Phidias by the concurrent voice of antiquity and the judgment of modern critics, but his place in the history of art is legibly inscribed on the existing fragments of his works. We have said that the end of the preceding century was an epoch of transition from the archaic stiffness of old conventional forms to the freer graces of Phidias. The last stage of this transition is actually visible in the sculptures of the Parthenon. We know not which of those works were from the hand of Phidias himself; but we do know that among the artists who wrought with him were some who belonged to the older schools, and in the metopes especially there is a marked difference of style, some of them being strikingly archaic. In others of the metopes, in the Panathenaic frieze, and especially in the colossal statues of the pediment, the archaic stiffness has disappeared, replaced by the perfection of beauty.

But that beauty is still harmonized by the reverential dignity and repose which mark the highest works of Grecian genius, both in art and poetry. The imitation of nature has not yet degenerated into those forms which may seem even more beautiful to the uninstructed eye, but in which soul is wanting: gods and goddesses are not yet degraded into the likeness of sculptors' models. This downward step was prepared, though not yet taken, by the successors of Phidias, whose highly elaborated forms, whether of graceful beauty or animated action, exhibit the art in that last stage of ripeness which precedes decay. Of the chryselephantine statues of Phidias we can only judge from the descriptions of ancient writers, such as Pausanias, who saw them in all their glory, aided by works which are no doubt imitated from them. Phidias' masterpiece in this style was the colossal statue of the Olympian Jove at Elis, representing the supreme deity of the Hellenic nation at the centre of Hellenic union, as having laid aside the thunderbolts which had smitten down the Titans and the Giants, enthroned as a conqueror in perfect majesty and repose, and ruling with a nod both Olympus and the subject world. This idea is said to have been expressed by Phidias himself in words. When asked by his nephew

Panænus, what model he meant to follow in the statue, he replied by quoting the lines of Homer which describe Jove thus ruling among the gods, and which evidently suggested those magnificent verses of Milton:—

> "Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance filled
> All heaven, and in the blessed spirits elect
> Sense of new joy ineffable diffused." *

We possess various copies of the bust of this grand statue, in which the high and expansive forehead, the enlarged facial angle, the arch of the eyebrows, the majesty of the large calm eye, the features full of expression, though in perfect repose, the slight indication of the nod, and the masses of hair gently falling forward, combine to make up the ideal of supreme majesty and divine complacency, embodied in a human form. This statue was probably executed about B.C. 437, immediately after the completion of the Parthenon.†

The nearest rival to this great work, showing how the influence of Phidias affected the Dorian schools of art, was the chryselephantine statue of Hera in her temple between Argos and Mycenæ, the work of the Argive Polycletus, who was as famed for his statues of men as Phidias for those of gods, a statement which implies the less ideal character of his art. Myron of Eleutheræ, a younger contemporary and fellow-pupil of Phidias, excelled in the more impassioned representation of athletes in the various attitudes of the games. These statues were for the most part in bronze: one of the best was the Discobolus, or Quoit-player, of which we possess a marble copy in the British Museum, unfortunately deformed by modern restorations. Myron was one of the first great artists who moulded the figures of animals, other than horses. His bronze cow, represented in the act of lowing, stood in the centre of an open place in Athens.

The sister art of painting was approaching to the perfection which architecture and sculpture had reached; but its development was slower. The laws of perspective, the combinations of colour, and the mechanical processes of the art, were longer in attaining perfection than the simpler modes of working in bronze and marble. The great painters, who aided in the decoration of

* Homer, Il. i. 528—530; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, iii. 135—137. The head of the statue is seen on the coins of the Eleians, and in several busts, the finest of which are in the Museo Pio-Clementino and in the Florentine Gallery.

† See the author's article "Pheidias" in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*.

Athens, were Polygnotus of Thasos, and Panænus, the nephew of Phidias; and their works, though far inferior in execution to those of their successor, Apollodorus of Athens, and of their later contemporaries, the Asiatic Greeks, Zeuxis and Parrhasius, marked the same transition from the old archaic style that was made in sculpture. Their paintings were still essentially statuesque and deficient in perspective, and they adhered to the old plan, which we see on the early vases, of affixing names to their figures. The most important of their works were the paintings in the temple of Theseus, representing the hero's exploits, and the great picture of the battle of Marathon, in the Painted Porch, which has been already described. The masterpiece of Polygnotus was the series of paintings from the epic cycle, with which he decorated the *Lesche*, or Conversation-Hall of the Cnidians at Delphi.

It was under the administration of Pericles too that Greek Literature reached its culminating height in the Attic Drama, a form of poetry which Aristotle justly considers as the most perfect; and it shone with undiminished splendour almost to the end of the century. We have already indicated briefly how the Greek dramatic poetry, in both its forms, sprung up in connection with the worship of Dionysus. The distinction, now so marked, between Tragedy and Comedy, was at first almost accidental. Bands of Dionysiac revellers celebrated the praises of the god, chiefly at the season of the vintage, with songs and dances, both in the cities and the villages. But the polished inhabitants of the cities demanded a more intellectual entertainment than the simple rustics. The songs of the revellers were gradually moulded into the regular choral dithyramb, while the performers still preserved the wild dress and gestures of the Satyrs, beings half goat and half man, who accompanied Dionysus, whence their performance received the name of *Tragedy*, the *Goat-Song*.* The prevalence of tales of crime and fate and suffering, like those of the houses of Labdacus and Pelops, among the mythical subjects chosen for the tragic chorus, naturally impressed on tragedy a mournful and fatal character; while the rude merriment and unrestrained license of the village festival, venting itself in coarse

* This form of the Chorus was preserved in the Satyric Drama, or burlesque, which was exhibited in association with Tragedy. In a fragment of a Satyric drama by Æschylus, on the story of "Prometheus the Fire-Kindler," a Satyr who wants to embrace the fire is warned by Prometheus:—"Take care, you goat! you'll burn your beard off."

jokes and personal jibes, in "quips, and cranks, and wanton wiles," as naturally made *Comedy*, the *Village-Song*, the vehicle of fun and satire. Both forms received their earliest development among the Dorian states, so far as their choral poetry was concerned, and comedy found its chief home among the democratic Megarians, both of the mother city and the Sicilian colonies. The first regular comedies were composed by Epicharmus, who was born at Cos about B.C. 540, and exhibited at Syracuse before the Persian Wars. Long before his time, the Megarian Susarion introduced comedy into Attica, at the village of Icaria, a special seat of the worship of Dionysus (B.C. 578), nearly a century before the art reappeared during the Persian Wars.

The same village of Icaria was the native place of Thespis, who first gave to Tragedy its dramatic character, in the time of Pisistratus (B.C. 535). He laid the foundation of the dialogue, which afterwards became the most essential part of a drama, the very name of which signifies action, introducing a single actor, who not only relieved the choral performances by the recitation of mythological stories and heroic adventures, but by carrying on a conversation with the leader of the Chorus. This actor, who in the earliest times was often the poet himself, personated different characters by means of linen masks. Thespis is said to have travelled about Attica in a waggon, which served him for a stage; but the art soon found a home at Athens, where dramatic contests for prizes were established in connection with the festivals of Dionysus. These exhibitions became institutions of the state. The provision of choruses was one of the "Liturgies," or public services, which the wealthy citizens had to discharge. The citizen at whose expense each particular chorus was provided was called its Choragus (Bringer-on of the Chorus), and it was to him that a prize won by the drama was awarded. The poet was recognised solely as the "Teacher of the Chorus," which he must obtain by application to the Archon Basileus. Each competitor had to produce three tragedies (called a *Trilogy*), to which a Satyric drama was generally but not always added (forming a *Tetralogy*), after that form of composition had been separated from the regular drama by Pratinas, a Dorian of Phlius, who exhibited at Athens in competition with Æschylus. The immediate successors of Thespis were the Athenians, Chœrilus (B.C. 523—483), and Phrynichus, who first exhibited in B.C. 511, when his choragus was Themistocles. He first ventured down from the regions of mythology to a subject of contemporary history, the capture of

Miletus by the Persians; and it is a curious example of Athenian sentiment, that, after being melted to tears by the poet's pathos, they fined him 1000 drachmæ for making an exhibition of the sufferings of their Ionian brethren. It was at the epoch of B.C. 500, that ÆSCHYLUS, the son of Euphorion, exhibited his first tragedy. Not only by his transcendent genius, but by the improvements he introduced into dramatic performances, did he earn the fame of being the real founder of Tragedy. His addition of a second actor provided for a real dialogue on the stage, and enabled him to make the choral odes subordinate to the action. The personation of characters was aided by elaborate masks, and the actors were raised to the heroic stature and dignity by high-heeled buskins,* lofty head-dresses, and magnificent robes. He first used scenes painted according to the rules of perspective, a new invention of the artist Agatharcus. The extent to which he made use of theatrical mechanism may be judged of from the scenes in the *Prometheus*, where the ocean nymphs enter in a flying chariot, and their father, Oceanus, comes in bestriding a winged monster, or, as the poet himself calls it, a four-legged bird, half horse and half griffin.† He also invented new figures for the dances of the chorus. Nothing remained, in order to give the drama its final form, but the third actor, who was added by Sophocles. Such were the strides which tragedy made in the course of a single generation from the first performance of Thespis.

The improvements in the mechanism of the art prepared it to receive the mighty impulse of intellectual life, which was given to the whole nation by the Persian Wars. We have seen that Æschylus was one of the combatants both at Marathon and at Salamis. He was no doubt among the throng who gazed with delight on the youthful beauty of Sophocles, the son of Sophilus, leading the chorus, lyre in hand, round the trophy of the latter fight. That youth, twelve years later, snatched from him the tragic prize, under circumstances of peculiar interest (B.C. 468). The approaching contest had excited such expectation and party

* From the contrast between the tragic buskin (*cothurnus*) and the low-heeled shoe (*soccus*) of comedy, we have borrowed the figurative terms *buskin* and *sock* for the two species of the drama.

† Aristophanes makes fun of this creature more than once, and gives us some insight into its mechanism. He makes the patron god of tragedy lie awake half the night "wondering what sort of a bird that yellow horse-cock might be;" and in another play, an old man, who undertakes to fly up to heaven on a beetle, shouts out to the attendants to mind the ropes aloft.

feeling, that the Archon had postponed drawing lots for the judges till the last moment, when Cimon and the nine generals, his colleagues, entered the theatre, having just returned from Scyros with the bones of Theseus. The Archon administered the oath to them as judges, and their decision awarded the first place to Sophocles, and the second to Æschylus, who retired in disgust to the court of Hiero at Syracuse.* Æschylus was again at Athens ten years later, exhibiting his magnificent trilogy on the fates of Agamemnon, Clytemnestra, and Orestes (B.C. 458), and he died in Sicily two years later. With this one exception, Sophocles held the supremacy of the Attic stage till the epoch at which we have now arrived. The very year before that in which we have seen him associated with Pericles in the command against Samos, he had been compelled to yield the first prize to Euripides (B.C. 441), who, born at Salamis on the very day of the battle, had begun to exhibit in the year after the death of Æschylus (B.C. 455). The two great dramatists continued to work with unabated fertility, against the competition of many other poets, who would have made the period illustrious had the great masters never written, till just before the end of the Peloponnesian War, when they both died in the same year (B.C. 406). It is not within our province to enumerate the works or to compare the merits of these three masters of the tragic art.†

The memorable year which forms about the central point of the sole administration of Pericles, the same year in which the Parthenon was finished, is a marked epoch in the history of Comedy. The "Old Comedy," that form of the art which consisted in personal and political satire, launched in humour of the broadest license, had, like Tragedy, its three great masters, who are enumerated by Horace in the well known lines :—

> "Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poëtæ
> Atque alii quorum Comœdia Prisca virorum est,
> Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus ac fur,
> Quod mœchus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui
> Famosus, multa cum libertate notabant."‡

But Aristophanes is the only one of the three to whom the common voice of antiquity has assigned a pre-eminence over the

* It is uncertain what piece Sophocles produced on this occasion. It was not one of his extant plays.

† See the article "Sophocles" in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*.

‡ Horat, *Sat.* I. iv. 1—5.

multitude of his rivals. It was just after the battle of Marathon that Comedy was revived at Athens by Chionides (B.C. 488—7), but Cratinus, the first distinguished poet of the Old Comedy, did not begin to exhibit till a generation later (B.C. 454); and ten years later still, in the year that marks the great ascendancy of Pericles, Aristophanes was born (B.C. 444). Meanwhile the license of the comedians reached such a pitch, that a decree was passed to prohibit their performances, in the year of the revolt of Samos (B.C. 440). The repeal of that decree, three years later, forms a new starting point in the history of Comedy (B.C. 437). Cratinus gained the first prize in the following year (B.C. 436); and a new generation of poets directed their attacks against the administration of Pericles. It is not, however, till two years after the great statesman's death, that the most interesting period of the art begins with the first exhibition of Aristophanes at the age of seventeen (B.C. 427).

The dramatic poetry of the Athenians must not be considered simply as the fruit of the people's intellectual life and liberty: it was one of the chief means by which that life and liberty were sustained in vigour. The stage answered truly to its Latin name, the *pulpit;* and it discharged also, to no small extent, the functions of the press. Quick of thought and utterance, of hearing and apprehension, living together in open public intercourse,—reading would have been to the Athenians a slow process for the interchange of ideas. But the many thousands of auditors in the great theatre caught, as with an electric flash of intelligence, the noble thought, the pointed sentiment, the wail of agony, the piteous appeal, the withering sarcasm, the flash of wit, the covert innuendo. All that the poet exhibited before them was invested with the interest of reality, though clad in the halo of imagination. The gods and heroes who swept majestically over the tragic stage were the objects of their religious and national faith, real beings, whose actions and sufferings claimed their deepest sympathy, and whose heroic fortitude served for an example, or their terrible fate for a warning. At times, as in the *Persæ* of Æschylus, the events of their own history were so pourtrayed as to keep alive the flame of patriotic enthusiasm; or, as is doubtless the case in the *Eumenides* of the same poet, and in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, their own political institutions and principles were illustrated from scenes laid in the heroic ages. It was the privilege of the poet, as it now is of the orator and preacher, to teach many a lesson and throw out many a hint which would either have fallen

dead or have been at once rejected if proposed in conversation or in council. So too in the Old Comedy, the persons, habits, manners, principles, held up to ridicule, the measures attacked with the keen weapons of satire, were all familiar to the audience in their daily lives; and the poet might exhibit in a humorous light objects which to attack seriously would have been treason or sacrilege, and might recommend, from behind the shelter of the comic mask, measures which he could only have proposed in the popular assembly with a halter round his neck. Of the examples which abound in the plays of Aristophanes, it will be enough to mention the display of Cleon and the impersonation of the Athenian People, in the *Knights*. All the complaints that may be urged against the abuse of these great powers can be answered by the arguments which, in modern times, have triumphantly defended the "Liberty of unlicensed Printing."

The age of Pericles was likewise adorned with the more solid fruits of intellect and research. First among its prose writers stand the two historians of the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. The year in which Æschylus gained his first tragic prize, in the midst of the interval between Marathon and Salamis, was that of the birth of Herodotus at Halicarnassus (B.C. 484); and the year of the death of Æschylus is that in which Herodotus is supposed to have read his great work at the Olympic festival, when the assembled Greeks bestowed the names of the Muses upon his nine books, and the youthful Thucydides was moved to tears by the awakened spirit of emulation.* The story is worth mentioning as showing the relation of the two historians to each other in respect of age; but it has scarcely a claim to be believed. It rests on the sole authority of Lucian; and, besides that it has all the air of a rhetorical invention, it is altogether incredible that Herodotus, at the age of twenty-eight, should have completed his extensive travels and finished the nine books of his history. It is far more probable that Herodotus was still engaged at this time in collecting the materials for his history, and in so doing it seems certain that he visited Athens and conversed with the men who had fought at Marathon,

* B.C. 456. In this year Herodotus was twenty-eight, and Thucydides fifteen. It may be worth while to refer to the common error, into which we are apt to be led by the venerable character of Herodotus as "the Father of History," of forgetting that he was younger than Sophocles, much younger than Æschylus, only four years older than Euripides, and thirteen older than Thucydides, and that he lived nearly, and perhaps quite, to the end of the Peloponnesian War. He alludes incidentally to the death of Amyrtæus in B.C. 408.

Salamis, and Platæa; for he shows as perfect a familiarity with the scenes as with the incidents of those battles, and some of his information could scarcely have been obtained except upon the spot. Other indications of his familiarity with the leading men of Athens are found in his work; and it contains, in particular, passages bearing such a resemblance to Sophocles, both in political sentiment and expression, as to have suggested the theory, which is supported by the express statement of Plutarch, of a personal intimacy between the poet and the historian. It has been supposed that Herodotus was residing at Samos when Sophocles was sent to the island, as one of the ten generals, in B.C. 440.* Certain allusions in his work have led to the supposition that he was again at Athens at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (B.C. 431). He joined the Athenian colony of Thurii, probably a considerable time after its first foundation in B.C. 443; and to the later years of his life there we ought doubtless to refer the final composition of his history. But, let his personal connection with Athens have been what it might, his latter books form a monument of her glory more imperishable than the works of Phidias.

The literary activity of Thucydides falls later than the age of Pericles; but, as he was thirty years old at the epoch of the war the history of which he undertook to write, we cannot doubt that he was now already bearing his part in the active duties of an Athenian citizen, and collecting by watchful observation and enquiry those profound observations on the previous history of Greece, the character of the Athenian empire, and the spirit of her institutions, which form some of the most valuable portions of his work. Especially does his accurate delineation of the character of Pericles, his exposition of that statesman's policy, and his faithful report of some of his greatest speeches, justify our referring to the age of Pericles the beginning of the literary career of Thucydides.

There is another class, not so much of writers as of teachers, who had far too great an influence on the intellectual character of the age, to be omitted in this survey of its greatness. We have traced the beginnings of philosophy in Greece: we have seen how its professors formed distinct schools, and how powerful—as, for example, in the case of Pythagoras—was their influence on the social and political life of the states in which they took up their abode.† The condition of Athens at the present epoch opened

* See Donaldson's *Antigone*, Introduction; and *Transactions of the Philological Society*, vol. i. No. 15.

† Chap. xii. pp. 372, foll.

a wide and inviting field for the exercise of such influence. While her wealth and imperial power made her the centre to which all forms of talent would naturally tend, and while her free spirit pointed her out as the natural home of freedom in speculation, the practical requirements of her political institutions demanded of her citizens a special intellectual training. The man who desired to take an active part in public life must be able to hold his ground in the debates of the ecclesia, and to defend himself in the courts of justice; and, in the latter arena especially, the great satirist of the age declares that it was often needful to make the worse appear the better reason,—a necessity not unknown to courts of law in other times. The old-fashioned course of Greek education, lauded by Aristophanes as that which trained "the men who fought at Marathon," made no provision—and it was the boast of its admirers that it made none—for these new wants. The plan of education common to all the Greek states, except those which had adopted a special public course of training—such as Sparta and Crete—may be described, in one word, as that of making a good man and an accomplished gentleman. Boys were placed under the care of the "pædagogue,"* often a trusty slave, whose office it was to keep a constant watch over their safety and their behaviour; his only part in their school education was to conduct them to and from the school. There they were first taught to read Homer and then to commit to memory passages from the old poets, chosen for the sake of their moral precepts. Music, singing, and dancing, were taught not only as essential accomplishments, fitting a man to take part in the public choruses as well as to amuse himself and his friends in private life, but as tending to bring his whole nature into an harmonious balance. Gymnastic exercises were practised with the utmost care and regularity, under the eye of the pædagogue, as the means of keeping up that perfect physical condition which the Greeks rightly regarded as essential to usefulness as well as happiness, the "mens sana *in corpore sano*." These exercises were moreover a training for the military duties which every citizen had to discharge, and for those contests in the public games, success in which was the highest honour he could achieve. This may in fact be called their only professional education. All but the poorest classes—the labourers and sailors—lived either upon the produce of their estates or the gains earned by the labour of

* The word signifies "boy-leader:" its modern use in the sense of a schoolmaster quite misrepresents its proper Greek sense.

their slaves, and in the latter way extensive manufactures were carried on. Mercantile enterprises were engaged in according to each man's pleasure or opportunities, and there was no separate class always clamouring for a commercial education.

But the democratic institutions of Athens provided a profession, in which most Athenians were ready to embark—the profession of politics, a profession pursued to occupy a man's energies and to gratify his ambition, not to earn a livelihood. This profession demanded, in addition to the highest culture of intellectual energy and keenness, an extensive acquaintance with the principles of moral and political science and of the facts of history as illustrations of them, and the most perfect and ready skill in the arts of rhetoric and dialectics. For such knowledge the youth of Athens resorted to the lectures which the teachers of philosophy gave in the public Gymnasia, of which the principal bore names that have ever since been connected with education,—the *Academia*, in the grove of the Attic hero Academus,—the *Lyceum*, near the temple of Apollo Lyceus,—the former afterwards the school of Plato, the latter of Aristotle.* The opening of these lectures was in fact the institution of the University of Athens—an university in the proper sense of the word—such as the universities of modern Europe were before they became surrounded with the accidents of royal and noble patronage, elaborate systems of government, extensive buildings, honours and emoluments, and special privileges—mere voluntary associations of teachers and scholars. These classes appear to have been opened at first with a far wider object than that for which they came to be most valued. They embraced all the philosophical knowledge and speculation of the age, mathematics, astronomy, and natural science—such as natural science then was,—literary criticism, and enquiries concerning the foundations of morality, harmony, and beauty, as well as the practical rules of oratory and dialectics. Among the intellectual people of Athens there were always a certain number who pursued the study of philosophy for its own sake, but the majority of the wealthy and ambitious youths frequented the schools of the philosophers for the practical purpose of acquiring dialectic skill and the art of public speaking. The teachers naturally adapted their instruction to the wants of their pupils; and thus from being philosophers in the widest sense, they became *Rhetors*—professors of oratory—and *Sophists*, a term

* Respecting the arrangements of the public Gymnasia, see Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*. The third of the three great Attic Gymnasia, that of Cynosarges, had not the fortune to attain celebrity as a philosophic school.

which properly denotes one who himself possesses, and who makes it his business to communicate to others, skill and cleverness in any department of knowledge or in any special art.*

So far from the name of Sophist involving any reproach, it was adopted by the first man who became celebrated under the title (Protagoras of Abdera), as his own professional description. Its exact force may be perhaps defined by saying that the philosopher was the enquirer, the sophist the teacher. There was nothing essentially immoral or dishonest in the profession or in the teaching of the Sophists. One of the most popular fables handed down to us from antiquity in praise of a virtuous life—the choice of the youthful Hercules between the invitations of Virtue and the allurements of Vice—was the production of a distinguished Sophist of this age, Prodicus of Ceos. The fact is, however, unquestionable that, during the period of the Peloponnesian War, the name of Sophist, and the class of teachers it denoted, fell into that reproach which we see reflected in the opposition of Socrates and the satire of Aristophanes. We say *reflected*, for it is incredible that the philosopher and the comedian should have been able to *create* so strong a prejudice, had it not begun to work already in the popular sentiment; but neither can it be denied that both were leaders, and not merely followers, of this sentiment. Four causes chiefly tended to bring the Sophists into disrepute. One was their receiving pay for their lessons.† According to our modern ideas, this would only place them in the position of professional men, earning an honourable livelihood from their profession. But such a view of the position of a public teacher was as yet foreign to the Greek mind. Men of letters might take, without disgrace, the honorary rewards which princes and states heaped upon them; and might calculate upon them with the certainty of Simonides, who, when shipwrecked, cared not to save his goods: "For," said he, "I carry my property with me." But when direct payment was not only received, but demanded, for lessons in truth and virtue, as well as in learning, it seemed as if priceless things were reduced to venal commodities, and their teacher to a mere trafficker. Next, though the instruction

* One impediment to the clear understanding of the whole subject is our association of the Greek words *σοφός* and *σοφία* with our modern sense of the word *wisdom*. They are more akin to the word *wit* in its old sense, *practical skill and cleverness*.

† Protagoras, who first adopted the professional name of Sophist, is said also to have been the first who received professional payment. His fee was sometimes as high as 100 minæ (about 400*l*.), and Plato says that he made more money than Phidias and ten other sculptors put together.

offered by the Sophists was various, and much of it respected the highest objects of human thought, it was soon found that the ambitious youth of Athens cared little for aught but what had a direct bearing upon their success in public life; and, as they paid for the lessons they took, the teacher had no choice but to suit his instruction to the demand. In the case of Socrates, who took no pay, and resolutely followed his own method of instruction, we have the express testimony of Xenophon, that Critias and Alcibiades consorted with the master so long only as they supposed they could gain such practical skill from his lessons, and then they immediately deserted him; but their connection with him was still made an important element in his accusation. Those, again, who may have cared but little for the intellectual or moral tendency of the Sophists' teaching, felt themselves quite competent to detect the absurdity of many of their physical speculations. These philosophers had scarcely an idea of the inductive method of enquiry. Instead of regarding themselves as "the servants and interpreters of Nature," they attempted to decide by an *à priori* method what was the best course for her to follow in each particular case, and they brought all phenomena to the test of these foregone conclusions. The consequence was that science made no progress in their hands, and gained for them no respect. Socrates perceived so clearly the failure of these speculations, as not only to renounce them himself, but to regard them as unworthy the attention of the philosopher. Is it, he asked, because these men think themselves well enough versed in human affairs, that they busy themselves about those which belong to the gods?—those concerning which man can attain to no certainty, as is proved by the different opinions held about them?—those, in fine, which give no practical results, for none of those who are learned in them profess to be able to *make* the things they study, the winds, the seasons, and the like? It is easy for us to expose these fallacies —which, however, have not yet ceased to be repeated—and to point to the lightning itself pursuing the path marked out for it by man, and recording his thoughts instead of destroying his works; but what wonder was it, when a Socrates reasoned thus, that the common people should despise the professors of natural science? This is one of the most telling points in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, where Socrates himself is ridiculed as the representative of the Sophists, as experimenting on how many of its own foot-lengths a flea leapt over, and the like trivial investigations. The same play affords one of many proofs of a far more serious feeling

than contempt. The speculations of the Sophists about the nature of the universe extended beyond natural objects to the supernatural; and their opinions respecting the gods, and their relations to the world and man, soon alarmed the sensitiveness of the popular religious feeling. Anaxagoras, whose abode at Athens and intercourse with Pericles may be regarded as the beginning of the great influence of the philosophers in that city, was prosecuted for atheism (about B.C. 450). The immediate motive of the attack was doubtless to aim a political blow at the friend of Pericles, then in the heat of his conflict with Thucydides; but its success proves the strength of the popular feeling. All the influence of Pericles is said to have hardly saved the life of Anaxagoras, who was condemned in a fine of five talents (more than 1000*l.*), and banished from Athens. A like charge was brought against Protagoras for his book on the gods, which began with the sentence, "Concerning the gods, I am unable to discover whether they exist or do not exist;" and he too is said to have been banished from Athens (B.C. 411).* The fate of other Sophists is doubtful; but the climax of the feeling against the whole body of philosophers is seen in the condemnation of Socrates on the twofold charge, of not believing in the gods believed in by the city, and of corrupting the young men. The chief part of the history of the Sophists, and of the contests held with them by Socrates on the one hand and by the comic poets on the other, belongs to the period of the Peloponnesian War, the age when Protagoras, Prodicus, Hippias, and Gorgias chiefly flourished at Athens. But the influence of the philosophers who preceded the Sophists properly so called is seen in the intimacy of Anaxagoras with Pericles; and Protagoras, the first of the latter class, was already at Athens before B.C. 445, as he drew up a code of laws for the new colony of Thurii, which was sent out in that year.

Such was the condition of Athens in the age of Pericles; and the whole history of the world does not offer a more striking example of the intellectual perfection to which it is given to man to attain by the powers of a high natural organization, acting with the unfettered energies secured by political freedom, and impelled, first by the efforts needful to secure that freedom, and further, by the conscious pride of empire. But there is a terrible reverse to the picture in the moral condition of the people; for they also hold forth an example of the general truth, that the

* The date of this prosecution, just after the aristocratic revolution, indicates that, like those of Anaxagoras and Socrates, it was not unconnected with party politics.

selfish cultivation of intellectual and æsthetic enjoyment is a source of moral weakness, and not of strength. All the outward glories of Athens must not blind us to the personal and political profligacy which are attested both by her history and her literature. We may be excused from dwelling upon the details, not only from their repulsive nature, but because they can only be properly understood through a study of the contemporary authors. Meanwhile we have to regard the feelings which the empire of Athens produced among her jealous rivals, and to trace the progress of the destructive war which was waged for her humiliation.

The state of things in Greece, recognised by the Thirty Years' Truce, in B.C. 445, was that of the two great confederacies we have described, each invested with the power of chastising its rebellious members. The distinct acknowledgment of this power, in the refusal of the Peloponnesian allies to aid Samos in her revolt against Athens (B.C. 440), was brought about mainly through the influence of Corinth.* This state, though after the conquest of Ægina the chief rival of Athens on the sea, had for that very reason the strongest motive to uphold a principle essential for the maintenance of her own maritime empire, as the case of Corcyra soon proved. But all this was changed by an infraction of the principle on the part of Athens herself, and that at the expense of Corinth.

We have already noticed the ancient rivalry between Corinth and her powerful colony Corcyra, the modern *Corfu*. In the year B.C. 435, a fresh quarrel broke out concerning the city of Epidamnus (the later Dyrrachium), on the mainland of Epirus.† The contest between the Few and the Many, almost universal in the Grecian states, had ended at Epidamnus in the expulsion of the oligarchical party. The exiles joined with the barbarian Illyrians in harassing the city by sea and land; and the Epidamnians, having in vain applied to Corcyra for aid in their distress, complained to Corinth, their original metropolis, offering to place the city in her hands. The acceptance of this offer, accompanied by the sending out of a new body of colonists to Epidamnus, led to open war between the Corinthians and Corcyræans. The latter were victorious in a great sea-fight, and they laid siege to Epidamnus. Resolved to retrieve the disaster, and to subdue her ancient enemy, Corinth employed the two following years in immense preparations (B.C. 434—433). The danger of the

* Thucydides, i. 40. † Comp. chap. xii, p. 359.

Corcyræans was increased by their isolated position, for they had not yet joined the confederacy either of Sparta or of Athens. In the former, Corinth had an influence only second to that of Sparta herself, and the only course that remained was to seek the Athenian alliance. Both parties sent envoys to Athens; the Corcyræans to sue for the alliance, the Corinthians to deprecate it as alike impolitic and unjust. Thucydides expends all his power on the report, or rather composition, of the speeches delivered on this occasion before the ecclesia; * and it is interesting to find the subsequent policy of Athens shadowed forth in a main argument used by the Corcyræans, that their island would form the starting-point for an expedition against the Dorians of Sicily. The Corinthians urged the arguments of their own recent services to Athens, of good faith to the existing truce, and of the danger of a war with the Peloponnesian confederacy; but all this availed little against the tempting offer of the Corcyræan navy. The decision which was taken under the advice of Pericles is an indication of the course to which Athens was now committed, of extending her empire by all possible means. At first, indeed, she only formed a defensive alliance with the Corcyræans, and sent a small squadron of ten ships to their aid. These were followed by a reinforcement of twenty more, which arrived so opportunely as to save the Corcyræans from utter defeat in a great naval battle with the Corinthians (B.C. 432).

For the aid thus furnished to her enemies in the Ionian Sea, Corinth sought revenge in another quarter. The colonies on the Chalcidian peninsula, in the north-west corner of the Ægæan, belonged to the Athenian empire, and Perdiccas, the king of the adjacent land of Macedonia, had till lately been her firm ally. But the aid given by Athens to his brothers, Philip and Derdas, in maintaining the position of independent princes, alienated Perdiccas. He joined with Corinth in exciting disaffection among the Chalcidian cities, and formed the scheme of collecting the

* The speeches, in this and other cases, which form so important a portion of the work of Thucydides, must generally be regarded as, *in form*, the composition of the historian; though in some, those of Pericles in particular, there are peculiarities of style, which suggest a pretty close adherence to the speech actually delivered. We have the historian's own testimony that he aimed at a faithful report of these speeches, some of which he had heard himself; but that, when this was impracticable, he put into the speakers' mouths what he thought suitable to the occasion. (Thuc. i. 22.) The speeches composed on the latter principle are, therefore, the vehicles of his own profound views concerning the moving principles of Grecian politics at the great crisis recorded in his history.

people of the coast into the strong inland city of Olynthus, which dates its importance from this epoch. To counteract these movements, the Athenians sent an armament to the Thermaic Gulf, and took measures to secure Potidæa, which, as being a colony of Corinth, was justly suspected of disloyalty. The Potidæans openly revolted, and applied for help both to Corinth, as their metropolis, and to Sparta, as the head of the Peloponnesian confederacy. A direct collision ensued between the Athenians and the Corinthians, who had sent a force to aid the Chalcidian insurgents, in which the former gained the victory; and the blockade of Potidæa was formed (B.C. 432). Thus had the great maritime powers of Corinth and Athens come into collision on both sides of the peninsula, to the decided disadvantage of the former. Her pacific policy was now transformed into the most bitter hatred, and she set herself to draw the whole Peloponnesian confederacy into war with Athens.

All matters which affected the common interests of the confederacy, and questions of peace and war in particular, were first debated by the Spartans in their own assembly. If their decision involved a common course of action, a congress of the allies was convened to determine whether it should be pursued; and in such a congress each state had an equal vote. We are again indebted to Thucydides for a full report of these proceedings in the present case, the interest of which is greatly increased by the introduction of certain Athenian envoys, who happened to be present at Sparta on other business, when the first assembly was held. Besides the Corinthians, there were envoys from the Megarians, who had been reduced to deep distress by a decree excluding them from all the ports and markets of the Athenian empire: the Æginetans, though not openly represented, through fear of Athens, found means of preferring the complaint, that they were deprived of the self-government stipulated for them in the truce: and others of the allies made other accusations against Athens, as the common tyrant of Greece. When all these had been suffered to sharpen the indignation of the Lacedæmonians, the Corinthians came forward last with their elaborate indictment, to which the Athenian envoys made a characteristic reply. The speech of the Corinthians dwells mainly on the aggressive policy and restless activity of Athens, with which they contrast the habitual sluggishness of Sparta; and, while upbraiding her for suffering the evil to grow to such a height, they hint at the necessity of seeking another alliance. The Athenians plead their services in the Persian Wars;

they urge that the imperial power, which has excited such envy, was at first gained without their own seeking, and that its retention had become a matter of self-preservation; instead of blame, they claim praise for having abused their power so little; as for the odium they had incurred, it was the inseparable result of a sovereign power which had to be maintained by force, and it would have been equally earned by the Lacedæmonians or any other state in the like position; and they end by advising that the matters in dispute should be settled by negociation. The historian then exhibits, with consummate art—or else with a close adherence to what was actually said—the two sentiments which divided the Spartan mind in the speeches of the king Archidamus and the ephor Sthenelaïdas. The former urges every motive of prudence against encountering the power of Athens without adequate preparation and new maritime allies; he prays his countrymen not to be goaded into war by the taunts of the Corinthians against their national character and policy, a steady adherence to which had gained for them a long possession of glory and independence; in fine, he advises that negociation should be tried, but that war should be prepared for. Lastly, the ephor Sthenelaïdas put the question, in a speech of Laconic brevity, which evidently expressed the popular feeling of the Spartans:—the many words used by the Athenians in their praise were no answer to the charge of wronging the allies of Sparta;—if they had done well formerly against the Medes, but now ill against the Greeks, they deserved double punishment, because they had become bad instead of good; but the Spartans were the same as ever, the protectors of their faithful allies:—in the courage of those allies lay their strength against the wealth, and ships, and horses of the Athenians:—nor did it beseem them to settle by *words* injuries done by *deeds*.

The Lacedæmonian ecclesia voted, like our own parliament, by voice, followed if necessary by a division. By professing his inability to decide between the *Ayes* and *Noes*, the Ephor brought out, in the division, the decisive majority for war. The treatment of the whole discussion by Thucydides forms perhaps the most interesting development, in all history, of the feelings which prompt nations "to go to war for an idea." The Peloponnesian War stands, in the annals of the world, at the head of what we now call wars of principle. Its immediate occasion arose, doubtless, out of the interests of the complaining states; and Corinth, in particular, precipitated the conflict in the hope of saving Potidæa. The allies were moved, too, by a deep conviction of

danger from the power of Athens, and by the special peril which threatened the Sicilian colonies, now that her navy was reinforced by the Corcyræan. But mere policy would have suggested the course proposed by Archidamus, to prepare to meet this danger by a firm alliance with the Dorians of Sicily. Policy, however, cannot fix the moment at which fires long smouldering shall burst into a conflagration. The real question at issue was whether the dominant power of Hellas should be Ionian, maritime, and democratic,—or Dorian,* military, and aristocratic; and whether that power should be wielded by Athens, as a supreme state, avowedly dictating the policy and commanding the resources of her subject allies, or by Sparta, as the head of a confederacy nominally voluntary, but really bound to her by means of the aristocratic governments which she was always ready to uphold by force in the several states. The short-lived victory of the Peloponnesians was purchased by the loss of Hellenic independence, after two generations of constant war.

It was in the fourteenth year of the Thirty Years' Truce, that this decision was taken by Sparta, encouraged by a response of the Delphic oracle, and ratified by a general congress of the allies, in which the Corinthians, while again foremost in advising war, took pains to point out the measures needed to ensure success. There was still needed both time for preparation and a definite pretext for the war; and a demand was made upon the Athenians, that they should expel "the accursed" from among them. The "accursed" were the family of the Alcmæonidæ, who had treacherously slain the adherents of Cylon, after enticing them from the sanctuary.† Pericles was descended from that race through his mother; and the requisition was aimed at him, not in the hope of obtaining his banishment, but in order to bring him into odium at Athens, as if the state were plunged in war for his sake. Pericles was fortunately in a position to retort the blow twofold upon the most eminent men among the Spartans,—requiring the expulsion of those who had committed sacrilege, by killing Pausanias in the temple of Athena, and by dragging the revolted Helots from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Tænarus.‡ The negociations were prolonged by demands for the raising of the siege of Potidæa, for the independence of Ægina, for the reversal of the decree against Megara; and at last the Lacedæmonians

* In a well-known oracle, preserved by Thucydides, the war is called "a Dorian War." This, however, is from the Athenian point of view.

† See chap. xii. p. 345. ‡ See chap. xiii. p. 446, xiv. p. 458.

summed up all by offering peace, on the condition that the Athenians should restore every Grecian state to independence,—in other words, that the city should abdicate her empire and become again the weak and isolated Athens of the time before the Persian Wars, while the Lacedæmonian supremacy over her allies would remain untouched, because they were nominally self-governed.

Inadmissible as this demand was in itself, it brought to a head the whole question of war or peace. In the assembly held for the purpose of coming to a final decision, many voices had been raised in favour of purchasing peace by the repeal of the decree against Megara, when Pericles came forward to exhort the people to a determined resistance. Thucydides defines the position of the great statesman as "at that time the first of the Athenians, and the most able both in speech and action." His ascendancy over his fellow-citizens had lately been subjected to severe trials. All the splendours of his administration had not silenced his enemies, who had made a series of fierce attacks upon him in the persons of his most cherished friends. Three distinguished persons, of the most different pursuits, all endeared to Pericles, not only as personal friends but for their intellectual eminence, were the objects of prosecution for his sake,—the philosopher Anaxagoras, the sculptor Phidias, and the courtezan Aspasia. It is time to say a word respecting the last of these personages, and the class she represents. The position of the free women was a weak point in Greek society; and in the Ionian states, especially, they led nearly the life of Asiatics.* Secluded in the *gynæceum*, both before and after marriage, from all objects of interest beyond the narrow range of their domestic affairs, indifferently educated, and allowed no voice in determining their own lot in life, they were little fitted to become the companions of the lively and intellectual husbands, to whom they were given in marriage from motives of family policy. Such a state of domestic life of course favoured the irregular connections to which the Greeks were prone from their sensual temperament, and which the state generally encouraged. The courtezans were exceedingly numerous in every Greek city except Sparta, and most of all at Corinth, where they bore a name which marks the same connection with a debased religion that still subsists in the East, the "sacred slaves" of Aphroditè. This name, too, denotes the class by which most of them were

* These remarks do not, of course, apply to Sparta, where the women lived in public, and were subjected to the training which was deemed fit for the mothers of Spartan citizens, and which can have left little room for feminine graces.

supplied; being either slaves, from whom their owners made a gain, or unhappy persons whom poverty had reduced to this worst of slavery. But there was a distinct class, generally called in Greek, by a euphemism, "Hetæræ" (*Companions*),—foreigners, whose love of freedom and distinction led them to enter on this sort of life as an adventure, and whose intellectual powers and accomplishments enabled them to form private connections with the most distinguished men. Such were Aspasia, Laïs, and Phryne, who are celebrated by the Greek poets and antiquaries; and among these Aspasia is especially distinguished by her intellect and wit, and by her constancy to Pericles. That statesman had been peculiarly unfortunate in his marriage, which had ended in a divorce by mutual consent. He took Aspasia into his house, where she formed the ornament of the intellectual society in which he spent his leisure hours; and he lavished upon her son, whom he named Pericles, the affection of which his legitimate children proved unworthy.* It is said to have been by the jealousy of his son Xanthippus that the comic poets were in a great measure prompted to their scandalous attacks on the private life of Pericles. One of these poets, after the banishment of Anaxagoras, preferred a formal indictment against Aspasia for her part in the anti-religious speculations of that philosopher. She was defended by Pericles himself, with a passion which overcame his usual self-command, and his eloquence and tears gained an acquittal. He was less fortunate in the case of Phidias, who was accused of having purloined some of the gold entrusted to him for the statue of Athena; and Pericles himself seems to have been implicated in the charge. The statesman's well-known probity was doubtless a sufficient answer, in his own case, even without his challenge to have the gold taken off and weighed;† but the dicasts did not choose to accept the proof on behalf of Phidias. It is characteristic of the temper of the Athenians, that they may have been equally ready to show their true respect for Pericles,

* These two sons of Pericles were named Xanthippus and Paralus. Both, though carefully educated, were of inferior capacity; but Paralus was less undutiful than his brother. Both fell victims to the great plague of B.C. 429; and one of the few occasions on which Pericles is said to have yielded to his feelings in public was when he placed the funeral garland on the head of Paralus. After their death, Pericles was permitted to enrol his surviving son, by Aspasia, in his own tribe. The young Pericles was one of the generals put to death by the Athenians after the battle of Arginusæ (B.C. 406).

† Allusion has already been made to the precaution, which Pericles took, of having the gold removable.

and at the same time to humiliate him in the person of his friends.* At all events, Phidias was found guilty, and he seems to have died soon afterwards in prison (about B.C. 432). It was even suggested that Pericles obtained the decree against Megara expressly in order to "blow up the flame of the Peloponnesian War," and thus to divert the attacks of his political antagonists; but the very way in which the comic poet mentions this charge proves that he did not himself believe it.†

It was, therefore, amidst personal difficulty and danger that Pericles stood forward to pilot the state through the passage from peace to war. His enemies had not dared to suggest compliance with the demand for his banishment; but they raised a vehement opposition to his policy. But there was in him that element of personal ascendancy with which the greatest statesmen have been gifted at rare intervals in the history of the world; and his very aspect, voice, and gestures were in harmony with his character and his policy. With that respect which often breathes through the mask of caricature, the comic poets found in his dignified bearing and even in the form of his head a resemblance to the Olympian Jove, like whom they represented him as ruling with a nod the subject world—of Athens. When those, whom Demosthenes calls "the multitude of the usual speakers" in the ecclesia, had had their say, then

> "with grave
> Aspect he rose, and in his rising seemed
> A pillar of state: deep on his front engraven
> Deliberation sat, and public care; . . .
> . . . . . his look
> Drew audience and attention still as night
> Or summer's noontide air."

Above all, he possessed that highest power, of stemming the current of popular feeling, as Thucydides testifies in these striking words, "When Pericles saw the people in a state of unseasonable and insolent confidence, he spoke so as to cow them into alarm; when again they were in groundless terror, he combated it, and brought them back to confidence."‡ The historian reports at length, having himself very probably heard it, the speech by which Pericles persuaded the people to give a final negative to all

* The Athenians are not the only free people who have been prone to amuse themselves with badgering a statesman, whose stern probity has won more respect than love, at the very time when they were admiring him in their hearts, and reaping the fruits of his policy.

† Aristophanes, *The Peace*, B.C. 587—603, with the criticism of Mr. Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. vi. p. 139.

‡ Thucyd. ii. 65.

the demands of Sparta, and in which he laid down the policy that would ensure success in the coming war. That policy was, in one word, that Attica should be abandoned to the invasions of the enemy, while the people, collected within the shelter of Athens, the Piræus, and the Long Walls, should send out naval expeditions to ravage the coasts of Peloponnesus. Well knowing the impatient temper of his countrymen, he warned them against two great dangers, with a foresight which subsequent events proved but too well founded. The one was that, indignant at the devastation of their land, they might risk an unequal battle against the superior forces of the enemy; the other, that they might be tempted to acquire new dominions during the war. "I have more fear," said he, "of our own errors than of our enemies' designs." In fine, he advised them to reply, that they would admit the Megarians to their markets and harbours, provided that the Lacedæmonians would abandon their periodical expulsions of foreigners;—that they would grant independence to all states that were independent at the time of the truce, if the Lacedæmonians would allow their own allies to govern themselves as they pleased;—that they would give satisfaction for all wrongs according to the terms of the treaty;—in short, that they would not begin the war, but would resist those who should begin it. But, do what they would, the war must come, and the more willingly they met it, the less dangerous would it prove. Let them remember how their fathers repelled the Medes, beginning the contest with no such advantages as they now possessed, but from the abandonment of all they had, and how they advanced the city to its present state, and let them resolve to hand down what they had received, unimpaired to their posterity. The assembly adopted his advice, and the answer sent to Sparta put an end to negociation. All this time, both parties had carried on ordinary intercourse, not indeed without mutual suspicion, but without the intervention of heralds, as in a state of war. The first beginning of hostilities was due to the eagerness of the Thebans to seize a long coveted prize.

In the early spring of the fifteenth year of the Thirty Years' Truce (B.C. 431), a body of Thebans surprised Platæa in the night; but, after being admitted by traitors of the aristocratic party, they were overpowered by the citizens. Some were put to death; others were detained as prisoners. A force sent from Thebes to demand the captives retired on receiving a promise of their liberation; and the Platæans forthwith massacred the prisoners. They then sent

news of what had been done to the Athenians, who put a garrison of their own citizens into Platæa, and removed to Athens all the men who were useless for its defence, with the women and children. This open violation of the truce at once committed both parties to the war, and gave a foretaste of the spirit in which it would be waged. Nothing, indeed, is more striking in the conflict which ensued, than the deadly animosity and mutual treachery of men of the same race, language, and religion, who had so lately fought side by side against the Persian.

Both parties now completed their preparations for the war, and sought to extend their alliances in every quarter. Scarcely could a single city remain neutral, amidst the excitement of all Greece at the collision of her leading states. Thucydides lays stress upon the fact, which has so often since contributed to the outbreak of a war, that a new generation had risen up, both at Athens and at Sparta, who had never seen the calamities of warfare, and who were eager for its excitement and glory. The dealers in oracles chaunted their prophecies in every Grecian city. Prodigies, eagerly sought for, were found in abundance; and, above all, the island of Delos, the old religious centre of the Hellenic world, was shaken by an earthquake, an event which had never occurred before in the memory of man. The general feeling inclined to the Lacedæmonians as the liberators of Greece.

It would be foreign to our purpose, even were it possible within our limits, to recount the details of the war, as they are related by Thucydides and Xenophon.* It lasted, with slight intermissions, for twenty-seven years (B.C. 431—404), which may be divided into three great periods. (I.) *A Ten Years' War*, from the attack on Platæa to the Fifty Years' Truce, negotiated by Nicias (B.C. 431—421). During this first period, the balance of success was on the side of the Athenians. This truce lasted nominally seven years, but it was really broken in the third year, and was followed by

* The great work of Thucydides is in eight books. The first is introductory, on the importance and causes of the war. The narrative of the war itself begins with the second book, and is brought down to the destruction of the Athenian expedition to Sicily, at the end of the seventh book (B.C. 413). The eighth book, which is most probably genuine, though not revised with the same care as the other seven, breaks off in the middle of the twenty-first year of the war (B.C. 411). From this point our chief authority is Xenophon, or whoever wrote the first two books of the "Greek History" (*Hellenica*) ascribed to him. These two books continue the story a little beyond the end of the war (in B.C. 404), to the restoration of the democracy by Thrasybulus, the amnesty, and the peace with Sparta (B.C. 402). The remaining five books of the "Hellenics" bring down the history of Greece to the battle of Mantinea (B.C. 362), the epoch we have taken for the close of this chapter.

(II.) *A Five Years' War*, ending with the disastrous expedition of the Athenians to Sicily (B.C. 418—413). (III.) The remaining *Nine Years* were occupied by the gallant resistance of Athens to the fate which had become inevitable since the loss of her Sicilian armament. It was waged chiefly on the coast of Asia, for the maritime command of the Ægæan, and ended with the taking of Athens by Lysander (B.C. 412—404).

Immediately after the abortive attempt upon Platæa, the Lacedæmonians summoned the allies to send their contingents to the Isthmus, for the invasion of Attica. It was in this way alone that Athens seemed really vulnerable. Though the confederacy comprised Corinth, Megara, Sicyon, and other maritime states, their united fleets were quite unable to cope with the navy of Athens. Active measures were at once adopted to remedy this disparity, especially by the aid of the Italian and Sicilian Greeks. Meanwhile, the one hope of the Peloponnesians lay in provoking the Athenians, by the devastation of their lands and villages, to risk an unequal contest with their own far superior army. It needed all the firmness of Pericles to disappoint this hope; and the Spartan king Archidamus was all but justified in the expectation that the mere threat of invasion would be enough. Before he entered Attica, he sent the herald Melesippus to announce his approach, and to offer terms for the last time. But the Athenians had resolved not to receive another envoy, and Melesippus was conducted back to the frontier, where he took leave of his escort with the exclamation,—afterwards so terribly verified,—"This day will be the beginning of many evils to the Greeks." While Archidamus still lingered on the road, to give the experiment time to work, Pericles had the greatest difficulty in persuading the Athenians to abandon their beautiful villages and homesteads, their smiling corn-fields, their luxuriant vineyards and orchards. Their distress when cooped up within the walls was of course far greater than had been foreseen. All the open places, even those left vacant from religious scruples, as well as the space between the Long Walls, were crowded with huts, tents, and even tubs; and the enforced idleness of the dense throng, many of whom were unused to obey the ascendancy of Pericles, must have disposed them to listen to his enemies, and to ascribe all their sufferings to his policy. At length the army of Archidamus, numbering not less than 60,000 hoplites, was seen descending the slopes of Mount Ægaleos, on to the village of Acharnæ, just seven miles north of Athens, and in sight of its walls. This was the largest of the

demes of Attica, and its military force numbered 3000 full-armed men. Their rage at beholding all their rural wealth destroyed before their very eyes gave an impulse to the general indignation. Groups of citizens, gathered in every quarter, inflamed each other's discontent, and the eager youth demanded to be led out against the enemy. In such a state of popular feeling, Pericles would not trust even his own vast influence to avert some fatal resolution; and he used his power, as the first of the Ten Generals, to prevent the ecclesia from meeting till the ferment had subsided. Meanwhile, he gave some vent to the impatience for action by sending out the Athenian and Thessalian cavalry to check the too near approach of the ravagers; and, in pursuance of his own policy, he fitted out a squadron of 100 triremes to make incursions on the enemy's coasts. This armament, united with fifty Corcyræan ships, besides attacking various points on the shores of Peloponnesus, took some of the Corinthian colonies on the coast of Acarnania, and reduced the island of Cephallenia.

The endurance which Pericles required of the Athenians had a natural limit. Like the levies of the middle ages, the Peloponnesian allies gave their military service only for a limited period; and when nearly forty days had passed without drawing the Athenians out to battle, Archidamus led off his army into Bœotia about the middle of July. The Athenians avenged themselves for their sufferings by ravaging the territory of Megara with their whole army, united with the sea force which had now returned to Ægina,—an operation which they repeated annually while the war lasted; and they took a further precaution for their maritime security by removing the whole population of Ægina to the Peloponnesian coast, and parcelling out their lands among Athenian cleruchi. The Spartans granted the expelled Æginetans a home at Thyrea. The summer campaign closed about the end of September, B.C. 431.*

During this summer the Athenians had adopted two important measures of preparation for the future. They deposited a treasure of 1000 talents in the Acropolis, as a sacred reserve, only to be used if the city should be attacked by a hostile fleet. Till then, any proposal to touch it subjected the mover to the penalty of death. This resolution was never violated till after the disaster in Sicily and the revolt of Chios, the firmest of all the allies, and even then the constitutional form was observed, of passing a vote

* Thucydides relates the events of each year of the war separately, distinguishing those of the summer and the winter.

of indemnity to the mover of the decree to use the money. For the more effectual protection of the Athenian possessions in the Chalcidian peninsula, alliances were made with Sitalces, who had founded a powerful kingdom over the Odrysians of Thrace, and with Perdiccas, king of Macedonia. The latter received back the port of Therma (afterwards Thessalonica) from the Athenians, and united his army with that of the Athenian Phormio, in operating against Potidæa; and the aid of the Thracians was promised for the same object.

According to the annual custom of Athens, the soldiers who had fallen in the campaigns of this summer were honoured with a splendid public funeral and a monument in the suburb called the Ceramicus (the Potter's Quarter). Their children were educated at the public expense, and when the sons came to the military age, they received a suit of armour, and were presented to the people on the stage at the Dionysia. The Greek religion required a strict performance of funeral rites, till which the shades of the dead were supposed to wander around the abode of Hades, forbidden to pass the water of the Styx. For this reason, as well as not to leave such trophies in the hands of the enemy, the utmost importance was attached to the recovery of the bodies of those who fell in battle. They were burnt upon the field, and their bones were carried home for the public funeral. Two days before the ceremony, the remains were laid in state under a tent, whither the relatives brought their offerings. At the time of the funeral, the bones were placed in coffers of cypress wood, one for every tribe, and borne forth on cars, followed by an empty bier, covered with a pall, representing those who were not found at the taking up of the dead. Every resident in Athens who pleased, whether citizen or foreigner, joined in the procession, and the tomb was surrounded by wailing women, the relatives of the deceased. When at last they were deposited in the ground, a man appointed to the office for his intelligence and worth mounted a lofty platform and pronounced their eulogy, and so the people were dismissed. On this occasion the funeral oration was delivered by Pericles; and the report of it in the pages of Thucydides forms one of the most remarkable remains of the literature of any people.* The peculiarity of its style is a sufficient proof that here, above every other instance, Thucydides acted on his avowed plan of reporting the speeches he himself heard as faithfully as he could. It is, as Mr. Grote observes, "every way worthy of Pericles—comprehensive, rational, and full not less of

* Thucydides, ii. 35—46.

sense and substance than of earnest patriotism. It thus forms a strong contrast with the jejune though elegant rhetoric of other harangues, mostly not composed for actual delivery; and deserves, in comparison with the funeral discourses remaining to us from Plato and the pseudo-Demosthenes, and even Lysias, the honourable distinction which Thucydides claims for his own history—an ever-living possession and not a mere show-piece for the moment."* The general tenor of the speech is to show that the free polity and free social life of the Athenians not only secured them an amount of enjoyment of which the Spartans were deprived by their severe discipline; but even that this discipline was a less effective preparation for war than the confidence, the patriotism, and the unimpaired resources with which Athens could meet each danger as it arose. But the speech can only be judged of by reiterated perusal.

In the second year of the war (B.C. 430), the full force of the Peloponnesians again invaded Attica in the spring. They remained in the land forty days, ravaging it more extensively and thoroughly than before. Before they had been long in the country, Athens was visited by that memorable pestilence, which is the earliest of what have been called, from their intensity and their wide diffusion, "Œcumenical Plagues." Of the others which have been included under that name, the most celebrated are those of Constantinople, in A.D. 532; of Florence, in A.D. 1348; of Milan, in A.D. 1630; and in London, A.D. 1665.† It so happens that nearly all these great pestilences have been described by writers of the highest power, that of Athens by Thucydides, that of Constantinople by Procopius, that of Florence by Boccaccio, and that of London by De Foe. In all cases the horror of the sufferings endured, and the frightful picture of desolation, is intensified by the recklessness, the licentious levity and cruel selfishness, the disregard of all moral ties, which formed the real though most unseasonable fruit of the presence of impending death. Thucydides, himself a sufferer from the Plague of Athens, has left us an account of it as remarkable for the accuracy of detail, as for the vivid picture of its devastation and its social consequences. It appears to have been an eruptive typhoid fever. Like the other epidemics just mentioned, it was spread far and wide over the

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. vi. pp. 191-2.

† We might fairly add the great visitations of cholera in our own times, especially those of 1832 and 1849; but they have not yet found an historian. The original accounts of the Great Plagues mentioned in the text are collected into one view in Malkin's *Historical Parallels*.

world, though associated with the name of the city where its ravages were most remarkable. It was said to have broken out first in Ethiopia, whence it descended to Egypt, and spread to Libya on the one hand, and to Asia on the other. Passing over to Europe, it had been felt at Rome and in other parts of Italy about sixteen years before, and more recently it had visited some islands of the Ægæan. Reaching Attica, it first appeared, according to the general law of such epidemics, in the port of Piræus. The people, collected from all Attica, crowded together in their wretched temporary abodes within the fortifications of Athens and the Long Walls, and depressed by the devastation of their lands, were in the fittest state to receive the full force of the disease. It was as sudden as it was fatal. Attacking first the head and throat, it soon spread over the whole system, and was generally fatal in the course of seven or nine days. Many who recovered from the first seizure died from subsequent exhaustion, and many lost the use of their limbs, their sight, and their memory. No specific was found for the complaint, and the physicians, and others who had the rare courage to visit the sick, were among the surest victims. Quacks and impostors tried their nostrums and incantations; professors of prophecy recited, among many others, a famous oracle which had declared,

> "A Doric war shall fall,
> And a great plague withal:"

and while the superstitious saw in the infliction the fulfilment of the promise of Apollo to help the Lacedæmonians, whether invoked or uninvoked, vulgar suspicion charged the enemy with poisoning the wells. As mental depression was a constant attendant of the disease, the universal terror aggravated its violence. The sick were soon left to die untended, except by the few who, having recovered, were not liable to a second attack; and the rites of burial, so sacred among the Greeks, were either quite neglected, or performed with indecent confusion. This selfish disregard of the sufferers was accompanied by a selfish desire to make the most of a span of life which any moment might cut short, and the disorder which prevailed in the state made punishment for the grossest crimes uncertain. The one point of favourable contrast with plague-stricken cities at other times, is that there were no cruel persecutions directed against imaginary authors of the calamity. Commencing in the spring of B.C. 430, the pestilence raged till the close of the following year, and, after the intermission of a year and a half, it broke out

again for another year, with the same violence as at first. The loss from the whole pestilence inflicted a frightful blow on the power of Athens. Three hundred out of the 1200 knights, and 4400 hoplites, represent the deaths among the better classes, besides a vast number of the poorer citizens. The epidemic was almost confined to Athens and the more populous islands, and it scarcely touched the more scattered population of the Peloponnesus. Amidst all these sufferings, Pericles maintained his policy, and himself sailed out with a fleet of a hundred ships to ravage the Peloponnesus. The dispirited Athenians showed no such eagerness as in the former year to march out to battle. But when the enemy had retired, and the people began to examine their losses, they were seized with an uncontrollable desire for peace, and sent envoys to Lacedæmon. The rejection of their overtures incensed them against Pericles more than ever, but the universal outcry failed to shake his firmness. He convened an assembly, and delivered the last of those great speeches which are reported by Thucydides, accepting all the responsibility of his policy; pleading his claims to their confidence; urging them not to suffer the resolutions they had deliberately adopted to become the sport of a sudden calamity; and encouraging them by enumerating all the advantages they still possessed, especially in the unimpaired dominion of the sea. Victory would soon make good all their losses; defeat would deliver them, disgraced and helpless, to their bitter enemies; nor, indeed, had they now the power to recede from a position in the maintenance of which lay their safety and their glory. Though convinced by his eloquence, and renewing their resolution to carry on the war with vigour, their irritation vented itself in the sentence of the dicastery, which condemned Pericles to a fine, on a charge the exact nature of which is uncertain; but they soon afterwards re-elected him to the office of strategus. He held this post about twelve months longer, till his death in the autumn of the third year of the war (B.C. 429). At the beginning of that year Potidæa capitulated, and the campaign of the summer was marked by the great naval successes of Phormio in the Corinthian Gulf.

There was no invasion of Attica this year, probably through fear of the plague, but the Peloponnesian forces were led by Archidamus against Platæa, to gratify the revenge of the Thebans, and to punish the gallant little city for its fidelity to Athens. The Platæans might even yet have escaped their fate by renouncing the alliance of Athens, and consenting to

remain neutral; but the Athenians appealed to their oath of fidelity, and promised never to desert them; and the Platæans, after in vain recalling to the memory of their enemies the immunities secured to them by the common voice of Greece, prepared for an obstinate resistance. The siege of Platæa forms one of the most interesting episodes of Grecian history. The town was manned by a garrison of only 400 citizens and eighty Athenians, with 110 female slaves for cooking; all the other inhabitants having been removed to Athens after the former attempt of the Thebans. Such, however, was their resolution, and such the want of skill on the part of the besiegers, that this little force baffled all the attacks of the Peloponnesian confederates. While the assailants occupied seventy days and nights of uninterrupted labour in heaping up a mound of earth and timber against the wall, the defenders heightened the part threatened by a wooden wall covered with hides. As the embankment rose, they broke a hole through the city wall and drew away the earth, so that the top kept foundering; and when the besiegers stopped the chasm with masses of clay bound up in reeds, they undermined the very centre of the mound. As a last defence, the Platæans built a second wall, in the shape of a crescent, behind the part of the wall attacked by the embankment. The result was, that the siege was converted into a blockade: the city being entirely surrounded with a double wall and ditch, the intermediate space was occupied by a garrison of Peloponnesians and Bœotians. The circumvallation was completed in the autumn of B.C. 429. At the end of the following year, when the Platæans began to suffer the extremities of famine, they resolved to break through the lines. Half of them recoiled at the last moment from the dangers of the attempt, the other half escaped to Athens (B.C. 428). The remaining half, 200 Platæans and twenty-five Athenians, surrendered at discretion in the course of the following summer. After a form of trial before a court of five Spartans, in which their touching appeal to their past services to Greece was hardly turned aside by the reply of the Theban orators, they were all put to death to a man (B.C. 427).*

This atrocious deed was not without a parallel in the conduct of the Athenians. The death of Pericles had deprived the city, not only of the leader best qualified to conduct the war, but of the statesman who was alone able to control the excesses of opposite

* These two speeches are among the most interesting of those reported by Thucydides.

parties, and who had gained from all, except his bitter personal foes, the praise of surpassing wisdom and moderation.* But, as Thucydides expressly tells us, "Those who succeeded after his death, being more equal one with another, and each of them desiring pre-eminence over the rest, adopted the different course of courting the favour of the people, and sacrificing to that object even important state interests." His controlling mind was withdrawn at the very time when mutual exasperation provoked rash counsels. Even before his death, in the second year of the war, the Lacedæmonians had imported a systematic cruelty into their naval warfare. Unable to cope with the Athenian navy, they fitted out privateers to prey upon the mercantile and fishing vessels that sailed round their coasts, and massacred the crews not only of Athenian but of neutral ships. The Athenians retaliated by the murder of some envoys, whom the Lacedæmonians, in pursuance of the policy adopted from the very beginning of the war, had sent to solicit aid from Persia, and who were delivered up to them by their ally the Thracian king. Among them were the Corinthian Aristeus, who had instigated the revolt of Potidæa, and two Spartan heralds, whose fathers had gone to Susa to offer their lives in atonement for the murder of the heralds of Darius, but had been dismissed unhurt by Xerxes. But the event that roused the bitterest passions of the Athenians was the revolt of one of the most important of their own allies, Lesbos, one of the three large islands on the coast of Asia (reduced to two since the revolt and subjugation of Samos), which alone of all the Delian confederates remained on an equal footing with Athens.

It was early in the fourth year of the war (B.C. 428) that the news reached Athens that Mytilene had revolted, at the instigation of the oligarchical party, drawing after it the three towns of Antissa, Eresus, and Pyrrha, whose governments it absorbed into its own. Methymna, the second city of the island, and the jealous rival of Mytilene, remained faithful to the Athenians. The revolt was purely political, and the Mytilenæans sent a solemn embassy to the Peloponnesians assembled at the Olympic festival, proposing to join their alliance, and begging for their aid. But before the promised succours could be sent, the fate of the revolt was decided by the energy of the Athenians. Though their strength had been drained by the plague, and their accumulated treasure exhausted, they raised a direct contribution of two hundred talents at home,

* The eulogy of Thucydides (ii. 65) is decisive of the esteem in which Pericles was held by moderate and impartial men.

and sent ships to collect money from the islands; they demanded the personal service of all citizens, except the two highest Solonian classes, and of the resident foreigners; and, disregarding the Peloponnesian army, which had again invaded Attica, they sent out a fleet of 100 triremes to blockade Mytilene. After a long resistance, the spirits of the Mytilenæans were raised by the presence of a Lacedæmonian, Salæthus, who had contrived to enter the city, bringing the news that a Lacedæmonian fleet was on its way to their relief (B.C. 427). But the time passed on without the appearance of the promised succours; the provisions were exhausted; and Salæthus resolved to try one united sally. But no sooner had he put arms into the hands of all the people, than the democratic party refused to act under the former leaders, who were obliged to capitulate, as the only means of preventing an unconditional surrender. Paches, the Athenian general, agreed to refer the fate of the rebels to the Athenian people, before whom Mytilenæan envoys were to plead their cause; and he sent to Athens a thousand of the chief citizens as prisoners, together with Salæthus. The debate which ensued at Athens forms one of the most memorable episodes of the war. Cleon now appears for the first time, as the representative of those demagogues for whom the removal of Pericles had made way.

The reader of Thucydides cannot fail to be struck with the great void among the party leaders of the higher class from the death of Pericles to the rise of Alcibiades. Almost the only names of any eminence in the ecclesia, besides the demagogues, are those of Nicias and Demosthenes. The latter, who does not appear prominently till B.C. 426, was little more than the honest straightforward soldier. The former had already been associated in command with Pericles; and his wealth, birth, and character must have secured him considerable respect. But his quiet and irresolute disposition by no means fitted him to seize the reins as they fell from the hand of Pericles. It is not till after the rise of Cleon that we find him impelled by his sense of patriotism and by the claims of his party, to wage an unequal contest with the demagogue;* and his political ascendancy only dates from Cleon's death in B.C. 422.

Free as the arena of the government had been to all the citizens since the reforms of Pericles and Ephialtes, the great leaders had till now been, for the most part, men of the old families. It is

* The orator who opposes Cleon in the affair of the Mytilenæans, is not Nicias, but Diodotus, a politician otherwise unknown.

but slowly that the power passes out of the hands of that class in a free state; and their influence was upheld at Athens by their social and political associations. No such help,—but the jealous opposition of a body anxious to preserve by their union privileges no longer allowed to them by the law,—met the men of the people who, enriched by the growth of commerce, or possessed of power of speech and of the assurance needed to face the ecclesia and the dicasteries, aspired to a leading part in politics. "A person of such low or middling station obtained no favourable presumptions or indulgence on the part of the public to meet him half-way, nor had he established connections to encourage first successes, or help him out of early scrapes. He found others already in possession of ascendancy, and well disposed to keep down new competitors; so that he had to win his own way unaided, from the first step to the last, by qualities personal to himself; by assiduity of attendance—by acquaintance with business—by powers of striking speech—and withal by unflinching audacity, indispensable to enable him to bear up against that opposition and enmity which he would incur from the high-born politicians and organized party clubs, as soon as he appeared to be rising up into ascendancy."* Such men were Eucrates, the rope-seller; Lysicles, the sheep-seller; Hyperbolus, the lamp-maker; and, above all, Cleon, the leather-seller.

The character of this remarkable man is delineated by Thucydides in a few of his masterly touches, and roughly drawn by Aristophanes with the broadest strokes of caricature. The great comedian began his public career in this very year, B.C. 427, with a play called "The Banqueters," which is now lost. His second comedy, "The Babylonians," which is also lost (B.C. 426), first opened the attack on Cleon, which was followed up two years afterwards in his celebrated "Knights" (B.C. 424). This play furnishes a leading type of the spirit of the Old Attic Comedy, as perfected by its greatest master. DEMOS (the people), an old man who has reached his dotage, without being the less cunning and suspicious, irascible and tyrannical, has fallen into the hands of his steward, Cleon, a leather-seller, smelling of the tan-yard, brawling and bullying, cozening and fawning, pilfering and lying, bringing accusations against his fellow servants, and withdrawing them for bribes. The old man's faithful servants, Nicias and Demosthenes, set up a rival to Cleon in the person of a sausage-seller, who surpasses him in all his foul arts, cheating ways, and over-

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. vi. pp. 330-1.

bearing tyranny, till he has entirely supplanted Cleon. He then throws off his assumed character; appears as the model of old aristocratic virtue; restores Demos to youth by the magic virtue of a cauldron like Medea's, and exhibits him in all the freshness of the age of Marathon.

The exact influence of Aristophanes on the mind of his age, and his value to us as an authority, are often misunderstood through forgetfulness of the essential spirit of caricature. Once let it be exactly truthful, moderate, sober, cautious, and it ceases to be caricature at all. Truthful, indeed, it must be, in one sense, if it be not dishonest and contemptible; if its object be simply to amuse, the pleasure must not be purchased by falsehood; if serious, it is still more bound to refrain from any positive deception. The comic masks of the Attic stage, like the pictures of our great modern caricaturists, would lose all merit unless they preserved the likeness of their originals, however laughably distorted or exaggerated in the several features; and their "counterfeit presentment" of character was governed by the same laws. But, as we should scarcely place pictures of the former class in a portrait gallery, so we should beware of following the latter delineations of character too literally. Still more mistaken, however, is the view which sets them aside as mere buffoonery. The prevalence of that element on the comic stage of Athens—an element which he himself claims to have reduced within a far more moderate compass than before—does not make Aristophanes a mere buffoon. A serious purpose is manifested throughout his works. He is the strenuous advocate of the old views in politics and social life, in poetical criticism, in philosophy and religion, if indeed we ought not rather to say that he condemned all the philosophy of his age as irreligious and demoralizing. The vividness of his fancy, the exquisite beauty of his more poetical passages, and the purity of his language, even in his scenes of broadest humour, have won the admiration of every age, whose universal verdict has re-echoed the praise of Plato:—

> "The Muses seeking for a shrine
> Whose glories ne'er should cease,
> Found, as they stray'd, the soul divine
> Of Aristophanes.*

In politics, the poet came forward to resist the demagogues at a time when they scarcely had any effective opposition in the ecclesia. The seriousness of his purpose, in this field at all events, was

* Epigram in the Greek Anthology, translated by Merivale.

proved by the courage with which he attacked Cleon in the year after his popularity had reached its height by the capture of the Spartans in Sphacteria (B.C. 424). Of this the play of "The Knights" is itself a sufficient proof, even if there be no sufficient foundation for the story that, when no artist had the courage to make the mask of Cleon, Aristophanes acted the part himself, with his face daubed with lees of wine, after the fashion of the early comedians. Whatever there may have been exaggerated in the character thus pourtrayed, and whether or no the personal turpitude of Cleon was as deep as Aristophanes depicts it, we have the testimony of Thucydides to his political profligacy, his dishonest calumnies, and his reckless invectives. He first appears as an instigator of the popular discontent against Pericles during the invasion of Attica in the first year of the war; and now again as the vehement advocate of a most cruel act of popular vengeance, which has brought indelible disgrace on the Athenian democracy, though its consummation was hindered by their repentance.

The revolt of Lesbos had startled the Athenians by its discovery of the insecurity of their maritime empire. They had seen a Lacedæmonian fleet invited into the Asiatic waters by their faithless ally, at the moment when they were weakened by the plague at home. The very defence of the Mytilenæan advocates was calculated to increase their indignation; for they alleged no injury done to them by Athens, and the only plea they urged was most offensive by its distrust, and by its implied censure on the whole course of the Athenian empire,—the fear that she might oppress and subdue them hereafter, as had been the fate of the other allies. To an assembly thus excited, Cleon suddenly proposed that all the male population of military age should be put to death, and the women and children sold for slaves; and the decree was passed after a vehement opposition. But the assembly had no sooner broken up than a revulsion of feeling followed, the more readily, as Mr. Grote has suggested, from a well-known law of human nature, "that the sentiment of wrath against the Mytilenæans had been really in part discharged by the mere passing of the sentence, quite apart from its execution." The Mytilenæan envoys induced the strategi to call another assembly for the next day, in which the decree was reversed, in spite of the furious opposition of Cleon, but only by a small majority.* A swift trireme was despatched to overtake the ship which had been sent off immediately

* Thucydides, who only mentions the first assembly very briefly, gives a full report of the speech of Cleon and the reply of Diodotus, iii. 37—48.

after the first decision; and such was the zeal of the crew, that they reached Mytilene just as Paches had read the former mandate, and was preparing to put it into execution. Thus the Mytilenæans were saved from extermination; but their lands became the property of Athenian cleruchi, and the rage of Cleon was partly gratified by the execution of the thousand prisoners who had been sent to Athens. This whole transaction, like the massacre of the Platæans, displays in a strong light the inhumanity of the Greeks to their political enemies; but the Athenians, besides having wrongs to avenge, which the Spartans could not plead, deserve some credit for their effectual repentance. They soon after proved their sense of justice by the arraignment of Paches, for crimes committed in the course of his command, only paralleled by the deeds of men like Carrier in the French Reign of Terror. He anticipated his sentence by falling on his sword in open court. Before this year closed, a still more terrible example of the internecine hostility of the two great parties was afforded by the seven days' massacre of the aristocratic party in Corcyra, in revenge for the murder of a popular leader, and amidst the fear of an attack from the Peloponnesian fleet, just as the September massacres were perpetrated amidst the terror caused at Paris by the advance of the duke of Brunswick. Thucydides dwells upon these atrocities as showing how completely all the bonds of religion, morality, and common humanity had been overthrown in a few years by a civil war waged for an idea.

We have dwelt the more fully on the early years of the war, on account of their political and social importance; the more stirring military incidents of the next few years can only be glanced at. The offensive operations of the Athenians took a wider range; and their confidence was strengthened by the successful campaigns of Demosthenes in Acarnania and its vicinity (B.C. 426). The seventh was a memorable year in the history of the war. Demosthenes conceived the plan of fortifying a permanent station on the coast of Peloponnesus. For this purpose he chose the headland of Pylos (*Old Navarino*), on the north side of the bay which has again become memorable in our time for the battle of Navarino. This bay lies on the western shore of Messenia, about forty-five miles from Sparta. Across its mouth the long, wooded island of Sphacteria (*Sphagia*) stretches like a breakwater, leaving two narrow passages on the north and south, of which the former was commanded by the fort built by Demosthenes. The news of this bold step recalled the Spartan king, Agis, from the invasion of Attica

(the fifth during the war); the Peloponnesian fleet was transferred from Corcyra to Pylos; and its commander, Thrasymelidas, at once occupied the island of Sphacteria. An attack of the Lacedæmonians on the little garrison was repulsed by Demosthenes; and the Athenian fleet, which had been sent to his relief, entered the bay without opposition, and gained a great naval victory over the Peloponnesians. The detached force in the island of Sphacteria was thus entirely cut off from relief; and, as it included many members of the first Spartan families, their lives were considered worth redeeming by a general peace. Envoys were sent to Athens, and the Lacedæmonian fleet was placed in the hands of the Athenian admiral, Eurymedon, as a security for the armistice. The elated Athenians were persuaded by Cleon to accept of no terms short of the restoration of all the places on the continent which had been ceded by the Thirty Years' Truce. The negociations were broken off; Eurymedon found a pretext for keeping the Peloponnesian fleet; and the blockade of Sphacteria was continued. Means were, however, found of conveying provisions to the island. Demosthenes resolved to carry it by force before the winter storms broke up the blockade. With this view, he sent to Athens for reinforcements.

The impatience of the Athenians at this delay vented itself upon Cleon, who had persuaded them to reject an advantageous peace. With his ready effrontery, he turned the attack upon the leading statesmen. Pointing to Nicias, he exclaimed, "If our generals were *men*, it would be easy with a proper force to sail and take the soldiers in the island. That is what *I* at least would do, if *I* were general." Amidst the burst of merriment which followed this sally, a voice was heard, which challenged him to make good his boast. Nicias caught at the suggestion, as a means of Cleon's certain ruin, and offered to resign to him his right to command the expedition, as chief strategus for the year. In vain did Cleon attempt to draw back, exclaiming, "It is your place to sail: you are general, not I." His enemies were ready to risk the armament, so that Cleon should risk his life and reputation; and they gladly embraced the alternative either of getting rid of him or reaping the fruit of his daring; and it is not improbable that a large party in the ecclesia felt that confidence in his success which the event justified. Finding evasion useless, he not only resumed his assurance, declining the aid of the regular troops, and only requiring some Lemnian and Imbrian infantry, with a body of light-armed Thracians, and 400 archers; but he had the prudence

to require that Demosthenes should be named as his second in command. So he engaged, within twenty days, either to bring the Lacedæmonians as prisoners to Athens, or to kill them in the island. That fortune, which favours the bold, enabled him to make good his boast. On reaching Pylos, he found that Demosthenes had completed his preparations. The Athenian forces were landed in the island, and, after a long and obstinate struggle, in which many of the Lacedæmonians fell, the survivors were surrounded and forced to capitulate. They numbered 292, out of an original force of 420; and 120 were native Spartans, belonging for the most part to the first families in the city. Such prisoners were invaluable as hostages; and while they were in the hands of the Athenians, the enemy were no longer at liberty to conduct the war as they pleased. More than this, the prestige of the invincible Spartan hoplites was broken through, and her force seriously weakened by the loss of so many citizens. Cleon's share in the achievement was represented by his enemies as a mere "filching from Demosthenes a cake already baked;"* but, besides the credit due to success, he had the merit of urging prompt action, when Nicias and his party only proposed to temporize. One sequel of the affair of Pylos is too terribly characteristic of the spirit engendered by the war to be passed over. Alarmed at the importance which the Helots had acquired by their services, especially in conveying supplies to Sphacteria, the Spartans planned their massacre. Those who had distinguished themselves were invited to come forward and receive emancipation. Two thousand of them were crowned with garlands, amidst the public ceremonies of liberation; and they all soon afterwards disappeared by methods known to the Ephors. As if to match these horrors on the other side, the massacres at Corcyra were renewed under the direct sanction of the Athenian fleet, which had returned to the island after the reduction of Sphacteria. The fortified position of Pylos was held by the Athenians almost to the end of the war.

In the eighth year of the war (B.C. 424), the Athenians followed up their recent success, rejecting fresh overtures for peace. They captured the island of Cythera, which lies off the southern promontory of Laconia, as well as Nisæa, the port of Megara. But the same year was marked by terrible reverses. An expedition into Bœotia was utterly defeated in the disastrous battle of Delium, in which both Socrates and Alcibiades fought with distinction.

* Aristoph. *Equit.* 54. See Mr. Grote's most ingenious discussion of the whole question; *History of Greece*, vol. vi. p. 458.

On this occasion we first hear of the heavy Bœotian phalanx of twenty-five deep, and of the Theban Band of Three Hundred chosen warriors, afterwards known as the Sacred Band. A worse disaster soon after befel the Athenians in Thrace. A Lacedæmonian army was sent into that quarter at the joint request of Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, and the Chalcidian towns. Its commander was Brasidas, the man most distinguished for personal gallantry in the whole annals of the war. In its first year he had saved Methone from surrendering to the Athenian fleet, and had been elected Ephor (B.C. 431). In the attack on Pylos he was wounded while leading the way in his galley (B.C. 425). While engaged in collecting forces for his Thracian expedition, he had saved Megara from the Athenians (B.C. 424). Now again, by operations of surpassing skill, he took from the Athenians their recently founded colony of Amphipolis on the Strymon, the key to their empire in Thrace and to the secure possession of their valuable gold-mines. Just after the city had surrendered, an Athenian squadron arrived at Eïon, and preserved that town, though too late to save Amphipolis. The loss, which was most keenly felt at Athens, was ascribed, it would seem not unjustly, to the culpable delay of the commanders, one of whom was the historian Thucydides. On the motion of Cleon, Thucydides was condemned to banishment, and remained in exile for twenty years (B.C. 423).*

While Brasidas made his conquest of Amphipolis the starting-point for an attack upon the Athenian possessions in the Chalcidian peninsula, the Lacedæmonians at home were eager for peace for the sake of the citizens captured at Sphacteria. Negociations were carried on during the winter, and a truce for one year, with a view to a peace, was concluded in March, B.C. 423. The truce was virtually inoperative in Thrace, where Brasidas continued to exhibit his skill and vigour in campaigns which we cannot stay to follow. The end of the year found the negociations little advanced, and Athens divided into a peace and war party, headed by Nicias and Cleon. The policy of the latter prevailed, and he himself led an expedition for the recovery of Amphipolis (B.C. 422). After retaking Torone, on the Sithonian peninsula, he sailed to Eïon, and there waited for reinforcements from the Macedonians and Thracians, while Brasidas remained quiet in Amphipolis. The

* The whole question of the reasons of the failure of Thucydides before Amphipolis, and the justice or injustice of his sentence, is fully discussed by Bp. Thirlwall (*History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 268) and Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. vi. p. 565).

discontent of the Athenian citizens in Cleon's army, and their undisguised contempt for his military qualities, goaded him into a movement up the Strymon, to reconnoitre Amphipolis from an eminence outside its wall. All seemed quiet within the city, and no defenders appeared upon the battlements; but Brasidas was preparing for a sally upon the enemy, thus lulled into a false security. Indications of his movements reached Cleon, who began a disorderly retreat. Brasidas looked over the city-wall upon the retiring masses, and, exclaiming that men who carried their spears and heads with that wavering gait would never stand the shock of steady troops, he gave orders for the attack. The Athenians were completely surprised; Cleon lost all presence of mind and was among the first to fly, but he was overtaken and slain by a Thracian peltast. Brasidas was mortally wounded while pressing on the attack; but his victory was complete, and not more than half the Athenian force returned to Eïon.

It has been doubted which was the greater gain to Athens, the loss of her enemy's general, or of her own leader. Be the sarcasm upon Cleon just or unjust, it is certain that he and Brasidas were equally opposed to peace, and their removal was a double step towards its conclusion. Negociations, re-opened during the winter, under the auspices of Nicias and of the Spartan king Pleistoanax, led to the conclusion of a Fifty Years' Truce, on the basis of a mutual restitution of prisoners and places captured during the war. Thus ended all the high pretensions of Sparta to redress the wrongs of her allies and to free Greece from the empire of Athens; while the Athenian statesmen, in their eagerness for peace, sacrificed the most faithful of her allies, permitting the Thebans to retain Platæa, on the ground that it had been surrendered voluntarily. Athens kept Nisæa, the port of Megara, and Anactorium, on the same ground (B.C. 421).

Lots were drawn to decide the order in which the restitutions should be made, and Athens drew the favourable lot. But when the Spartans began to perform the terms, their envoy to Thrace met with such opposition from the Chalcidians as rendered the restitution of Amphipolis impracticable; and the Athenians, on their part, retained the post of Pylos.

The treaty was meanwhile deprived of the character of a general peace, by the discontent of the most powerful allies of Sparta. The Corinthians, Eleans, Megarians, and Bœotians refused to ratify the truce. Upon this, the Athenian envoys, who were still at Sparta, formed a new treaty of defensive alliance with the Lace-

dæmonians; but this hasty measure of the peace party failed to remove the dissatisfaction of their countrymen at the non-fulfilment of the treaty by the allies of Sparta. The Corinthians, disappointed of those maritime objects which had made them so eager for the war, formed the scheme of a new Peloponnesian confederacy, headed, as in ancient times, by Argos, to counterbalance the influence alike of Athens and of Sparta. A congress was held at Corinth; and the Eleans, the Arcadians of Mantinea, and the Chalcidians of Thrace, at once joined the new league; but the Megarians and Bœotians kept aloof, and Tegea, the rival of Mantinea, declared its determination to stand by Sparta. We have not space to follow all the complicated intrigues that ensued between the leading states, and which ended in the Athenians being drawn into the Argive alliance by the cunning policy of Alcibiades (B.C. 420).

This man, whose extraordinary combination of brilliant qualities with reckless profligacy has made him one of the most prominent characters in history, now makes his appearance for the first time in political life, having already astonished and fascinated his fellow-citizens. He was about thirty years of age, having been born about B.C. 450. His father, Clinias, claimed descent from the race of the hero Æacus, and on his mother's side he was connected with the Alcmæonidæ, and so with Pericles, who was his guardian. Xenophon records an amusing instance of his delight in sophistical arguments with the great statesman; and this intellectual wilfulness was united with ungovernable petulance and passion. From his boyhood he took pleasure in surprising the citizens of Athens by his capricious freaks; while his extreme beauty exposed him to solicitations of the kind at which we have previously felt compelled to allude as characteristic of the age. His natural powers of mind, and his skill in all manly exercises, encouraged him to assert a superiority over his comrades, which he abused by outrageous exhibitions of vanity and insolence, so that his enemies were as numerous as his admirers, and many scarcely knew themselves to which class they belonged. His great wealth enabled him to dazzle the people by a splendid extravagance; and there was a fascination about his whole character, which shielded him from punishment; for it is remarkable that he was never prosecuted by any of the numerous persons he had injured. In performing the military service of an Athenian citizen, he gained the highest reputation for courage. When only twenty years of age, he distinguished himself at the siege of Potidæa (B.C. 432), where

he was severely wounded, while fighting in the front of the battle, and his life was saved by Socrates, to whom he repaid the service at the battle of Delium (B.C. 424). The warm attachment of the wayward youth to the great philosopher is a redeeming feature in the character of Alcibiades; but the sentiment was neither strong nor lasting enough to have a permanent influence on his conduct. We have already given some account of the motives with which the young men of Athens attended the lessons of the sophists. Among them, Alcibiades heard Protagoras, Prodicus, and the rest; but he had the quickness to recognise the dialectic method of Socrates as the most powerful instrument of successful speaking in the ecclesia and the courts. The acute philosophical discussions and the still nobler moral teaching of the master cannot but have exerted a good effect on his disciples, creating in them some taste for intellectual pleasure, and setting vividly before them the claims of duty; and Xenophon assures us that Alcibiades was thus the better for his intercourse with Socrates. But the partial effort of self-restraint soon disgusted a temper that had never known control; and Alcibiades became a less frequent companion of Socrates, as soon as he had acquired the needful skill in dialectics. There were not wanting those who thought they could trace in the wanton eccentricities and splendid profusion of Alcibiades a subtle scheme for raising himself to the illegal power which his pride might prompt him to seize; and thus he appeared in public life already a mark for political suspicion as well as private hatred. But the predominant feeling towards him seems to have been that vague admiration, which made him a popular favourite without securing him esteem and confidence. The higher classes, who petted him as a youth, and the people, who applauded him in the ecclesia, shared with him the responsibility of his crimes and follies; and from the very first, his position justified the opinion expressed near the close of his career by Aristophanes:—"It is better not to rear a lion in the city; but if you rear him, you must submit to his behaviour."*

Entering upon public life at about the age of thirty, he soon proved that he added to his other qualities the unprincipled astuteness of Themistocles. His grandfather, who bore the same name, had been a warm opponent of the Pisistratids, and had renounced an old tie of hospitality with Sparta, as the pledge of his devotion to the democracy. With that party the young Alcibiades was also naturally connected by his relationship to Pericles.

* Aristophanes, *Frogs*, vv. 1432-3. This play was exhibited in B.C. 405.

Choosing his own course, however, he came forward as a supporter of the policy of Nicias, and a zealous philo-Laconian. By the kindnesses he showed to the Spartan prisoners from Sphacteria, he tried to establish a claim for the renewal of the ancient relations of his family with Lacedæmon. But it was too much for the temper and policy of the Spartans to trust their interests to a dissolute youth; and the prisoners, on returning home, were unable or unwilling to fulfil the hopes of Alcibiades, who became forthwith an ardent supporter of the Argive alliance. A joint embassy from Argos, Elis, and Mantinea appeared at Athens, at his suggestion; while the Spartans, in alarm, hastened to send envoys to explain their alleged breaches of the truce, and to demand the restoration of Pylos. The Spartan envoys had already been introduced by Nicias to the Senate, and had made a favourable impression by declaring that they came with full powers, when Alcibiades obtained a private interview with them, and persuaded them that their only hope of meeting the hostile temper of the ecclesia, and avoiding the being forced into disgraceful concessions, was by disowning the character of plenipotentiaries. If they followed his advice, he promised to advocate the restoration of Pylos. The envoys fell into the trap, and declared, to the astonishment of Nicias and the Senate, that their powers only extended to explanation and discussion. Amidst the outburst of indignation that ensued, Alcibiades rose up to denounce the perfidy of Lacedæmon, and proposed that the Argive ambassadors should be called in, and a treaty concluded with their state. The interruption of the meeting, by some unfavourable omen, gave Nicias an opportunity of going to Sparta; but his negociation failed, and a treaty of alliance for a hundred years was concluded with the Argive confederacy (B.C. 420).

The truce, however, was still in force, and in the following summer the Athenians appeared at the Olympic festival, for the first time since the beginning of the war, on the invitation of their new allies, the Eleans. Their enemies looked forward with malicious hope to the sorry figure which their exhaustion through the war would compel them to make. But Alcibiades resolved, not merely to save the credit of his country, but to exalt its splendour to a pitch unknown before. The *Theory*, or sacred embassy to the Olympian Jove, of which Alcibiades was a member, was furnished at his expense with golden sacrificing vessels and other magnificent appointments for the great procession. He himself entered seven four-horsed chariots for that race, in which the princes of

Thessaly, Sicily, and Cyrene had often been competitors, but never with so many chariots. He carried off both the first and second prizes; and having been twice crowned with the sacred olive, he gave a public banquet in a tent he had provided for the purpose. It is said that the Ionian allies of Athens lent their aid to this grand display in honour of the head of their race (B.C. 419).

This exhibition of wealth and splendour seems to have been intended in part as a preface to the campaign which Alcibiades made the same year in Peloponnesus, but without any decisive results. In the following year, the Spartans took the field in force under their king Agis; and, after a campaign of varied fortune, the steady discipline of their infantry broke the power of the Argive confederacy at the decisive battle of Mantinea (B.C. 418). An aristocratic revolution, followed by a democratic counter-revolution, still further weakened Argos, and put an end to her pretensions to supremacy (B.C. 417). In all these movements Athens took part with Argos, and an Athenian force was present at the battle of Mantinea; but the truce with Sparta remained nominally unbroken, though the Athenians in Pylos continued to make incursions into Laconia, and the Lacedæmonians harassed the Athenian commerce by their privateers.

The Athenians now took the last and worst step in their career of maritime empire by the conquest of Melos, one of the only two islands of the Ægæan which had not submitted to them, the other being Thera. The population was purely Dorian; and there was no pretext for the conquest except the power of effecting it. Ten years before, an attack upon the place had been repulsed, and it was now only taken after a siege of several months. In their rage at this resistance, the Athenians condemned the Melians to the fate previously designed for the people of Mytilene. But in this case the sentence was fully executed: the adult males were put to the sword; the women and children were sold as slaves; and the island repeopled by a colony from Athens. This atrocious act, which is said to have been proposed, or at least strenuously supported, by Alcibiades, proves his ascendancy at Athens to have been as mischievous as that of Cleon, or the worst of the demagogues. One chief motive of the outrage—the humiliation of Sparta—was achieved by her not venturing to aid so faithful an ally in her extremity (B.C. 416).

Thucydides takes great pains to exhibit the destruction of the Melians as the crowning act of tyranny on the part of imperial Athens, before the retribution which befel her by means of

the Sicilian expedition. To trace the causes of this event, we must glance back at the state of Sicily during the preceding fifty years. We have seen that the splendid rule of the tyrants of the Gelonian dynasty, after the battle of Himera, was ended by popular revolutions in all the cities (about B.C. 465).* These revolutions were not merely political. Property changed hands to a great extent; and citizens, who had been exiled or transplanted by the tyrants, returned to their homes eager to avenge their wrongs. One fruitful source of dissension was the disposal of the adherents of the exiled dynasty, who were at length settled partly in Messana, and partly at Camarina, near Syracuse. A period of great prosperity and intellectual activity ensued, disturbed however by the remains of the former dissensions, by the old feud of race between the Dorian and non-Dorian cities, and by the relations of the Grecian states to the native Siceli, who rose up under their prince, Ducetius, and were with difficulty subdued by Syracuse (about B.C. 440). There was an eager rivalry between this leading state and Agrigentum, the position of which gave it the command of an extensive trade with Carthage. Leontini, the native city of the sophist Gorgias, and the most ancient colony in the island, after Naxos, would have disputed the precedence; but it was overshadowed by the proximity of Syracuse. As a Chalcidian colony, it was the more impatient of subjection to a Dorian state; and this enmity between Syracuse and Leontini became the indirect cause of the ill-fated Athenian expedition. At the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, the Sicilian states were divided, like the rest of Greece, between the alliances of Sparta and Athens. We have seen that the former counted on providing an effective navy by the aid of the Dorian states of Sicily; and that the latter were tempted by the Corcyræans with the dazzling prospect of the conquest of the whole island. It was doubtless with especial reference to this scheme, that Pericles uttered his emphatic warnings against attempting new conquests during the war. The Sicilians, on their part, showed no disposition to join in the general conflict; but the Dorians, led by Syracuse, preferred the more immediate advantage of subduing the Ionian cities of Naxos, Catana, and Leontini; the latter were aided by Camarina, whose new inhabitants were naturally hostile to the Syracusans; and the neighbouring Italian cities of Rhegium and Locri sided respectively with the Ionians and the Dorians. The Syracusan league proved too strong for the other states. Leontini

* Chap. xiii. p. 434.

was blockaded by sea and land, and the Ionians implored the aid of Athens by an embassy, at the head of which was the celebrated Gorgias (B.C. 427). The eloquence of the rhetorician proved too strong for the traditional policy of Pericles, who had been succeeded, as we have seen, by politicians of very different views; and an expedition was sent out under Laches. This armament effected little beyond, the reduction of Messana and an alliance with the non-Hellenic city of Egesta; and a subsequent expedition under Eurymedon and Sophocles alarmed the states of Sicily into a pacification, to which the Athenian commanders assented, (B.C. 424). An aristocratic revolution at Leontini, aided by Syracuse, caused a new application to Athens by the expelled democratic party; but the peaceful policy of Nicias was now in the ascendant; the armistice preparatory to the Fifty Years' Truce had begun; and the negociations were not suffered to be imperilled by a new quarrel in Sicily (B.C. 422).

Six years later, however, when the truce was virtually broken, and Alcibiades was at the height of his power, a fresh opening occurred in Sicily for his ambitious policy. The city of Egesta, in the west of the island, being hard pressed in a war with Selinus, sent an embassy to Athens, to represent the danger that, if the Dorians were allowed to reduce the whole island beneath their power, they would at length bring their united force to the aid of the Peloponnesians. The prudence of Nicias obtained a commission to be sent out, to see whether the Egestans had the ability of performing their promise, to bear the expenses of the war. The bare-faced imposture practised upon the envoys could hardly have succeeded, had not the Athenians been willing to be deceived; the Leontine exiles at Athens added their entreaties to those of the Egestans; and the eager persuasions of Alcibiades, who now saw the opportunity of gratifying his ambition and recovering the wealth wasted by his profusion, and who held out the prospect of conquering Carthage as well as Sicily, prevailed over the opposition of Nicias (B.C. 415). When, as a last means of deterring the people, Nicias urged the vast magnitude that the armament must have, their only answer was to take him at his word, and to vote the largest force which he himself would say to be necessary, namely 100 triremes, instead of sixty, 5000 hoplites, and a proportionate number of light-armed troops. The command was given, with the fullest powers, to Nicias, Lamachus, and Alcibiades, a choice which seemed at once to secure a prudent balance of power in the military operations, and to unite all parties in a

common responsibility. The efforts made to equip the armament with the utmost efficiency were equalled by the eagerness of all the citizens to bear a part in it; nor was the excitement confined to the military class. Merchants prepared to join the expedition, in the hope of large profits during its continuance, and a vast opening for commerce from its success. The city and its ports resounded with the din of preparation, amidst which were heard the voices of the professional prophets chanting oracles which chimed in with the universal confidence of success. To all this animation the strangest contrast is furnished by the apathy of Sparta.

In the midst of the excitement, all Athens was startled by a strange and alarming incident, which still forms one of the insoluble problems of history,—the mutilation of the Hermæ. It was an ancient religious custom to mark boundaries by stones sacred to the deities, and especially to Hermes (Mercury), the god who was supposed to preside over ordinary intercourse and traffic. As art advanced, these stones were shaped into quadrangular pillars, surmounted by a bust of the god, and sculptured with certain other emblems.* They were set up, not only to mark the boundaries of fields, but as milestones along the roads, at the intersection of cross ways, in the markets, and in front of temples, porticoes, and private houses. They were especially numerous in Athens and throughout the roads of Attica, where the tyrant Hipparchus set up many Hermæ, inscribed with moral sentiments, such as,

> "Hipparchus' monument :—Think justly as you walk."
> "Hipparchus' monument :—Do not deceive thy friend."

The horror of the Athenians, when, upon rising on a morning in May, they found the Hermæ throughout the city mutilated into shapeless blocks, has been well compared by Mr. Grote to the excitement of a Spanish or Italian town on finding that all the images of the Virgin had been defaced during the same night; but the historian only offers this as "a very inadequate parallel to what was now felt at Athens, where religious associations and persons were far more intimately allied with all the proceedings of every-day life. It would seem that the town had become as it were godless; that the streets, the market-place, the porticoes, were robbed of their divine protectors; and, what was worse still, that these protectors, having been grossly insulted, carried away with them alienated sentiments, wrathful and vindictive instead of

* Specimens may be seen in the British Museum.

tutelary and sympathizing."* The elation of hope was suddenly struck down into deep despondency concerning the fate of the expedition; and the natural explanation would be that the act was contrived by the opponents with this very view. If so, their plot was most skilfully laid to turn suspicion in the opposite direction, and to effect the ruin of Alcibiades. His lawless character was but the type of a spirit which pervaded the clubs of insolent young men, who alone seemed capable of such a deed. When a commission of enquiry was appointed, and evidence invited from every quarter, it was no wonder that witnesses came forward to depose to previous acts of sacrilegious outrage; especially under a law which permitted the examination of slaves by torture. On such evidence, Alcibiades was publicly charged in the ecclesia with having profaned the Eleusinian Mysteries in a private house; and the accuser went on, though without a shadow of proof, to charge him with the mutilation of the Hermæ, as part of a plot for subverting the democracy. Alcibiades denied the charge, and demanded an instant trial; but his enemies preferred to keep the accusation hanging over him during his absence. Meanwhile, in spite of the evil omen, all the preparations had been completed, and the expedition set sail from Piræus, amidst religious solemnities so imposing, and a concourse of spectators so vast, as had never before attended the departure of a Greek armament. The animation of the scene was increased, and the enthusiasm of the sailors found vent, in a race of all the triremes as far as Ægina; but, in the language of the Greek religion, Jove turned aside all their prayers into thin air.

The island of Corcyra was the appointed rendezvous for the fleets of Athens and her allies; and the whole armament sailed thence for the coast of Italy in July, B.C. 415. They were ill received by the cities of Magna Græcia; and at Rhegium, which they made their first station, they received news of the inability of Egesta to perform its promises. The objects of the expedition had been to protect Egesta, to restore the Leontinian exiles, and in general to make a war of conquest upon the Dorian states of Sicily; but no plan of operations had yet been formed. The evils of a divided command became at once apparent. The straightforward soldier Lamachus could not prevail on his colleagues to make an immediate attack on Syracuse, where the patriotic warnings of Hermocrates had been scorned by the democratic party, and the city was almost destitute of defence. Nicias would have

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. vii. p. 231.

been content with obtaining terms from Selinus in favour of Egesta; and Alcibiades advised negociations to unite Messana* and the other Chalcidian cities in a great league against Syracuse and Selinus. This plan was followed, with imperfect success, Naxos alone joining the Athenians, who obtained a greater advantage in the surprise of Catana,† which became their head-quarters. Here they received bad news of the progress of affairs at home. The orator Andocides, a young man only second to Alcibiades in ability and evil reputation, had made a disclosure which, true or false, satisfied the public indignation with the execution of the persons he had denounced for the mutilation of the Hermæ. But the other charge against Alcibiades, of profaning the mysteries, had been pressed so successfully that the state galley called the "Salaminian" now came out to conduct him home to stand his trial, but with permission for him to sail in his own trireme. On reaching Thurii, in Italy, he made his escape, doubtless judging that all the accumulated charges which would now be produced against him would prove his ruin. He was condemned to death in his absence, and his property was confiscated—a sentence which expressed the just indignation of the people, but which was procured by his enemies through the basest means. On receiving the news, he exclaimed: "I shall show them that I am alive." He carried to Lacedæmon a knowledge of the best means of attacking Athens, and an ability to stimulate the natural Spartan slowness, which were worth more than an army to the Peloponnesians.

His departure cast a damp over the armament, where he had many friends, especially among the allies, and where the inspiration of his energy must have been sorely missed. Nicias reverted to his own plans, and while he wasted time on the north-western coast, the Syracusans not only completed their preparations, but gained such confidence as to insult the Athenians in their camp at Catana. Nicias was now shamed into action; and, when thus roused, he was not wanting in military skill. Having enticed the Syracusans out to attack Catana, he sailed into the Great Harbour, on the south of the city, and fortified his camp near the mouth of the river Anapus, which runs into the harbour. Here he gained a victory over the army of Syracuse, and then retired into winter quarters at Naxos, to await reinforcements from Athens and the allies in Sicily (B.C. 415).

* The capture of Messana by the Athenians has been mentioned above, but it was now no longer in their hands.

† This city (now *Catania*) was on the eastern coast, near the foot of Etna.

The winter was spent at Syracuse in throwing up new defences, while envoys were sent to Corinth, the mother city, as well as to Sparta, to solicit aid. And now the revenge of Alcibiades began to work. He prevailed on the Spartans to send an army to Syracuse under Gylippus; while he recommended a new method of carrying on the war at home, the effect of which we shall soon see. In the spring of B.C. 414, Nicias and Lamachus invested Syracuse. The siege that followed is one of the most memorable in history for the efforts of the defenders, the sufferings and final fate of the assailants, and the political magnitude of the result; but for its long and intricate details we must refer the reader to the special histories of Greece. At first all went well with the Athenians, who completed their circumvallation, except at one point, defeated the Syracusans in contests for certain posts, and established their fleet in the Great Harbour, so that the besieged began to sound Nicias respecting terms. Satisfied with so much success, Nicias was content to wait for the surrender of the city. The bolder counsels of Lamachus had been lost to the army by his death in one of the early attacks on the Syracusan outposts.

Such was the position of affairs when Gylippus arrived at Himera with only two Corinthian and two Lacedæmonian ships. He soon raised an army of 3000 men, and entered Syracuse unopposed by Nicias, announcing himself as the forerunner of a larger force from Sparta. His insulting message to the Athenians, offering them a five days' truce to evacuate the island, indicated the spirit he was likely to infuse into the besieged; and his vigorous operations soon determined the neutral cities of Sicily to espouse the cause of Syracuse. His attacks on the Athenian lines, and his counterworks, broke up their blockade; and the arrival of thirty triremes from Corinth and her allies enabled him to dispute the mastery of the sea. In the end, Nicias retired to the headland of Plemmyrium, on the southern side of the Great Harbour, where he was as much besieged as a besieger. He sent to Athens an urgent demand for the dispatch of reinforcements under a new general, as his health and spirits were utterly broken down. A new expedition was prepared, under Demosthenes and Eurymedon, but the people insisted on retaining Nicias in his command (B.C. 414).

Under these circumstances it was mere affectation to regard the Fifty Years' Truce as any longer in force; and in the spring of B.C. 413 it was formally ended by the renewed Lacedæmonian invasion of Attica, under the king Agis. But, unlike former invasions, this was no mere incursion for ravaging the country.

By the advice of Alcibiades, a permanent fortified station was established at Decelea, a village on the ridge of Mount Parnes, about fourteen miles north of Athens. The Lacedæmonian garrison were always ready to sally forth to ravage the plain of Athens; and, among innumerable other annoyances, a constant refuge was provided for the fugitive slaves. Supplies were cut off from the city, which was now placed in a permanent state of siege on the land side; and scarcity was soon felt within the walls. Of all imaginable plans, this was the best fitted to wear out the Athenians into submission.

But all this could not turn aside the Athenians from their great scheme of conquest. They not only sent out to Sicily a fleet of 75 triremes, with 5000 hoplites and a corresponding light-armed force, but they spared 30 triremes more to ravage the coasts of Laconia. At Syracuse, meanwhile, their affairs seemed desperate. They had lost their fortified station at Plemmyrium, with most of their stores and provisions; they had suffered the disgrace of a naval defeat; and now they were reduced to a fortified camp at the innermost part of the great harbour, where their ships were hauled up on the beach. It was but a deceitful hope that raised their spirits, when the splendid armament of Demosthenes sailed into the Great Harbour. The new general was foiled in his attempts to retake the suburb of Epipolæ, on the heights commanding the city on the land side. Reduced again to inaction, and with sickness breaking out among the troops, he saw that a retreat had become inevitable; and he proposed to use the splendid force that still remained in expelling the Lacedæmonians from their new position in Attica. But Nicias did not dare to return to Athens unsuccessful. His colleague at last prevailed upon him to extricate the armament from the Great Harbour, and take up a new position at Catana. The fleet was ready to sail on the following morning, when the superstition of Nicias was alarmed by an eclipse of the moon, and the soothsayers bade him postpone the departure for a month (B.C. 413, August 27). Meanwhile Gylippus attacked the Athenians both by land and sea. He was again victorious in the naval engagement, and the general Eurymedon was slain. The Syracusans now blockaded the mouth of the harbour, and Nicias gathered his whole fleet, still numbering 110 ships, to force the passage. The Syracusans had only 76 triremes; but to these were added a number of small vessels, manned by young men of the best families, like the Danish floating batteries at the battle of Copenhagen. The Great Harbour of Syracuse is about five

miles in circuit; and within this space the two fleets joined battle in full sight of the people of Syracuse and the land force of the Athenians. The conflict was such as might have been expected from those who fought, on the one side for liberty, on the other for safety and the last hope of empire. When at last the Athenians began to retire towards the shore, no deity appeared, as at Salamis, to upbraid their retreat and reanimate them to new efforts; but a despairing cry arose from the soldiers on the shore, some of whom rushed into the water to aid in saving the ships. With their force reduced to 60 vessels, the generals would still have made one more effort to break out, but the crews refused; and it only remained to abandon the ships and draw off the land forces to some friendly city, while the Syracusans were occupied with rejoicings for their victory, and with a feast of Hercules. A stratagem of Hermocrates induced Nicias to postpone the departure till the next day; when a retreat began, as disastrous as any that history records. The two generals having been compelled to divide their forces, Demosthenes was first surrounded by the pursuers, and surrendered after a brave resistance, with 6000 men. Nicias continued his retreat, pursued by Gylippus, till he reached the river Asinarus, in the attempt to cross which the army became a confused struggling mass, and Nicias had no choice but to surrender.* Only a few stragglers escaped to Catana. The survivors, who did not exceed 10,000 men out of 40,000, were crowded together in the quarries about the city, with no shelter from the burning sun and cold nights of autumn, supplied with only half of a slave's rations of bread, and half a pint of water for every man each day. The sick and wounded soon died, and their unburied bodies filled the pits of the quarries with stench and disease; till, after seventy days, the Syracusans, who had at first come daily to the quarries, with their wives and children, to gloat over the sufferings of the captives, were driven by regard to their own safety to remove all except the native Athenians and the Greeks who had joined them from the Italian and Sicilian cities. While these remained to work in the pits, which we may suppose to have been cleared of some of their horrors, the survivors were sold as slaves. Many captives of both classes would doubtless ultimately be admitted to ransom; and their fate is gilded by a ray of that light which the gentler arts have often shed over the passions of war.

* The surrender was probably made about twenty-four or twenty-five days after the eclipse of August 27, that is, on the 21st or 22nd of September. (See Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. vii. p. 479, with his remarks on the earlier date of Clinton.)

The popularity of Euripides, then at its height, was almost as great in Sicily as at Athens; and the poet is said to have lived to receive the thanks of many of the returned prisoners for the kindness they had obtained from their masters through being able to recite scenes and passages from his dramas. Nicias and Demosthenes were both condemned to death by the council of the Syracusans and their allies,—a measure urged especially by the Corinthians, in opposition both to Hermocrates, who wished to spare them, and to Gylippus, who would gladly have carried to Sparta the great enemy who had fortified Pylos, and the friend who had always pleaded for peace. Their bodies were exposed before the gates of Syracuse; and when a monument was erected at Athens to the memory of those who had fallen in the expedition, it was inscribed with the name of Demosthenes, while that of Nicias was omitted. The energy and courage he displayed in the retreat, though suffering from an incurable malady, were not deemed a sufficient atonement for the irresolution which ruined the enterprise from the first. The calm judgment of history on the general ought neither to be blinded by the virtues of the man, nor to withhold its admiration from those virtues and its pity from his fate.

As the expedition to Sicily was the greatest military effort ever made by a Grecian power, so its destruction was the heaviest blow short of destruction that any Greek state had ever suffered. Combined with the constant pressure from the garrison in Decelea, it was decisive of the issue of the war, the last nine years of which (B. C. 413—404) were occupied with the brilliant but unavailing efforts of the Athenians to retrieve the disaster. Worse even than the consumption of their resources in men, ships, and money, was the loss of their naval prestige; and that not in Sicily alone, for a Corinthian fleet had lately fought a drawn battle with them near Naupactus. There remained, however, to Athens her elasticity of spirit, which soon rebounded from the first blow of the fatal news. While the people were occupied with measures for defending the city, providing a new fleet, and repairing the embarrassment of the finances, a fresh calamity was announced, in the revolt of Chios, hitherto the most faithful of the allies (B. C. 412).

The news of the Sicilian disaster had been received in Persia as a signal for a great effort to overthrow the empire of Athens in Asia Minor; and the satraps of that country began now to take a prominent part in the affairs of Greece. The most powerful of these was Tissaphernes, the satrap of Ionia and the south-western coast; and next to him, Pharnabazus, who governed the country

near the Hellespont. During the winter, both sent embassies to Sparta, where envoys appeared also from Chios, Lesbos, Eubœa, and other subject allies of Athens, seeking encouragement to revolt. Their appeal was eagerly supported by Alcibiades, who prevailed on the Lacedæmonians to begin operations at Chios. While their armament was preparing, he himself sailed with the advanced squadron under Chalcideus to Chios, where his presence was the signal for revolt. Erythræ, Clazomenæ, Teos, Miletus, and the island of Lesbos were led by the energy of Alcibiades to follow the example; while Chalcideus made a treaty with Tissaphernes, promising the restoration to Persia, not only of the Greek cities in Asia, but of all the territory the king had ever held in Greece, and placed Miletus in his hands as an earnest. Thus did the Spartans complete the shameful alliance with the common enemy, which they had contemplated from the beginning of the war. The combined revolt of the Asiatic Greeks from Athens was only prevented by the fidelity of Samos; but the Athenians had now to contend with the whole force of Sparta, supported by Tissaphernes, in the waters which she had long regarded as her own. From this first peril she was extricated by her own energy and the jealousies of her foes.

As soon as the news of the revolt of Chios reached Athens, the 1000 talents, set aside by Pericles as a sacred reserve, were devoted to the emergency,* and a fleet was sent out to Samos as the head-quarters. Lesbos and Clazomenæ were soon recovered, the Chians were defeated, and a victory was gained over the Peloponnesians at Miletus. The fresh Lacedæmonian fleets, which appeared on the coast of Asia, were occupied less in supporting the revolt than in pressing Tissaphernes to modify the late treaty, till the satrap and his new allies became mutually disgusted. This result was owing chiefly to the restless intriguer, who seemed created to be in turn the evil genius of all who trusted him.

It was in the nature of things that the popularity of Alcibiades at Sparta should be short-lived. The volatile Athenian temperament, exaggerated in him to the highest pitch, would have been disgusting enough to the Spartan gravity, even if the reckless voluptuary had been able to control his actual profligacy. Instead of this, he chose for his victim the wife of Agis himself, and so made the king his relentless enemy. Meanwhile, the people began to ascribe their want of success on the coast of Asia to the treachery of Alcibiades; and Agis procured a decision of the

* See p. 496.

Ephors to send out instructions for his death. He was warned in time to escape to Tissaphernes, on whom he urged it as the interest of Persia not to give a decisive superiority to either of the contending parties. Tissaphernes was induced to keep the Peloponnesian fleet inactive, first on various pretexts, and then by bribing the Spartan commander; but, when Alcibiades tried to persuade him to make a treaty with Athens, the satrap remained faithful to his neutral policy.

Alcibiades seems now to have satisfied his resentment against Athens, and to have convinced himself that his native state was the best field for his ambition. Failing to secure the aid of Tissaphernes, he opened negociations with the Athenian commanders at Samos, offering the alliance of Persia as the price of his restoration. He proposed, as an essential condition of aid from Persia, that the democratic government should be overthrown at Athens, where the recent disasters had encouraged the aristocratic party to prepare for a revolution. The discovery that Alcibiades was unable to perform his promises on behalf of Tissaphernes came too late to stay the intrigue at Athens. The clubs paved the way by indirect attacks on the constitution as unsuited to the present exigencies of the state; while private assassinations spread terror through the democratic party. An irregular ecclesia adopted a new constitution, which vested the whole power of the state in a body of Four Hundred, subject to no other check than that supplied by the convocation of five thousand citizens, of their own selection, at such times and in such manner as they chose. The Five Thousand were, in fact, a mere pretence of popular government, added to the despotism of the Four Hundred. The principal leaders in the revolution were Pisander and the orator Antiphon (B.C. 411).

When the news of the revolution reached Samos, the army, convoked by Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, took an oath to maintain the democracy, and constituted themselves as an ecclesia, in place of the popular assembly that no longer existed at Athens. Thus the two parties formed, as it were, two republics on the opposite shores of the Ægæan, and a conflict for the mastery seemed imminent. The army at Samos was tempted by the weight which Alcibiades could throw into their scale through his own ability and the alliance of Tissaphernes. Distrust was still strong, however, and it was not without reluctance that the military ecclesia passed the vote for his recal and for his appointment as one of the generals. The envoys of the Four Hundred were sent back to Athens with a

demand for the restoration of the old Senate of Five Hundred, to govern in conjunction with the Assembly of Five Thousand. The tyranny of the Four Hundred had by this time deprived them of all popular support, and dissensions had arisen between the extreme and the more moderate party among themselves, the former headed by the orator Antiphon, the latter by Theramenes, whose unprincipled policy gained him the nickname of *Buskin*—a boot that fitted either foot. The news from Samos impelled each party to consult its own safety. The violent faction sought the support of Sparta, and offered to put Piræus in her hands. While the Spartans prepared an expedition with their accustomed slowness, the democratic party met in arms at Piræus, where their strength lay in the maritime population, reconstituted the ecclesia, and adjourned to Athens. An attempt of the Four Hundred to negociate was interrupted by the approach of the Lacedæmonian fleet, which, finding Piræus guarded, bore up for Eubœa. An Athenian fleet, manned and launched in haste, was utterly defeated, and the island was lost to Athens. While the Lacedæmonians again neglected to follow up their success by blockading the shores of Attica, and supporting their party in the city, the aristocrats were left at the mercy of the indignant people. The popular ecclesia was restored, but on the basis of the new body of Five Thousand, in which every citizen able to furnish himself with a full stand of arms and armour might be enrolled; but the restriction was soon neglected, and the citizenship became universal as before. The old magistracies and forms of government were revived; but the payment for attendance in the courts remained abolished. The Four Hundred, after a reign of only four months, were deposed and condemned to death, with the forfeiture of their goods and the demolition of their houses. Most of them made their escape; among the few executed was the orator Antiphon, whose magnificent speech at his trial delighted the dicasts, without averting his fate. Lastly, a vote was passed for the recal of Alcibiades to Athens (B.C. 411).

It seemed as if Alcibiades were now animated by a nobler spirit than his selfish and unprincipled versatility. Restored to his position in the state, and virtually placed at its head, he would not return till he could bring with him a worthy peace-offering of victory. He saw that the contest must be fought out between the fleets on the shores of Asia; for the possession of Decelea and Eubœa by the enemy, however distressing, threatened no immediate danger to Athens. On the other hand, the Lacedæmonians

were at length aroused, very much through his own teaching, to the importance of naval operations. Since the catastrophe in Sicily, their fleets were superior in number to those of Athens, and not inferior in tactics and discipline. They had also established the new annual office of Admiral (*Nauarchus*), free from the control of the Ephors, to which the kings were subject, and resembling in power that of the Athenian General (*Strategus*).

Distrust of the vacillating policy of Tissaphernes had caused the Spartan admiral, Mindarus, to form closer relations with Pharnabazus, and to transfer his operations to the Hellespont and Propontis. His defeat by the Athenians under Thrasyllus, near the promontory of Cynossema (the *Dog's Monument*)* in the straits, was followed by the surrender of Cyzicus to Athens; and he was again defeated by Alcibiades near Abydos. The Athenian's wily course was nearly cut short in the following winter, when, visiting Tissaphernes as if he were still a friend, he was cast into prison at Sardis. He contrived to effect his escape, and reached the Hellespont at the critical moment when Mindarus and Pharnabazus were besieging Cyzicus by sea and land. His masterly tactics with the fleet gained a great victory, both by sea and land, in which Mindarus was slain, and his Secretary (the Spartan name for the second in command) described the result in this laconic despatch to the Ephors:—"Our luck is gone: Mindarus is slain: the men are starving: we know not what to do." (B.C. 410.)

The battle of Cyzicus made the Athenians masters of the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Bosporus, so that Athens again received her supplies of corn from the Euxine. The Spartans made overtures for peace, which were rejected by the Athenians under the influence of a new demagogue, Cleophon the lamp-maker. Pharnabazus gave active help to his allies in Asia, especially in defending Chalcedon, which was besieged by Alcibiades. The famous Hermocrates, who commanded the Syracusan contingent of the Peloponnesian fleet, aided the Ephesians in defeating the Athenians under Thrasyllus; and, in this year, the garrison of Pylos at length surrendered to the Lacedæmonians (B.C. 409). But these successes were fully counterbalanced by the progress of Alcibiades on the Bosporus, which was crowned by the capture of Byzantium towards the close of B.C. 408. In the following spring Alcibiades returned to Athens in triumph. He was received with a public welcome worthy of the saviour of the state, but many

* The mound was supposed to mark the tomb of Hecuba, the queen of Priam, who was fabled to have been transformed into a dog.

a recollection of private and public injury was working secretly in the minds of his fellow-citizens. He was appointed sole commander of a new armament of 100 triremes, 1500 hoplites, and 150 cavalry; but he delayed his departure till September, in order to celebrate with the greatest pomp those Eleusinian Mysteries which he had been charged with profaning. With his whole force, he escorted the sacred procession along the road from Athens to Eleusis, over the Thriasian plain, which they had not dared to cross since the Lacedæmonians had occupied Decelea. Truly it is one of the strangest scenes of history;—an exiled statesman returning to his native city, from the suppression of a revolt he had himself instigated, victorious over the enemy he himself had aided, celebrating the great festival which he had been found guilty of profaning, in despite of the garrison which had been planted in the country by his own advice. Still stranger is it, when viewed in contrast with the fate to which he was hastening back.

During the summer he had spent at Athens, the state of affairs in Asia was entirely changed. The king of Persia (Darius II., surnamed Nothus) had resolved no longer to allow the satraps to indulge their caprice, but to take an active part against the Athenians, his hereditary enemies. Darius had two sons, Artaxerxes and Cyrus. The latter, who was the favourite of his mother Parysatis, was of an enthusiastic, generous, and ambitious temperament, and full of eagerness to emulate the great ancestor whose name he bore. He cherished the desire of vengeance on the Athenians like a true Persian; and with such feelings he was sent to govern the satrapies of Lydia, the Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, with the supreme command of the forces in the west. Arriving at Sardis in the spring of B.C. 407, he at once entered into communication with the new admiral Lysander, the most able commander whom Sparta had yet sent forth to the war. Inferior to Brasidas and Gylippus in generous enthusiasm, he owed it perhaps to his birth below the rank of full citizenship, that he was free from the Spartan narrowness of view and slowness of resolution. Free also from the Spartan vice of corruption, and above the seductions of pleasure, he was restrained by no scruples of humanity or good faith in pursuing power for his country and glory for himself. An interview at Sardis satisfied Cyrus and Lysander that they could rely upon each other; and measures were concerted for carrying on the war with the help of Persian gold. Alcibiades now found himself compelled to raise elsewhere the resources which he had hoped for from Tissaphernes. His exactions from the subject states, his

dissolute conduct, and his inaction, disgusted both the allies and his own army; and, above all, the prestige of success was damaged by the defeat and death of his lieutenant Antiochus, who fought the Peloponnesian fleet off Notium during his temporary absence. The distrust, which had not ceased when his old offences were forgiven, broke out afresh at Athens, and he was once more driven into exile. He was replaced in the command by ten generals, of whom Conon was the chief, while Lysander was succeeded, at the expiration of his year's service as admiral by Callicratidas, a blunt Spartan of the old school. Hampered by the jealousy of Lysander, and receiving but faint support from Cyrus, Callicratidas yet succeeded, by his own energy, in reinforcing his fleet from Miletus and Chios; and then, sailing to Lesbos, he took Methymna, and laid siege to Mytilene, where the inferior fleet of Conon narrowly escaped capture. By immense exertions, a new armament was sent out from Athens, and the ten generals found themselves in command of 150 ships at Samos, whence they sailed to the group of islets called Arginusæ, opposite the south-eastern coast of Lesbos. Here one of the greatest sea-fights of the whole war ended in the total defeat of the Peloponnesians, with the loss of 77 vessels and their admiral Callicratidas. We cannot stay to relate the cruel injustice with which the Athenians sullied their victory by the execution of six of the ten generals on the charge of not making sufficient efforts to save the crews from the Athenian wrecks (B.C. 406). This year is memorable in literary history for the deaths of Sophocles and Euripides, events which gave occasion for the masterly criticism of the Athenian tragedians, which Aristophanes brought out the next year under a comic guise, in his play of the *Frogs*.

The victory of Arginusæ was the last ray of glory which the setting sun of Athenian empire threw upon its arms. The Spartans were induced, by the common interest and the urgency of Cyrus, to restore the command to Lysander, though not with the title of admiral. Evading the superior force of Conon, he laid siege to Lampsacus on the Hellespont. The city fell before the arrival of the Athenian fleet, which took up a most unfavourable position on the exposed beach of Ægospotami (the Goat's River). Failing to draw out the wary Lacedæmonian from his stronger station, the Athenians began to regard him with contempt. Discipline was relaxed, and the men strayed from their ships. In vain did Alcibiades, who was residing near the spot, warn the commanders, while Lysander watched his opportunity. It came on the fifth day, when the Athenians had left their ships

so deserted, that Lysander had only to cross the strait in order to make himself master, almost without resistance, of the Athenian navy, numbering 180 vessels, of which scarcely a dozen escaped. The prisoners, amounting to nearly 4000, were put to death by Lysander. The battle of Ægospotami, which virtually decided the war, was fought in September, B.C. 405. In November, Lysander appeared at Ægina, having in the meantime received the submission of all the Athenian allies, except Samos; and while he blockaded Piræus, the Peloponnesian army under Agis invested Athens on the land side. After a siege of four months, the city was driven by famine to surrender at discretion. The allies who had met at Sparta twenty-seven years before, to take counsel for the overthrow of her empire, reassembled, their work at length accomplished, to decide upon her fate. Her implacable enemies, the Thebans and Corinthians, proposed nothing less than that the city should be razed to the ground, and her people sold as slaves. But the Spartans, with all their faults, still cherished the spirit of Hellenic patriotism, and refused to forget the days of Salamis and Platæa. They were content with terms which would, as they supposed, disable Athens from again becoming their rival, and reduce her, under an aristocratic government, to the rank of a subject member of their alliance. The Long Walls and the fortifications of the Piræus were to be demolished; all foreign possessions, beyond the confines of Attica itself, were to be resigned; the navy was to be surrendered, with the exception of twelve sail; all exiles were to be restored; and Athens was to become the ally of Sparta. No words could describe the humiliation of Athens like the simple fact, that her people received such terms as these with joy.

The execution of the sentence was entrusted to Lysander, who sailed into Piræus with his fleet in the month of March, B.C. 404, and kept possession of the city and ports till the fortifications, docks, and arsenals were demolished. The work proceeded amidst a display of insensate joy, as short-sighted on the part of the victors, as it was ruthlessly insulting to the vanquished. The walls fell to the sound of flutes and amidst the performances of dancers crowned with garlands; and, as the efforts of the workmen threw down mass after mass of the solid masonry, the Peloponnesians exulted in the belief that freedom began for Greece that day. Far better would it have been, as the orator Lysias said, "for Greece to have shorn her hair on the fall of Athens, and mourned at the tomb of her heroes, as over the

sepulchre of liberty itself:" for Athens had been her intellectual light and liberty, and the well-spring of her freedom, in spite of her abuses of the sacred gift. These abuses were fully punished by the loss of her power and the humiliation of her pride; but no proud insulting foe could rob her, even in that hour, of her past glories, or of her lasting empire—the intellectual supremacy of the world. The shores of Salamis lay unchanged in face of the scene of ruin, and the monuments of the Acropolis looked calmly down on the commotion; the plays of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Aristophanes were still acted; Socrates still taught, and Plato wrote; the highest fruits of philosophy and eloquence awaited their maturity in coming years; and even when all Greece had shared the ruin which fell that day on the Athenian empire, and the liberty which the Hellenic states had sacrificed by their dissensions had been surrendered to the power of Rome, the intellectual supremacy of Athens widened with the power of her conqueror, till she became no longer the seat of arts and letters for Greece, but the University of the World.

Meanwhile, though she never regained her former empire, she was not doomed to remain long in the depth of her political degradation. While the Spartans demolished her fortifications, they were content to leave the destruction of her constitution to her own factions. The returned exiles, headed by Critias, joined with Theramenes, who had taken the leading part in the negociations with Sparta, in establishing an oligarchical government. A committee of Thirty, appointed nominally to draw up a new constitution, took all the power into their own hands, and soon earned, by their lawless proceedings, and especially by the judicial murders of their political opponents and private enemies, the name of the THIRTY TYRANTS. A Spartan garrison remained in the Acropolis to support this Reign of Terror; while Lysander, having finished the war by the reduction of Samos, returned to Sparta in a magnificent triumph, and, like Pausanias long before, disgusted the allies by the insolence with which he used his power (B.C. 404). In closing the narrative of this memorable year, a passing word is due to the fate of Alcibiades. Condemned as a public enemy under the Thirty, he fled from the Chersonese to the court of Pharnabazus, and was preparing to visit the new king Artaxerxes at Susa,* when his house was one night surrounded and set on fire by a band of armed assassins, and, as he rushed out sword in

* Artaxerxes II., surnamed Mnemon (from his good memory), succeeded his father Darius II., in B.C. 405.

hand, he fell pierced with arrows. It is uncertain whether the murderers were employed by Sparta, or by private enemies, whom he had injured by his profligacy.

Meanwhile, the tyranny of the Thirty had become odious in the eyes of all Greece. Theramenes, the most able of their number, had been dragged to death at the bidding of his colleague Critias for his moderation, and the attempt was made to silence all discussion of the principles of government by a decree forbidding the teaching of "the art of words," that is, rhetoric, philosophy, and, in one word, all the learning of the Sophists.* On the other side, the Corinthians and Bœotians resented the arrogance of Sparta and Lysander, and Athenian exiles were permitted to take refuge in Bœotia. The Thebans even aided the enterprise of Thrasybulus, who seized the border fortress of Phylé, in Mount Parnes; and, after two successful skirmishes with the followers of the Thirty and the Lacedæmonian garrison, established himself at Piræus. Here he was again victorious over an assailing force led by Critias, who was killed in the attack. On his death, the more moderate faction deposed the Thirty, and set up a new government of Ten. There were now three parties contending for the mastery of Athens: the democratic exiles under Thrasybulus at Piræus; the Ten in the city; and the remnant of the Thirty at Eleusis. Both the aristocratic factions appealed to Sparta, and Lysander re-entered Athens, prepared to put down opposition with a high hand, while his fleet blockaded Piræus. But his policy was no longer in the ascendant at Sparta; and he was superseded by the king Pausanias. Having vindicated the honour of the Spartan arms by a victory over Thrasybulus, Pausanias granted a truce for negociation at Sparta, which resulted in a treaty of peace between the two states, the withdrawal of the Lacedæmonian garrison from Athens, the restoration of the democratic constitution, and a general amnesty. The laws of Solon were revised and re-enacted, a proceeding connected with a curious fact in literary history. The old Attic alphabet, of sixteen or eighteen letters, introduced from Phœnicia, had till now been kept in all public documents, though superseded in common usage by the new Ionic alphabet of twenty-four letters. The latter was now for the first time employed in the inscription of the laws on the walls of the Painted Porch. The

* Socrates, whom Critias had once followed, was especially dreaded for his sharp criticism of the acts of the Thirty, under the guise of his wonted familiar illustrations. Xenophon gives an amusing account of the interview in which Critias forbade him to teach any longer (*Memorabilia*, bk. i. c. ii.).

acts of the Thirty were annulled, and the year of their government was stigmatized in the public annals as "the year of anarchy;" * while the year of the restoration of the republic became memorable by the name of its archon, Euclides (B.C. 403).

Before proceeding to the narrative of the period from the Peloponnesian War to the Macedonian ascendancy, we have to notice two important episodes which mark the transition from the fifth to the fourth century B.C.,—the death of Socrates, and the expedition of the younger Cyrus. The former event did not take place till the second year of the new century; but it may be regarded as a fruit of the animosities that prevailed during the war. We need not repeat at length the oft-told story of the life and teaching of Socrates,—his ungainly person, his eccentric and ascetic mode of life, always in the open view of the citizens, discoursing in the market-place, the porticoes, and the streets, with all who chose,—fascinating them with the charm of his voice, the point of his homely illustrations, and the triumphant skill of his dialectics, by which an opponent was committed, early in the argument, to a position which he was then led on step by step, through a series of artful interrogations, to contradict. Nor have we space for an account of the new philosophy, of which he was the great master, the speculative side of which is developed in the brilliant dialogues of Plato, while its moral aspects are exhibited in the works of Xenophon. There is, in fact, no positive system of philosophy which can be fairly represented by the name of Socrates. His special work was to break down prejudices, to expose fallacies, to unveil the mischievous tendencies of false principles and false methods of enquiry, to assert the existence of great necessary truths—of the good, the true, the beautiful—in the consciousness of mankind; leaving the positive results of such teaching to those who came after him. His own explanation of the reason why the Delphic oracle pronounced him the wisest of mankind—because he alone knew that he knew nothing—was no affected paradox, but the very sum of all his philosophy—that the mind must be emptied of all conceit of its own knowledge, before it can receive any truth pure and absolute—and to convince men of this in their own case was the great aim of his dialectic method. It was in the inculcation of the plain duties of morality that the positive side of his teaching was exhibited most clearly; and so, though Xenophon's

* The exact period of their rule was eight months; from the summer of B.C. 404 to the spring of B.C. 403.

picture of Socrates is doubtless very incomplete, it furnishes, as far as it goes, an exacter portrait than that of Plato.

Through a long and irreproachable public life, in which he never neglected his duties as a citizen,* the admiration which Socrates earned was clouded by many enmities. At first, he was confounded with the Sophists; and his personal peculiarities marked him as the natural butt for the indignant satire which was levelled at them by Aristophanes in the *Clouds* (B. C. 423). His real life for twenty-four years must surely have dispelled any impression made by so gross a caricature; but meanwhile stronger grounds of offence arose against him. The enmity of the politicians, orators, poets, and other leading men, whose pretensions he had exposed by his merciless dialectics, was added to the envy which always dogs the steps of superior virtue. But what told most against him was the suspicion of disaffection to the popular beliefs as to religion and politics. The former charge resolved itself into a vague distrust of his philosophic views; the latter was supported by the ridicule which he did not hesitate to pour on certain points of the democratic constitution, such as the election of the magistrates by lot; nor can it be denied that the tendency of his teaching was against government by the many. Added to this was the fact, skilfully used by his accuser, that the greatest internal enemies of the state, Critias and Alcibiades, had been his disciples. He was arraigned by Meletus, Anytus, and Lycon, on the double charge of not believing in the gods of the city, but introducing other new deities, and of corrupting the youth by his teaching. The issue is well known:—his firm and uncompromising defence, his condemnation by a bare majority of the dicasts, his rejection of the opportunity to escape because it would be disobedience to the law, and his calm death, by means of the cup of hemlock, surrounded by the friends whom he delighted, in that last hour, by his discourse on the Immortality of the Soul.† He died at the age of 70, in B. C. 399.

Of the two disciples, to whom we owe our knowledge of Socrates, Xenophon was at this time absent from Athens on the expedition

* Examples of distinguished merit in the performance of those duties are furnished by his conduct at Potidæa and Delium, and his resistance to the illegal vote for the death of the generals after the battle of Arginusæ.

† Plato's celebrated dialogue, the *Phædo*, which contains this discourse, with a most touching account of the master's death, doubtless conveys his own views quite as much as those of Socrates. The main argument resolves itself into our consciousness of the possession of a life which is indestructible.

which has immortalized him as a soldier and a writer. The attempt of the younger Cyrus to wrest the crown of Persia from his brother Artaxerxes, by the aid of a body of Greek mercenaries, chiefly from the Dorian states, and the masterly retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks, under Xenophon, from the neighbourhood of Babylon, along the upper Tigris, and through the mountains of Kurdistan and Armenia to the Greek settlements on the Euxine,—forms a military study of the deepest interest. Its chief importance in general history arises from its having prepared the way for the conquests of Alexander, by proving how vulnerable was the Persian empire at its very heart (B.C. 401—400). It remains to give a brief sketch of the events that filled up the interval.

The period of forty years, from the expedition of the younger Cyrus, to the accession of Philip in Macedonia, is full of incidents, which must be mastered by the student of Greek history, but only a few of which stand out prominently in the history of the world. It corresponds almost exactly to the long reign of the Spartan Agesilaus, who divides with Epaminondas the distinction due to the leading men of the whole period. It may be divided into the supremacies of Sparta and of Thebes. The former lasted from the fall of Athens, in B.C. 404, to the battle of Leuctra, in B.C. 371; but during the whole period, except the first nine years, the supremacy of Sparta was disputed by nearly all the other leading states, and Athens regained for some time the mastery of the seas. The remaining ten years are occupied by the brief but brilliant supremacy of Thebes, under Epaminondas, ending with the battle of Mantinea (B.C. 362), and the pacification of Greece (B.C. 361).

During the first years after the fall of Athens, the power of Sparta was strengthened by the conquest of Elis by king Agis (B.C. 401—399). On this king's death, his elder son Leotychides was set aside, on a suspicion of illegitimacy, through the influence of Lysander, who was endeavouring to pave the way for his own accession to the crown. But in the person of Agesilaus, the younger son of Agis, by his second wife, he raised up an insuperable obstacle to his ambitious projects (B.C. 398). The new king, who had already reached his fortieth year, has been held forth by his friend Xenophon as the model of every excellence. Though this estimate is exaggerated, he was a skilful general, a prudent statesman, an ardent patriot, and distinguished for all Spartan virtues. The air almost of deformity, due to the shortness of

his stature, combined with lameness of one leg, was counterbalanced by his pleasing countenance and affable manner. He was content with the reality of power, which he held all the more firmly for the respect he always paid to the senators and ephors. Among his qualities as a soldier, none was more remarkable than his constancy under defeat.

While the fall of the Athenian empire had imposed on Sparta the duty of protecting the Ionian colonies, the part taken by her citizens in the expedition of Cyrus drew upon her the enmity of Persia. A war ensued in Asia between the satraps, Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, against the Spartans, first under Thimbron and then under Dercyllidas (B.C. 399). The success of the latter general led to an armistice (B.C. 397), during which Pharnabazus, among other vast preparations, raised a powerful fleet, and placed it under the command of the Athenian Conon, who had resided at Salamis since the battle of Ægospotami. Agesilaus was now induced by Lysander to proceed to Asia in person; and he went out in the character of successor to his ancestor Agamemnon, since whom no Grecian king had passed over into Asia. In attempting to inaugurate his expedition by sacrifices at Aulis, he provoked the religious jealousy of the Thebans, who incurred his lasting enmity by driving him away.

Arriving at Ephesus in B.C. 396, Agesilaus soon checked the arrogance of Lysander, who was glad to depart on a separate service to the Hellespont. Repulsed in a sudden attack on Dascylium, in Phrygia, the capital of Pharnabazus, Agesilaus returned to winter at Ephesus, and took the field in great force the next spring against Tissaphernes, whom he defeated, ravaging the country up to the gates of Sardis (B.C. 395). Tissaphernes being soon after murdered by the contrivance of the queen-mother Parysatis, his successor concluded an armistice with Agesilaus, who then marched into Phrygia. Having received a commission from Sparta, making him general-in-chief by sea as well as land, he again spent the winter at Ephesus in vast preparations. Xenophon gives a very picturesque account of an interview between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus during this winter. On the opening of spring, he had just taken the field for a new campaign, when his career in Asia was cut short by his recal home to meet a combined attack on Sparta by her chief allies (B.C. 394).

The refusal of Corinth, Thebes, and Athens to join Agesilaus in his expedition to Asia was a proof of the discontent of the allies towards Sparta. The new satrap of Ionia had the skill to turn

this feeling to account; and his envoy, a Rhodian named Timocrates, succeeded in stirring up a war against Sparta (B.C. 395). A quarrel between the Phocians and Opuntian Locrians, in which the Thebans aided the former, gave the signal for hostilities. The Lacedæmonians, who on their part bore a most hostile feeling towards the Thebans, listened to the appeal of the Phocians, and Lysander invaded Bœotia with a force designed to form the advanced guard of a great army under the king Pausanias. The Thebans now invoked the aid of the Athenians, who accepted the alliance of their ancient enemy. But before the full forces could be mustered on either side, Lysander fell in a battle under the walls of Haliartus; and, when Pausanias arrived, he was content to gain permission to bury Lysander and his fallen comrades by consenting to retire from Bœotia.

The victory of Haliartus was the signal for a formal alliance against Sparta, in which Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and Argos were joined by other powerful states on both sides of the continent, the Ozolian Locrians, Eubœans, and Chalcidians of Thrace, on the east, the Acarnanians, Ambraciots, and Leucadians on the west. The war that ensued is known in history as the *Corinthian War*, Corinth having been chosen by the allies as their place of meeting. The Lacedæmonians anticipated the attack of the allies by an advance to the Isthmus, and gained a decisive victory under the walls of Corinth (about July 394). Meanwhile Agesilaus was marching back to Greece through Thrace and Macedonia, followed by several veterans of the Ten Thousand and other chosen troops. So bitter were his feelings at having to renounce his plans in Asia, that the news of the victory of Corinth, which greeted him at Amphipolis, caused him no exultation. He could only lament that so many of the Greeks, whose union might have easily freed their brethren in Asia, had fallen in arms against each other. After some skirmishes with the Thessalian cavalry, he had passed the strait of Thermopylæ, when an eclipse of the sun warned him of some great disaster (B.C. 394, August 14), and the portent was soon explained by the news of the annihilation of the fleet he had left behind him on the coast of Asia, an event to be related presently. Having announced it to his army as a great victory, and offered suitable sacrifices, he hastened to meet the confederates, who awaited him on the plain of Coronea in Bœotia.* He had been joined by the Orchomenians,

* This battle-field had already been signalized by the victory of the Bœotians over the Athenians, in B.C. 447. (See p. 463.)

who had taken the side of Sparta through jealousy of Thebes, and who now formed the left wing of Agesilaus. But they only proved a source of weakness; for at the first impetuous shock of the Thebans, who were opposed to them on the right of the allies, they broke their ranks and fled. Instead of assailing the flank of the enemy's severed line, the Thebans pursued the defeated wing till they were separated from the rest of the allies, who, in their turn, had given way before Agesilaus. They drew up in a new line of battle upon Mount Helicon, and endeavoured to cut their way through the army of Agesilaus. The close combat that ensued was not only the fiercest in which Greek ever met Greek, but a hand to hand conflict such as seldom occurs in the history of war. In the front ranks, the broken spears and shields were replaced by daggers, which were plied amidst a silence only broken by deep tones of rage. Agesilaus himself was thrown down, and hardly dragged from under the feet of the combatants by his chosen body-guard of fifty. The Thebans at last forced their way through to their comrades with great loss, leaving in the hands of Agesilaus a dear bought and indecisive victory (B.C. 394).

Among the circumstances of this memorable battle must be reckoned the part taken in it by Xenophon. After his brilliant success in leading back the Ten Thousand Greeks had been crowned by their incorporation with the army of Thimbron, his movements are somewhat uncertain. Having deposited his share of the booty in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, he seems to have returned to Athens shortly after the death of Socrates.* His deep indignation at the event was not likely to be diminished by the vehement revival of democratic and anti-Laconian feeling, and he appears soon to have returned to the more congenial society of the Lacedæmonian army in Asia. He served as commander of the remnant of the Ten Thousand under Dercyllidas, and again under Agesilaus, for whom he conceived the admiration that is expressed so warmly in his works. To that friendship he sacrificed his loyalty to his country. He accompanied Agesilaus to Greece and fought against Athens at Coronea. Banished most justly for this offence,†

* The opening words of the *Memorabilia* are those of a person regarding the event from a distance:—"*I often wondered* on what grounds the accusers of Socrates persuaded the Athenians that he deserved death."

† See the argument of Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 242), in opposition to the view which places the banishment of Xenophon at an earlier date. On the whole subject of Xenophon's character and his relations to his country, there are some admirable essays by Niebuhr and Bishop Thirlwall, in the *Philological Museum*.

Xenophon identified himself completely with the Spartans. He retired to an estate which he purchased at Scillus, near Olympia, in Elis; and there divided his time between hunting, entertaining his friends, and the composition of his works. He was driven from this retreat by the Eleans after a residence of about twenty years; and he is said to have retired to Corinth. His sentence of banishment was repealed on the motion of Eubulus; but he seems never to have returned to Athens.

In Asia, meanwhile, utter ruin had befallen the fleet of Sparta, and her short-lived empire of the sea had again been lost. During the second campaign of Agesilaus, Conon, placed by Pharnabazus in command of the combined Athenian and Persian fleets, had been blockaded at Caunus in Lycia by the Lacedæmonian fleet of 120 sail, under Pharax. Conon had only forty ships; but the arrival of forty more not only broke up the blockade, but enabled him to take possession of Rhodes, which revolted from the Lacedæmonians; a proof that the maritime allies soon became as impatient of the Spartan supremacy as they had formerly been of the Athenian. During the winter, Conon went to the court of Artaxerxes at Babylon, and returned with a large sum of money, which enabled him and Pharnabazus to fit out a combined Athenian and Phœnician fleet superior that of the Lacedæmonians. The latter, reinforced by the exertions of Agesilaus, and placed under the command of his brother-in-law, Pisander, was stationed in Cnidus, in Caria. Thither Conon proceeded, and offered battle, which Pisander had not the prudence to decline. He was deserted by his Asiatic allies, and utterly defeated, with the loss of more than half his fleet, and of his own life. The Battle of Cnidus was fought early in August, B.C. 394, shortly after that of Corinth, and before that of Coronea. The combined fleet, under Pharnabazus and Conon, followed up their victory by the reduction of the islands and the cities on the Hellespont; but Abydus and the Thracian Chersonese were preserved to Sparta by the energy of Dercyllidas. In the following spring (B.C. 393) they crossed the Ægæan, ravaged the coasts of Laconia, placed an Athenian garrison in the island of Cythera, and finally took up their station off the Isthmus, to co-operate with the allies, whose head-quarters were at Corinth. A century had almost elapsed since the victory of Salamis, when the incredible spectacle was seen of a Persian satrap and an Athenian commander conducting their united navies past the shores of the island; and in that sight the Greeks beheld the natural fruit of their long dissensions.

But, instead of yielding to patriotic shame, the Athenians were content to reap substantial advantage from their strange alliance. Pharnabazus, in his anger against the Spartans for their victories in Asia, not only granted Conon permission to rebuild the fortifications of Piræus and the Long Walls, but left the fleet at his disposal, and supplied him with money for the work. Stranger than all, the new allies of Athens, and among them their inveterate foes the Thebans, were seen heartily co-operating in the restoration of those bulwarks, the destruction of which they had celebrated eleven years before with music and dancing, The Spartans, once more confined to the land by the loss of their fleet, and shut up within the Isthmus by the lines of Corinth, were helpless to resist the work. Its completion was celebrated, together with the victory of Cnidus, by a splendid festival, at which Conon was hailed as a second Themistocles. His statue was set up by the Athenians, and a decree was engraved on a pillar, celebrating his services to his country. Nor was it possible to exaggerate the importance of the event. It was not indeed the restoration of Athens to her old empire, which would have been a mockery of its former self, if raised up under the protection of Persia; and the Athenian empire was one of those great political structures which are not repeated when once destroyed. But it restored Athens once more, in her own strength, to that independent position which she had lately held only by precarious alliances; and while protecting her, as of old, from her enemies on shore, it held out to her the prospect of an ascendancy over the maritime states, which might at least be the reflection of her former glory. "It re-animated her, if not into the Athens of Pericles, at least into that of Isocrates and Demosthenes; it imparted to her a second fill of strength, dignity, and commercial importance, during the half century destined to elapse before she was finally overwhelmed by the superior military force of Macedon."* Nor was Conon slow in taking advantage of her new position. He led forth the Athenian navy among the islands, to reunite them with Athens in a maritime confederacy; and he made an effort, in conjunction with Evagoras, the ruler of Salamis, in Cyprus, to gain over Dionysius, the celebrated tyrant of Syracuse; but this overture was unsuccessful. He also organized a mercenary force for the defence of Corinth, a measure now for the first time adopted in the wars of the Greek states.

In the restoration of Athens to so much of her former power, it is impossible not to see one of the most striking examples of a

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 450.

lesson that history is continually teaching, but which the passions of succeeding generations as constantly prevent their learning;—the lesson, how often the longest and most bloody wars prove altogether fruitless for their object, however fruitful in misery, exhaustion, and ill-will. Comparing the condition of the state with what it was before all the sacrifices of the Peloponnesian War, her enemies had nothing to show for all those sacrifices, unless it were the miserable consolation that, though they had failed to destroy her, she no longer possessed the power to save them, with herself, from the common dangers that were approaching. Meanwhile Sparta seemed to be struggling for her very existence against the states, now allied with Athens, which had been the keenest in goading her on to the former war.

Corinth was now again the critical point of the contest. The Lacedæmonians were established at Sicyon, and the allies were defending the Isthmus, so as to keep them pent up within Peloponnesus. The natural line of defence at Corinth is formed by the Onean mountains, which leave passes between their extremities and the two seas, while a third cuts through the ridge beside Corinth itself. The last pass, and that on the Saronic Gulf, were held by the allies, while the pass along the shore of the Corinthian Gulf was blocked up by the Long Walls connecting Corinth with its port Lechæum. Factions broke out in the city; and, while the democratic government called in the Argives to overawe the wealthy citizens, who were disaffected at seeing their lands ravaged, the latter admitted the Lacedæmonians within the Long Walls, where a battle was fought, which ended in the defeat of the Argives and the Corinthians (B.C. 392). The way was now laid open into Attica and Bœotia, and great alarm was felt at Athens and Thebes. The Athenians hastened to repair the Long Walls of Corinth, but in the following summer Agesilaus took Lechæum, and pulled down the long walls entirely.

The renewed danger induced both Thebes and Athens to send envoys to Sparta to treat of peace. Those of the former state were rudely repulsed, for Agesilaus had not forgiven the insult put upon him at Aulis. The envoys of Athens obtained very favourable terms, which the people however rejected, chiefly through the opposition of Argos and Corinth. It was on this occasion that the orator Andocides, who has already been mentioned in connection with Alcibiades, made his speech, which is still extant, in favour of the Peace. Agesilaus, proceeding from his head-quarters at Lechæum, took Piræum, the chief stronghold

remaining to the Corinthians on the Isthmus, and placed Corinth itself under a close blockade.

It was now that the new element introduced by Conon into Greek warfare began to produce its results. The mercenaries had been trained by the Athenian Iphicrates as light troops, clad in a linen breastplate in place of the cumbrous panoply of the hoplites, and armed with swords and javelins longer than those of the peltasts. At the head of this band, Iphicrates seized an opportunity to sally out from Corinth upon a procession escorted by a division (*mora*) of 600 Spartan hoplites, a force wont to despise many times their number of light-armed troops, while those of Iphicrates were one-third less numerous. Yet they were completely baffled by the agile movements of the enemy, and on the approach of a body of Athenian hoplites, they fled to Lechæum, pursued by the soldiers of Iphicrates, and nearly the whole *mora* was cut to pieces. Such a defeat was a disgrace to the Spartan arms and a shock to Spartan sentiment, such as had not been suffered since the capture of Sphacteria. Agesilaus received the news at the very moment when he had returned an insulting answer to the envoys whom the Thebans, alarmed at the state of Corinth, had sent to treat for peace. He marched off instantly to dispute with the victors the bodies of the slain; but news met him that Iphicrates had erected his trophy and retired. He then advanced to Corinth; but all his taunts failed to draw forth the Corinthians to battle; and he marched back to Sparta almost by stealth, fearing to expose his humiliated army to the scorn of their own allies. Strikingly contrasted with this covert retreat, and with the shame and anger displayed by the Lacedæmonians in general, was the bearing of the sons and fathers and brothers of the slain, who went about with bright and joyful air, like men who had been victorous in the games. For such was the custom at Sparta, to exult for those who were bravely slain, and only to mourn over the captives and the disgraced. Iphicrates remained master of the Isthmus, and retook the captured posts. Having fallen into odium at Corinth, owing, it is said, to his domineering temper and some suspicion of designs on the independence of the state, he was recalled, and succeeded by Chabrias. The Spartans appear to have made no further attempt on Corinth; but Agesilaus conquered Acarnania; and Agesipolis, his colleague in the kingdom, invaded the Argive territory, disregarding alike the common pretext, that the people were engaged in a religious festival, and the omen of an earthquake. It was not till a flash of lightning killed

several men in his camp, that this daring contemner of Greek superstitions retired from the country. Xenophon does not enable us to fix with certainty the dates of the few events which occurred on the mainland between the victory of Iphicrates and the peace, the causes of which we have now to relate.

The successes of Conon had filled Sparta with alarm at the threatened restoration of the maritime empire of Athens. For this danger there seemed but one remedy left,—the intervention of the Persian king. It was not enough that both parties had sought the aid of the arch-enemy of their common country: he must now be made the arbiter of its disputes. The Spartans well knew the price of his intervention; and they resolved to surrender the liberties of their Asiatic brethren. With such offers, Antalcidas, a Spartan as clever and unscrupulous as Lysander, was sent to Tiribazus, the new satrap of Ionia (B.C. 391). As to the internal affairs of Greece, it was proposed to adopt the principle of "*autonomy*," that is, that every city, continental or insular, great or small, should be independent and self-governed. Thus there would be no more great confederacies, like those which had been led by Sparta and Athens, and the Great King would have nothing to fear from the combined hostility of Greece. The last proposal was aimed principally at the maritime empire which Athens seemed now likely to re-establish. It cost Sparta nothing to renounce for herself a supremacy at sea, which recent events had left no hope of her re-establishing; and, isolated as she now was on the land, her best chance of weakening her enemies was by breaking up those separate confederacies, of which that of the Bœotian states, under Thebes, was the most important. She had proposed the same principle to Athens, on the eve of the Peloponnesian War, when its acceptance would have allowed her to have retained her own power, as the head of an alliance nominally voluntary; and subsequent events proved that she was ready to seize the first opportunity of resuming that position.

The allies had much—Thebes, in particular, almost everything—to lose by the admission of such a principle; nor were they prepared to sacrifice the Asiatic Greeks. They sent envoys to the court of Tiribazus, to oppose the designs of Antalcidas; and, among them, Conon went up on the part of Athens. These envoys made it clear that the terms proposed by Antalcidas would be accepted by none of the leading states, except Sparta herself, nor did the resentment of the Persian court as yet suffer it to unite with Sparta in forcing terms on the rest of Greece. All that

Tiribazus could do was to promise to go up to Susa, and try to convince the king that it was his interest to accept the proposals of Antalcidas, while he secretly furnished money for the Lacedæmonian fleet. To this he added an act of perfidy, as damaging to Athens as it was acceptable to Sparta, the imprisonment of Conon, in violation of his sacred character as an ambassador, and of his close connection with Pharnabazus. The latter may, indeed, have been a chief motive for his seizure, as his influence with the rival satrap would have furnished the best means of counteracting the philo-Laconian policy of Tiribazus. The most probable account of Conon's subsequent fate is that he escaped, and again took refuge with Evagoras in Cyprus, and there died of sickness. At all events, his public life was now closed, and Athens lost in him the best hope of recovering her empire.

The mission of Tiribazus to Susa did not prosper; and, while he was detained at the court, his place was supplied by Struthas, a Persian, who represented the full animosity of Artaxerxes against the Spartans. The command of the Lacedæmonians in Asia was entrusted to Thimbron, who had been superseded by Dercyllidas, at the beginning of the war, for his rashness and incompetence. The same qualities now exposed him to defeat in a disorderly battle, which was brought on by the skilful manœuvres of Struthas, and in which Thimbron himself was slain (B.C. 390).

The maritime war, which had been suspended since the battle of Cnidus, now broke out afresh in consequence of the desire of the Lacedæmonians to assist the oligarchical exiles, who had been expelled from Rhodes when it revolted from Sparta,* and who were now plotting with a party in the island. The seizure of Conon had again deprived the Athenians of the mastery of the Ægæan, and the Spartans were able to gather a fleet of twenty-seven triremes at Cnidus, under Teleutias, the brother of Agesilaus, and next to him the most enterprising of their commanders. He was fortunate enough to open the campaign by the capture of ten Athenian triremes, which were sailing under Philocrates to aid Evagoras of Cyprus against Persia. With his force thus augmented, Teleutias was enabled to establish the oligarchical exiles on the island of Rhodes, and to annoy the government by a civil war; but, when he attempted to meet the Rhodians in the field, he was defeated.†

* See p. 540.

† The three ancient cities of the island, Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus had lately coalesced into the new capital of Rhodes, a city destined to high fame both in ancient and medieval history.

The Athenians resolved on a vigorous effort to recover their naval superiority. Thrasybulus, the restorer of the democracy, sailed with forty triremes to the Hellespont and Bosporus, where he completely re-established the supremacy of Athens, and reimposed the toll on passing ships, which the Lacedæmonians had abolished. Landing at Lesbos, he defeated the Lacedæmonian harmost, and he sailed down the coast of Asia Minor, levying contributions for his main object, the expedition to Rhodes. The last place he visited was Aspendus in Pamphylia. On the eve of his departure, the Aspendians, irritated by the excesses of his soldiers, surprised his camp in the night, and slew him (B.C. 389). He did not leave behind him a more patriotic citizen, nor one who had conferred greater services upon his country. The movements of his successor Agyrrhius are uncertain; and the Rhodian war seems to have languished, while Teleutias, being as much in want of money as the Athenians, was compelled to waste his time in levying it by the same means.

The Hellespont now became the chief seat of the war. Dercyllidas, who had commanded there for some years, was succeeded by Anaxibius. The new commander went out with great promises, which his first successes seemed likely to redeem; but he found his match in the Athenian Iphicrates, who laid an ambush for Anaxibius, on his return from an overland march, in the passes of Mount Ida. The surprise was completely successful. With the true Spartan spirit, Anaxibius declared that his duty bound him to die at his post, but he dismissed his followers, who fled to Abydus; while twelve other Spartan harmosts remained and died with him. By this victory, the Athenians became again masters of the Bosporus and Hellespont, and re-established the toll on ships passing from the Euxine. But a new danger menaced them in their own seas, whither Teleutias had now transferred his restless energy.

Amidst the changes of the last few years, Ægina, the ancient enemy of Athens, retained the independence restored to her by the issue of the Peloponnesian War. Many of the old inhabitants had been replaced in the island by Lysander; and their privateers vindicated for Ægina its ancient title of "the eyesore of the Piræus." The Athenians had blockaded the port of Ægina, and planted a fort upon the island, when Teleutias, who was levying contributions among the Cyclades, hastened to its relief and drove off the blockading squadron. Just at this time, his term of command expired, and he departed for Sparta amidst the warmest demonstrations of the affection of the sailors. His successor,

Hierax, sailed back to Rhodes, leaving Gorgopas to command at Ægina, with twelve triremes. After some successful exploits, which made him over-confident, Gorgopas was surprised and slain by the Athenian Chabrias, who had secretly landed a force on Ægina.

His successor found the Lacedæmonian crews unmanageable and mutinous, on account of their pay being in arrear. Teleutias was sent out, as the only commander likely to appease them. Addressing the seamen amidst their first enthusiasm at his return, he told them that he came without money, but to show them the way of procuring it; that he would himself take nothing till their wants were supplied; and that it became brave men to seek their pay from their enemies, sword in hand. They responded with a shout, bidding him to lead them where he pleased, and they would obey him. Without disclosing his object, which would doubtless have alarmed them as impracticable, he commanded them to get their suppers and come immediately on board, bringing with them provisions for a day—a supply to be reckoned as a generous advance on their part.

The night had just closed when the little fleet of twelve triremes started from Ægina, and at dawn of day Teleutias led them straight into the harbour of Piræus, the mouth of which the Athenians had always left open, in the confidence of their strength. To surprise it, "even at the maximum of the Athenian naval power, was an enterprise possible, simply because every one considered it to be impossible."* Teleutias found, as he expected, no preparations for defence; the triremes, many times his own in number, were unmanned. These he ordered his triremes to charge and disable; the merchant ships were boarded and plundered, and their crews carried off as prisoners; and many of the smaller vessels were towed away, with a few triremes. The whole force of Athens flew to arms at the first alarm; but before they could march down to Piræus, Teleutias had sailed away with his prizes, adding to them several coasting vessels, which mistook his for an Athenian squadron.

The success of such an enterprise, combined with the constant annoyance experienced from Ægina, must have gone far to convince the Athenians that the restoration of their maritime empire was hopeless, especially as their progress on the Hellespont now received a severe check. At the same time the financial pressure of the contest, coming upon them when they were reduced to the

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. ix. p. 523.

greatest poverty by the Peloponnesian War, must have disposed them to accept the peace, which the Spartans were at length successful in persuading the king of Persia to impose. Shortly before the fall of Gorgopas at Ægina, Antalcidas had sailed from that island at the head of a fleet, which he despatched to the Hellespont under his secretary Nicolochus, while he himself went up to Susa with Tiribazus. This time, his dexterous address gained the favour of Artaxerxes, who not only assented to peace on the terms proposed two years before, but placed his armaments at the disposal of Sparta, to enforce it on all recusant states. Pharnabazus was honourably called from the scene of action by an invitation to the court and a marriage with the king's daughter, and his satrapy was committed, during his absence, to a personal friend of Antalcidas. The following were the terms of the treaty, or rather the edict—for so was it worded, in the most degrading form, as emanating from the will of the Great King, and imposed by him upon Greece: "King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia, and the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should belong to him. He also thinks it just to leave all the other Grecian cities, small and great, independent—except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which are to belong to Athens, as of old. Should any parties refuse to accept this peace, I will make war upon them, along with those who are of the same mind, both by land and sea, with ships and money." The exception to the principle of autonomy, in favour of Athens, seems to have been inserted since the first negociation of Antalcidas.

In the spring of B.C. 387, Tiribazus and Antalcidas appeared on the coast, as bearers of the decree under the seal of the Great King, and commanders of the whole force of Persia; while twenty ships were sent to the aid of the Spartans by Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse. By a skilful manœuvre, Antalcidas formed a junction between these ships and the twenty-five ships of Nicolochus, which had been blockaded at Abydus by the superior force of Iphicrates; and further reinforcements from the Persian satraps raised his fleet to eighty triremes, the largest force which had appeared in the Hellespont since the battle of Ægospotami. While Athens trembled to hear that a blow equally disastrous had befallen her fleets under Chabrias and Iphicrates, she was distressed by the cutting off of her supplies of corn from the Euxine, and by the redoubled activity of the Æginetan privateers. She had no choice but to accept the peace: without her aid, Corinth and Argos could not hope to repel the attacks of Sparta: and Thebes was

threatened by Agesilaus with instant war, when she attempted to nullify the article designed for her humiliation by signing in the name of the Bœotian confederacy. Not many years elapsed before Sparta had reason to repent bitterly of her overbearing insistance and of the triumphant hatred of Agesilaus to Thebes. Meanwhile, the treaty was accepted unconditionally: and, as its first result, Corinth was obliged to dismiss her Argive allies, with whom their political friends left the city, while the aristocratic constitution was restored by the return of the philo-Laconian exiles.

Such was the disgraceful "Peace of Antalcidas," by which, within a century after the battle of Salamis, the Greeks accepted terms of peace from a Persian king, and finally gave up their Asiatic colonies to his rule; not scrupling to perpetuate their infamy by inscribing the treaty on pillars at Olympia, and the other sanctuaries of the nation. There were not wanting patriots among the Spartans themselves, who viewed the matter in this light. "Alas! for Hellas, that our Spartans should be *Medizing!*" exclaimed some one in the hearing of Agesilaus, who at once rejoined, "Say rather that the Medes are *Laconizing.*" The answer revealed the whole object of Sparta in the treaty, by which she and the Persian king were the only gainers. The sacrifice of Ionia was the price paid for permission—and if it should be necessary for assistance—to restore the Lacedæmonian supremacy over the rest of Greece, weakened and isolated under the hypocritical pretext of autonomy.*

Nor was Sparta slow to prove by deeds that such was her real object. The dissolution of the tie between Argos and Corinth, and the aristocratic revolution effected in the latter city, gave Sparta virtually the command of the Isthmus. As the hatred of Thebes was a leading motive of the treaty, so was she chosen for the first victim of its real working, and of the persistent hatred of Agesilaus. While proclaiming the independence of the Bœotian cities, the Spartans resumed their ancient policy of fostering local oligarchies friendly to themselves. The two cities which had sided with them in the late conflict, Orchomenus and Thespiæ, had their *independence* protected by the continued presence of Lacedæmonian garrisons. But when Sparta proceeded to rebuild Platæa, and to restore such of its exiled families as could still be

* See Mr. Grote's careful exposition of the course by which, from the very beginning of the Peloponnesian War, Sparta declined from the principle of Panhellenic dignity, and fell into submission to Persia for the sake of her own objects (*History of Greece*, vol. x. chap. 76).

found at Athens, it must have seemed as if the old political relations of the Hellenic states had been reversed. Nor were these proceedings adopted with the full consent of the moderate party in Sparta herself. How little she would allow, in her own case, the independence of neighbours supposed to be unfriendly, was proved by her treatment of Mantinea, which was besieged by the King Agesipolis, her fortifications dismantled, and her people redistributed into their former five open villages under separate oligarchical governments. Our great historian of Greece has pointed out that the political tyranny of this act was its least evil. "All the distinctive glory and superiority of Hellenism—all the intellectual and artistic manifestations—all that there was of literature and philosophy, or of refined and rational sociality—depended upon the city life of the people. And the influence of Sparta, during the period of her empire, was peculiarly mischievous and retrograde, as tending not only to decompose the federations such as Bœotia into isolated towns, but even to decompose suspected towns such as Mantinea into villages; all for the purpose of rendering each of them exclusively dependent upon herself." * While thus breaking up the Grecian world into the smallest possible fragments, she endeavoured to add each unit to the sum of her own power by restoring the oligarchical exiles to the cities which had expelled them.

In her attempt to lay the foundations of renewed ascendancy at sea, by collecting tribute from some of the smaller islands, she found a rival in Athens, who was not likely to forego any chance of recovering her maritime empire in the Ægæan, a nucleus of which seemed to have been left her by the treaty. In the port of Piræus, and in her mercantile navy, she had natural advantages of which Sparta was destitute. The commercial interests of the lesser islands were identical with hers, especially as to the need of imports of corn; and they had no protection but her navy from the pirates that have always infested their waters. Her administration of the sanctuary at Delos not only gave her a moral influence over the islanders who attended its festivals, but placed at her command the sacred treasures, which she lent out at interest to them, establishing thereby the tie which binds the debtor to the creditor. On such grounds she collected tribute from some of the islands, while others continued to pay it to Sparta; and she began to build up that new maritime power, of which we shall soon see her in possession. In fact, no political arrangements could annul the

* Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. x. p. 53.

prescriptive right which Athens had long ago established to supremacy in the waters of the Ægæan.

This progress in the power of the two leading states seems to have suggested to some enthusiastic patriots, that the disgrace of the treaty of Antalcidas might yet be wiped out by a combined effort for the liberation of the Asiatic Greeks, who already began to complain of the Persian rule, while Artaxerxes was occupied in the war with Evagoras of Cyprus, and in the attempt to reduce Egypt again beneath his power.* The Athenian rhetorician, Isocrates,—the greatest composer of those elaborate and ornate orations which are adapted rather for the pleasure of perusal than for producing an effect in public causes,—pursued this theme in his great "Panegyrical Oration," in which he urges Sparta and Athens to undertake the common cause, while he vindicates for Athens the post of leader, on account of her services to Greece from ancient times (B.C. 380).† But men's minds were occupied with more selfish objects, and Sparta found about this time a new field for her ambition.

We have seen, again and again, how intimately the states of the Chalcidian peninsula were connected with the general politics of Greece; and we have related how, as a measure of protection against Athens, the smaller maritime states transferred themselves to Olynthus.‡ Meanwhile the neighbouring kingdom of Macedonia declined from the power to which it had been raised by Perdiccas and his son Archelaüs, owing to the assassinations of successive kings, till the murder of the usurper Pausanias by Amyntas II., the nephew of Perdiccas II., and father of Philip the Great (B.C. 393). Scarcely had Amyntas obtained the throne, when he was driven to flight by an invasion of the Illyrians. He made over to Olynthus the towns on the coast which he was unable to defend, including the important city of Pella (B.C. 392). A confederacy now rose up, of the Greek and Greco-Macedonian cities of Chalcidicé and Lower Macedonia, under the leadership of Olynthus, based on the most liberal principles of commerce, intermarriage, and proprietorship in land. No combination could have been of higher promise for the future liberties of Greece, though few could have seen in the fugitive Amyntas the father of her destined enslaver. The danger of returning beneath the yoke of Athens had almost ceased with the catastrophe in Sicily, following close

* See chap. vii. p. 140.

† It was about this time that Demosthenes was born, in B.C. 382.

‡ See pp. 486-7.

upon the loss of Amphipolis. But there remained the greater danger of Spartan ascendancy under the guise of autonomy. Several of the Chalcidic cities preferred that independence which was so deeply rooted in Greek sentiment, to the benefits of union with Olynthus; and, while lesser states gave in their reluctant adhesion, the powerful cities of Acanthus and Apollonia refused to join the league. Olynthus was now powerful enough to threaten to bring them in by force; and it was no part of Greek political morality to shrink from such a measure, when the whole confederacy was endangered by a recusancy which would ripen, on the first foreign war, into hostility. The case is one of those in which the concession of independence is forbidden by the law of self-preservation,—a principle which, right or wrong, has always been a powerful antagonist to the noble sentiment of autonomy. The threatened states sought aid from Sparta; and their representations of the ambitious designs of Olynthus were backed by envoys from Amyntas, who was now restored to his kingdom (B.C. 383).

Blind to the real danger from Macedonia, the Spartans pursued their anti-Hellenic policy. The growth of their new supremacy is proved by their being able to raise a force of 10,000 men from their allies. An obstinate war of four years, which cost the lives of Teleutias and Agesipolis, was ended by the reduction of Olynthus, in B.C. 379. The confederacy, which might have been a barrier against Macedon, was dissolved: the Chalcidic towns were added, for a brief space, to the Lacedæmonian alliance: and the restoration of the maritime cities of Macedonia to Amyntas raised his kingdom to the strength which, in the next generation, proved fatal to Grecian liberty.

Out of this Olynthian War there arose incidentally the worst breach of faith ever committed by Sparta—an act which, while crowning her revenge on Thebes, prepared the retribution for her recent policy. The main army sent against Olynthus, under Phœbidas, marched through Bœotia without respecting the territory of Thebes. Phœbidas was encamped at a gymnasium outside the city on the eve of the festival of the Thesmophoria, at which the Acropolis of Thebes (called the *Cadmea*, from its mythical founder), was given up by religious custom to the women. The Spartan faction, headed by the polemarch Leontiades, admitted Phœbidas into the city on a hot summer's afternoon, when the streets were empty. The Cadmea was seized; the women who were celebrating the festival were detained as hostages; terror was struck into the national party by the judicial murder of the other

polemarch, Ismenias, and 300 citizens fled to Athens. The indignation of Greece forced Sparta to disavow Phœbidas, who was fined and dismissed, though Agesilaus openly defended his conduct; but he was soon restored to his command. The Lacedæmonians kept possession of the Cadmea, and compelled the Thebans to march as their subject allies against Olynthus (B.C. 382). The city remained in their hands, amidst the increasing disaffection of the people at the tyranny of Leontiades, till after the close of the Olynthian War. Nor was the discontent towards Sparta confined to the cities that suffered directly under her oppression. The rapid growth of her supremacy, which now embraced all the continent of Greece, except Thessaly, Attica, and Argos, roused the same feeling of mingled fear and hatred with which the empire of Athens had once been regarded; and the treatment of Thebes and Olynthus proved her capable of the worst political crimes of which her rival had ever been accused. The general indignation at her alliance with Dionysius of Syracuse found vent in a demonstration against that tyrant at the first Olympic festival after the peace of Antalcidas (B.C. 384), where the Athenian orator Lysias delivered an indictment against Sparta, such as that more elaborately framed in the "Panegyrical Oration" of Isocrates. Even the philo-Laconian Xenophon marks the transition, at this epoch, from Sparta's highest power to her deepest disgrace, as a proof that the gods take careful note of impious men and of evil-doers; when "the Lacedæmonians, who had sworn to leave each city autonomous, having violated their oaths by seizing the citadel of Thebes, were punished by the very men whom they had wronged."

Among the Theban patriotic party were two friends, who had been bound together by one of the strongest of all ties—EPAMINONDAS had saved the life of PELOPIDAS in battle at the greatest danger to his own. The former was one of the noblest and purest characters of history. As a youth, he cultivated the training of the gymnasium to its highest perfection, yet so as to secure activity and endurance rather than the mere strength of the pugilist and wrestler. He was accomplished in music, dancing, and elocution. He was an ardent student of philosophy, in its two highest schools, the Pythagorean and Socratic. He heard the celebrated Theban, Simmias, and others who had been taught by Socrates; but he cherished an almost filial friendship for Lysis, an aged member of the Pythagorean brotherhood, who had been driven into exile from Tarentum. To the patience with which he was

content to learn, rather than display his own crude opinions, in philosophical discussion, we have the testimony of the philosopher Spintharus, that he never met with any one who understood more or talked less. Endowed with a commanding eloquence, he never used it to cultivate mere popularity, but to advocate the measures he deemed best for the city. Though already of middle age, he had as yet had no opportunity to call forth that military genius which has given him a place among the inventors of the art of war; but he had already established the far higher character of integrity, sincerity, and self-controul, and he gave even now a proof of a virtue almost unknown to the Greek character, the conscientious refusal to do evil that good might come of it. His gentle spirit, and his freedom from political animosities, raised him above those besetting sins of the Greek character, cruelty to conquered enemies, and sanguinary revenge on civil foes. His modest and unambitious disposition made him content with poverty, notwithstanding all the offers of his wealthy friend Pelopidas, and helped to keep him firm against all corrupting overtures. His gentler virtues had already gained the esteem and confidence of his countrymen; and it only remained for him to display that power of action and capacity for affairs, which extorted from Agesilaus the admiring apostrophe, "O thou man of great deeds!"

Pelopidas was much younger than his friend, and could lay little claim to his combination of well-balanced powers; but he was an enthusiastic patriot, a daring man of action, and a skilful leader. His noble birth and great wealth, of which he made a generous use, had already given him the influence needed for the enterprise he now meditated. Pelopidas, who was one of the Theban exiles at Athens, contrived a secret correspondence with his friends at Thebes, to organize a plot for the liberation of the city. Epaminondas, who was at Thebes, declined to take part in the conspiracy, from scruples of conscience respecting tyrannicide, which, on his part at least, were sincere, though few Greeks would have shared them. He seems, also, to have been influenced by the improbability of success in overthrowing a government upheld by 1500 Spartan troops. The chief manager of the conspiracy was Phyllidas, whose position as secretary to the polemarchs, Archias and Philippus, gave him the means of introducing Pelopidas with a few chosen exiles, who were to assassinate them at a banquet, to which they were invited on the pretence of meeting some Theban women of rare beauty. The invitation was accepted, and on the eve of the appointed day the seven exiles came straggling

into Thebes, in the disguise of countrymen, and were concealed in the house of Charon, one of the conspirators. It seemed as if the goddess Nemesis had laid her grasp upon the infatuated victims. The feast had already begun, when a message from Athens created some vague distrust; and Charon was alarmed by a summons to attend the polemarchs. He found them half intoxicated; and Phyllidas aided him in lulling their suspicions. Presently, however, a letter arrived from Athens for Archias, describing the whole plot in detail; and, to ensure his attention, the messenger had been instructed to say that it was on serious business. The precaution defeated itself. "Serious business for to-morrow," said Archias, as he thrust the letter beneath his pillow, and called for the women to be introduced. The drunken senses of the polemarchs were awake to but one idea when they saw the seven figures draped in ample robes, their attempt to lift which was repaid by the dagger's thrust. Leontiades was slain in his own house, after a vigorous resistance; the gaol was opened, and the prisoners armed. Epaminondas now came forward, with a few devoted friends; the citizens were summoned to meet; the freedom of Thebes was proclaimed; the conspirators were crowned with garlands; and Pelopidas, Charon, and Mellon were named Bœotarchs. The rapid advance of the remaining Theban exiles, with a band of volunteers from Athens, cut off all aid to the garrison from Thespiæ and Platæa; and the Lacedæmonians in the citadel made a cowardly capitulation. After various party conflicts, which we cannot stay to trace, Athens joined Thebes in a new alliance against Sparta (B.C. 378). But this was only the beginning of a new confederacy, on the model of that of Delos, which speedily embraced seventy cities. Timotheus, a worthy successor of his father Conon, took the chief part, with Chabrias, in its organization. Great care was taken to avoid those points which had become odious in the old maritime empire of Athens. The "tribute," for example, became a "contribution," and Athens herself was assessed to a property tax, a source of revenue reserved for great emergencies. The Thebans completed their military organization, and Pelopidas enrolled the famous "Sacred Band" of 300 hoplites, chosen from the youth of the best families, specially for the defence of the Cadmea. Epaminondas took an active part in the preparations for defence (B.C. 378).

In this and the following year Agesilaus invaded Bœotia, and, avoiding a pitched battle, ravaged the Theban territory (B.C. 378, 377). Being lamed by a wound, he gave up the command to

Cleombrotus, who was repulsed by the Thebans at the passes of Cithæron (B.C. 376). The Spartans now resolved to invade Bœotia by sea; but their fleet was totally defeated by Chabrias, off Naxos, and Athens was once more mistress of the seas. The battle of Naxos was the first great naval victory gained by the Athenians since the Peloponnesian War. They hailed it as the revenge for Ægospotami, and followed up the advantage by sending a fleet into the Ionian Sea under Timotheus, who added Cephallenia, Corcyra, and Acarnania to the Athenian alliance (B.C. 375).

Meanwhile the Thebans had made equally rapid progress by land; and all the cities of Bœotia, except Orchomenus, had submitted to them by the end of the year B.C. 374. It was in an expedition against Orchomenus that Pelopidas performed one of his most daring feats of valour. Having failed to surprise the city, he was returning with only the Sacred Band and a few cavalry, when he found himself surrounded by a Spartan force twice as numerous as his own. "We are fallen into the midst of the enemy!" exclaimed one of his followers. "Why so, more than they into the midst of us," replied Pelopidas; and his words were made good by a decisive victory. The two states grew jealous of each other's success, and they found mutual causes of complaint. Athens, pressed by the expense of the war, and by the Æginetan privateers, called for a contribution from the allies, which Thebes refused to pay; while Thebes had offended Athens by the invasion of Phocis, her old ally. The Athenians made a separate peace with Sparta, and recalled Timotheus from the Ionian Sea; but, in the very act of returning, that commander put an end to the new treaty by restoring some exiles to Zacynthus, a proceeding for which Athens refused satisfaction. The Spartans now sent a large fleet to take Corcyra; and the city was reduced to great distress, when the besieged, taking advantage of the carelessness and disorder of the Spartan army, made a sally and slew the general Mnasippus. The Lacedæmonians evacuated the island on the approach of an Athenian fleet under Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Callistratus; and Iphicrates again occupied the same commanding position in the Ionian Sea, which Timotheus had held the year before (B.C. 373).

The rapid alternations of this Seven Years' War had again brought down Sparta to a position not unlike that which she occupied before the Peace of Antalcidas. She sought the same remedy; and sent the successful negociator once more to Persia, to complain that the allies had violated the treaty and to ask for supplies of money. But this time Antalcidas had no colonies in

Asia to offer as a bribe; and the only result of his mission was an empty mandate from the satraps of Asia Minor, that the Greek states should settle their differences on the basis of the former edict. But in the mean time, Thebes had given Athens a new ground of discontent, or rather of indignation. Platæa, restored by Sparta for her own objects, began to look to Athens as her natural protector, and sought for readmission to her citizenship. The ancient jealousy of Thebes was again roused against the devoted city. Once more were its inhabitants expelled, and driven for refuge to Athens: once more was their town destroyed and their territory added to Thebes; while the Thespians also were compelled to raze their fortifications because of their supposed leanings to Athens (B.C. 372).

The "Plataïc Discourse" of Isocrates expresses the feelings of the Athenians at these insults to themselves, for in that light they regarded them. They opened negociations for peace, supported by nearly all the allies, except Thebes. In the spring of B.C. 371, a congress was assembled at Sparta of the respective allies of Lacedæmon and Athens, and Thebes was invited to send deputies. The envoys of Athens were Callias, the head of one of the greatest of the old families, Autocles, and the orator Callistratus; among those of Thebes was Epaminondas, who then held the office of Bœotarch. The Athenians took the lead in the conferences; and their orator, Callistratus, laid the bases for the treaty in the principle of autonomy,—the real, and not merely nominal independence of each city,—to be enjoyed, however, consistently with such supremacy as the two leading states might acquire by the accession of voluntary allies,—Sparta by land, and Athens on the sea. The garrisons and Spartan harmosts were to be withdrawn from the subject cities. The peace was concluded on these terms, which tacitly deprived Thebes of her headship of the Bœotian confederacy.

Epaminondas, who had protested vehemently against Spartan ambition as the cause of all the recent troubles, reserved his last effort for the following day, when the oaths were taken, first by Sparta for herself and her allies, next by Athens for herself only, followed by her allies severally. It was now the turn of Thebes; and when Epaminondas insisted on taking the oaths in the name of the Bœotian confederacy, he was opposed by the Spartans and most vehemently by Agesilaus. In an eloquent speech, he rebuked the arrogance of Sparta, and maintained that her supremacy in Laconia was no better founded than that of Thebes in Bœotia.

Stung by this boldness, Agesilaus interrupted him with the question—"Will you, or will you not, leave to each of the Bœotian cities its independence?" The rejoinder was as pointed—"Will *you* leave each of the Laconian towns independent?" Agesilaus, for his only answer, struck the name of the Thebans out of the treaty, which is known in history as the *Peace of Callias* (B.C. 371, June).

The Spartans lost no time in carrying out their threats of vengeance against Thebes, now left without an ally. Cleombrotus, who was in Phocis, was ordered to march into Bœotia. Skilfully evading the army with which Epaminondas occupied a defile on the main road near Coronea, he descended upon Creusis on the Crissean Gulf, where he seized twelve Theban triremes. Having thus secured his communications with Sparta by sea, instead of through the defiles of Cithæron, he marched inland, and encamped on the plain of LEUCTRA, between Thespiæ and Platæa. His first successes had spread a discouragement in the Theban army, which was increased by threatening portents; but their spirits revived when, on reaching the field of Leuctra, a Spartan exile pointed out the tombs of two maidens of the place, who had slain themselves after being outraged by Lacedæmonians, and whose time of revenge was now come.

The battle of Leuctra is memorable for the new tactics invented by Epaminondas. The force of the respective armies is not certainly known, but the Thebans were decidedly inferior in number, and their Bœotian troops could not be relied on. In place of the usual Greek tactics, in which two armies confronted each other in lines as nearly equal in length and depth as their numbers would allow, and the battle was joined along the whole front at once, Epaminondas collected his choicest troops on his left, in a close column fifty deep (more than its width in front), to oppose the Spartans, who were drawn up twelve deep on the right, under Cleombrotus himself. Not only was the great plan thus secured—which was revived in modern warfare by Napoleon—of directing an overwhelming force upon one point of an enemy's line, but by withdrawing his centre and right wing *en échelon*, Epaminondas kept them back till his chosen troops had borne the first brunt of the encounter. The disposition was triumphantly successful. The Theban column, headed by the Sacred Band, crushed the Lacedæmonian right. Cleombrotus was slain, and 400 out of the 700 Spartans in the field fell with him. Their allies on the centre and left, many of whom were disaffected, afforded an easy

victory to the Bœotians. The Spartans made that most complete confession of defeat, the praying for a truce to bury their slain; but the bodies only were restored to them, and the shields were exhibited centuries later at Thebes as a trophy of the victory.

The battle of Leuctra, gained by the Thebans within three weeks after their exclusion from the Peace of Callias, was received by all Greece as, what in truth it was, a death-blow to the supremacy of Sparta, and a proof that a new military power had arisen in Hellas. We can but briefly notice the short and brilliant period of the ascendancy of Thebes, for we have reached the limits of a chapter which the immense mass of important details has extended far beyond its anticipated limits:—

> "Sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus æquor,
> Et jam tempus equûm fumantia solvere colla."

Having thoroughly established their supremacy over the Bœotian cities, and extended their alliances in Northern Greece, the Thebans assumed the offensive against Sparta. Four times did Epaminondas lead his army into Peloponnesus. In the first invasion, the city of Sparta was only saved by the energy of Agesilaus, and Epaminondas accomplished two great measures, which finally reduced her to a state of the second rank,—the restoration of Messenia, with its new capital of Messené on Mount Ithomé, and the consolidation of forty Arcadian townships into the new city of Megalopolis, afterwards so famous in the days of the Achæan League (B.C. 369). We must hasten over the complicated struggles of the following years in Peloponnesus, which arose chiefly out of the new pretensions of the Arcadians; the alliance of Athens with Sparta, through jealousy of Thebes (B.C. 369); the mission of Pelopidas to Persia, to secure the supremacy of Thebes; and the events in the north of Greece; to the close of the brilliant career at once of Epaminondas and his country at the battle of MANTINEA (B.C. 362). The dying exclamation of Epaminondas—"I have lived long enough, for I die unconquered"—was the farewell to that glory which he alone had obtained for Thebes; and his last breath was spent in bidding his countrymen make peace. Pelopidas had fallen two years before at the battle of Cynoscephalæ in Thessaly (B.C. 364). All parties, except Sparta, were content to join in a general pacification, on the basis of the *status quo*, recognising the new constitution of Arcadia, and the independence of Messené. To this last article Sparta would not consent; but her spirit of practical resistance was confined to the

aged Agesilaus, who, in his eightieth year, sought a new field for his restless energy in Egypt. After aiding Nectanebo II. to obtain the crown,* he died on his road to Cyrene, B.C. 361.

After the pacification, the power of Thebes speedily collapsed in a manner that showed how completely she owed her sudden elevation to the brilliant qualities of her few great statesmen. Sparta was finally fallen. The new power of Arcadia was yet in its infancy. A dull pause appears to fall upon the scene of energy and conflict, while the exhausted states await the new destiny which was prepared for them by the accession of Philip to the throne of Macedonia (B.C. 359). Athens alone seemed to retain, in her free constitution, her maritime power, and her succession of able statesmen, vigour enough to become the champion of Hellenic life and liberty. The long train of matchless orators, who ruled the debates of her ecclesia and pleaded causes in her courts, had been crowned by the first appearance of Demosthenes, in his eighteenth year (B.C. 364). Her drama was still flourishing, though her tragedians were no longer comparable to Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and the satire of the Old Comedy had passed into the comparatively pointless Middle Comedy. It was not till the following generation that the New Comedy of manners and intrigue flourished in the hands of Philemon and Menander. Plato was still alive, and Aristotle was twenty-four years old; but the great sects of philosophy were yet in their infancy. The art of Phidias had lost none of its beauty in the hands of Scopas and Praxiteles; and painting was approaching the perfection which it afterwards reached in the hands of Apelles. These fair fruits from the root of Hellenic liberty attained their perfection as the stem that bore them began to wither.

We must not close this chapter without one hasty glance at the fortunes of the Sicilian Greeks, from the defeat of the Athenians to a period somewhat later than the present epoch. The repulse of the Athenian attack on Syracuse was followed by a succession of party contests, which ended in the triumph of the aristocratic party under the celebrated Dionysius, who seized the tyranny in the same year that witnessed the close of the Peloponnesian War (B.C. 405). He terminated a long series of conflicts with the Carthaginians by a peace in B.C. 393; and he had reduced most of Sicily and Magna Græcia beneath his rule by B.C. 384. Syracuse was now only second to Athens in the extent and splendour of its buildings, docks, and fortifications, and to Sparta in

* See chap. vii. p. 140.

political influence. Dionysius was a warm friend to Sparta, and we have more than once had occasion to allude to the succours he sent her. He was a munificent patron of literature, in which he himself so far excelled as to have his poems recited at Olympia, and to carry off prizes for his tragedies at Athens. But the caprice of the despot was shown in his dislike to the lofty morality of Plato, whom he is said not only to have dismissed from his court, but to have consigned to slavery, from which the philosopher was rescued by a friend.

Dionysius the Elder died in B.C. 367, and was succeeded by his son of the same name. The younger Dionysius was greatly influenced by Dion, the brother of his father's second wife, and the enthusiastic disciple of Plato. The philosopher was again induced by Dion to visit the court of Syracuse, which became a pattern of philosophic moderation. But Æschylus had said, "This vice is somehow inbred in tyranny—to distrust friends." Dionysius was taught to believe that the philosopher was in league with Dion to dethrone him. Dion was forced to embark without a moment's warning for Italy; and, after a time, his property was seized to enrich the courtiers. Plato, having made his escape from the capricious lenity of Dionysius, and having again ventured back to intercede for his friend, finally left Syracuse, not without difficulty, and met Dion at the Olympic festival in B.C. 360. The news he brought of the tyranny of Dionysius, and of his outrages on the family of Dion, incited the latter to an effort for the despot's overthrow. In the summer of B.C. 357, he landed in Sicily with 800 men, and, favoured by the absence of Dionysius, with a great part of his fleet, on the coast of Italy, he marched to Syracuse in the night, and at sunrise his little force was seen approaching the gates, their heads crowned with garlands, as in a festival procession. They were welcomed as deliverers; but it was not till after a conflict of some months that Dion became master of the whole city (B.C. 356). The possession of power proved fatal to his philosophic liberalism; his acts of tyranny were the more odious from the hopes he had disappointed; and he fell a victim to the ambition of his intimate friend Callippus (B.C. 353). After seven years of intestine conflict between successive tyrants, the exiled Dionysius became once more master of the city (B.C. 346). But his power was precarious; other despots ruled in the neighbouring cities; and the Carthaginians threatened to be the only gainers by the confusion.

Once more, as in olden times, the Syracusans sought aid in their

extremity from their mother-city; and a liberator was found in the person of Timoleon, a man who united the civic patriotism of the Greek with the inflexible sternness of the Roman.

Space fails us to relate how, with most inadequate means, he succeeded in the enterprise;—how Dionysius was again expelled (B.C. 343); the tyrants of the other cities put down; the vast hosts of Carthage defeated at the Crimisus, and a treaty concluded with the Carthaginians (B.C. 338). A nobler moral victory crowned all these exploits, when Timoleon, refusing the temptation to assume the tyranny, retired to the private house in Syracuse, which, with a modest estate, had been granted him for his services. His real reward was in the gratitude of his new fellow-citizens, who always received him with enthusiastic plaudits in the public assembly, and on his death, a few years after the completion of his work, followed him to the grave with universal mourning, the only tears he had ever made them shed. He died in the same year as Philip of Macedon (B.C. 336).

Meanwhile the younger Dionysius had retired to Corinth, where he amused his literary tastes with the instruction of public singers and actors, and by opening a school for boys. Historians and moralists have never tired of viewing the two Dionysii as types of the Nemesis of tyranny,—the insecurity of its enjoyment, the humiliation of its loss. The lesson is trite, but there are those who are ever needing to learn it. The sleepless suspicion of the elder despot is symbolized by the "Ear of Dionysius," a chamber into which concealed air-tubes conducted the complaints of the captives in his vast dungeons. His ceaseless terror was taught by himself to the flatterer Damocles, whom he placed at a most luxurious banquet, with the naked sword suspended over his head by a single hair. Many a despot has since experienced reverses as strange as those of the younger Dionysius; but the time has not yet come to withhold the warning

> "That Corinth's pedagogue may now
> Transfer his byword to thy brow."

END OF VOL. I.

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